

NEW MILITANT

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Workers Party Opens Action Campaign

Government Preparing For War

WASHINGTON.—In the political melee following Roosevelt's demagogic move "to take the profit out of war" and Senator Nye's flat statement that the President wants to stop the Senate munitions inquiry, pertinent facts have been suppressed. The daily press has left them out. They are:

1. The reason behind the munitions inquiry and the President's move is that the United States Government is definitely preparing for war.

Bending Every Nerve
This may be difficult for the ordinary man to see, but to those on the inside it is obvious. World war looms. The rulers of all the big nations are bending every nerve in that direction.

2. President Roosevelt is a big game and army man, believing in the "glory of our fighting forces" and the necessity for war. He has done more in his short time in office to militarize the country than any other president since the war. (As this is being written the Government lets two more contracts to the war manufacturers, one for 50 bombing planes, another for 150.) Much of the Public Works money allotted under Roosevelt has been diverted to the munitions makers.

Talk Is Demagoguery
Since the Government is preparing for war, and since the motive of war is profits, the President's talk is rank demagoguery. Senator Nye in his attack on Roosevelt pointed out that the commission appointed by the President to draft the anti-profit laws revealed his insincerity.

War Men Head Commission
Members in charge of the commission are Bernard M. Baruch, Will Street millionaire and during the World War chairman of the War Policies Board; General Hugh S. Johnson, the man who worked out the draft plan used by the Government during the war; and General Douglas MacArthur, chief of the Army staff.

"When I view in part the personnel of the President's commission," said Senator Nye, "I cannot but think how unfortunate it is that Dillinger is dead. He was the logical man to write the anti-crime laws."

Senator Nye is a liberal who despite the "shocking revelations" brought to light by the munitions inquiry still thinks that "something can be done" to curb war.

Government Co-Operated
The investigation has disclosed that the Government co-operated with the munitions makers over a number of years, the War Department going so far as to lend them aid in selling guns and military supplies to the governmental rulers of Japan, Germany and other nations able to buy.

Testimony in the Record
General MacArthur making sales talks in Europe for the DuPonts and other U. S. arms manufacturer. Documents introduced from the files of the manufacturers proved that industrial and political rulers of the United States are one and the same, working hand-in-glove. Besides co-operation on the part of Governmental departments, both Presidents Hoover and Coolidge were linked by the evidence with the war makers.

Would Avoid Confusion
President Roosevelt's own explanation of his hasty appointment of Baruch, Johnson and MacArthur was that the commission would draft a body of laws that would be necessary to avoid confusion which accompanies hasty preparations for war already declared.

PRISON FIGURES REVEAL NAZI TERROR
COLOGNE (T.I.S.)—The average daily number of prisoners in the jails and penitentiaries of Prussia has jumped from 32,525 in 1931 to 37,982 in 1932 and 36,928 in 1933. The latter figure proves the extent of the Nazi terror. A single ill-advised word is sufficient to bring about imprisonment in a concentration camp and jail. At the same time, food expenditures for the individual prisoner have decreased approximately 40 percent despite the universal rise in prices.

Muste and Cannon Start National Tour, Jan 13

Following is the schedule of the appearances of A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, who on January 13 will open the first national speaking tour of the Workers Party, to extend to February 9, and covering 21 cities and industrial centers.

Buffalo, N. Y.—Sunday, January 13—Muste, Cannon.
Youngstown, Ohio—Tuesday, January 15—Cannon.
Newcastle, Pa.—Tuesday, January 15—Muste.
Cleveland, Ohio—Wednesday, January 16—Muste, Cannon.
Toledo, Ohio—Thursday, January 17—Muste, Cannon.
Detroit, Mich.—Friday, January 18—Muste, Cannon.
Chicago, Ill.—Sat., Sun., Mon., January 19-20-21—Muste, Cannon.
Waukegan, Ill.—Tuesday, January 22—Cannon.
Madison, Wis.—Tuesday, January 22—Muste.
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.—Wed., Thurs., Fri., Sat., Sun. January 23-24-25-26-27—Muste, Cannon.
Kansas City, Mo.—Sun., Mon., Tues., Wed., Jan. 27-28-29-30—Cannon.
Des Moines, Ia.—Monday, January 28—Muste.
Davenport, Ia.—Tuesday, January 29—Muste.
St. Louis, Mo.—Wed., Thurs., January 30-31—Muste, Cannon.
Illinois Mine Fields, Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, etc.—Friday, Saturday, Sunday, February 1-2-3—Muste, Cannon.
Columbus, Ohio—Monday, February 4-5—Muste, Cannon.
Charleston, W. Va.—Wednesday, February 6—Muste, Cannon.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Thursday, Friday, February 7-8—Muste, Cannon.
New York City—Sunday, February 10—Muste, Cannon.

All comrades and sympathizers are urged to get busy at once arranging meetings, conferences, etc. on the dates indicated and to keep the National Secretary informed of the progress of the arrangements.

A. J. MUSTE,
National Secretary

Robins, Gras Win New Trial; Framed in N. Y. Hotel Strike

Non-Partisan Labor Defense Sees Victory for Labor

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, railroaded to prison last April for their militant activity in the New York hotel strike, were granted a new trial by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on Friday, December 7.

This victory for workers' rights came after Robins and Gras had served eight months of their sentences. The unanimous decision of the five appeal justices criticized the trial judge, Joseph E. Corrigan for "sarcastic characterization of the defendants," the suspicious he cast on the defendants' alibis, his failure to discuss discrepancies in the testimony of hostile witnesses, and the "plain import" of Judge Corrigan's attempt "to indicate to the jury the court's opinion that Robins had been employed as a strong arm man by the union."

Victory for Labor
"This is a victory for the organized labor movement of New York, which backed these victimized workers," declared Felix Morrow, secretary of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee. "Many progressive trade unions allied themselves to the cause and gave funds for the fight. The furor aroused against Supreme Court Justice Valentine last August, when he refused to grant Robins and Gras a certificate of reasonable doubt admitting them to bail, and thus forced them to stay in jail nearly five months more until their appeal came up, has now had its effect. We will redouble our efforts to see to it that this new trial ends in a further victory for the trade union movement."

Non-Partisan Labor Defense Acts
After their conviction last April, Robins and Gras appealed to the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense to initiate a struggle for their release. Herbert Solow, secretary of the N.P.L.D. called for the organization of a united front Robins-Gras Defense Committee. Among those who answered the call were the American Workers Party, the Communist League of America, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party Opposition. Among the unions which supported the defense were the Dressmakers Joint Board and the Cloakmakers Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Hebrew Trades and many of its affiliates, and the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. More than a hundred branches of the Workmen's Circle also contributed funds.

Abraham Abramowitz, of the Socialist Lawyers Association, and Louis Glickhouse, acted as attorneys and wrote the brief which resulted in the reversal.

The Communist League of America and the American Workers Party, which have now played a leading role in the work on behalf of Robins and Gras. Most of the speakers who appeared before the scores of unions which were approached came from the Workers Party.

Daily Worker Attacks Committee
A vicious attack on the Robins-Gras Defense Committee which appeared in the *Daily Worker* during September, in the form of a statement by the leaders of the Hotel & Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, to which Robins and Gras belonged, received a crushing answer a week later, when the Executive Board of that union, over the bitter protests of the Communist Party members, voted to liquidate their so-called "Robins-Gras committee" and to affiliate with the committee organized by the N.P.L.D.

Budenz Hails Party From Sickbed

"Objective conditions in the American scene call for the Workers Party of the U.S.A. and give to that party a great opportunity for revolutionary action and a great responsibility." Such was the statement of Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the C.P.L.A. and of the A.W.P. up to the time of its merger into the Workers Party.

Comrade Budenz was unable to participate in the recent conventions that achieved merger, due to the operations which resulted from his prolonged illness. He will be unable to function actively for at least six more months, his physicians say.

At his small apartment on 29th street, where he is convalescing while receiving further treatments for chronic sinusitis, Budenz was optimistic about the new party and sorry not to be able to get into the field at once.

"The New Deal has promised the masses and has given them nothing," he said. "Additional million-dollar incomes, reduced standards for the majority, curtailment of relief for the unemployed—that fact is sinking home."

Need Mass Action
"A clear-thinking force, able to voice the revolt and hopes of the workers in terms they will understand, is the need of the hour. The Workers Party will meet that need if it proceeds to build the party through mass action and the American approach."

"That group will give leadership in a revolutionary way which can demonstrate its fitness for leadership before and with the workers in their immediate struggles for bread and security," Budenz continued. "There is no other road to such attainment. Such intelligent audacity as brought about in Minneapolis and Toledo will also win the sympathy of the farmers and the other elements whose aid we need, if we proceed in the course of the fight to carry our message to the whole community involved."

American Approach
"When we speak of the American approach, we mean not only dramatic reference to the past revolutionary traditions of this country, on the basis of other class planes. We mean looking into the mind of the American worker, which gives us an appreciation of his pragmatic philosophy. This calls for a positive presentation of our aims, not a negative one. It demands the painting of a picture under which the present revolutionary movement is a natural development of all that went before in the making of America. The wide and favorable reception of the technocratic machine, despite its political middle-headedness, gives us the cue."

Language of the Machine
"The Russian worker must be made machine-conscious. The American worker has gone through all of that. We must cooperate in making him class-conscious. To do that, we must talk in the language of the machine, of further achievement, and of the American achievement."

"The Workers Party must evolve a crystal-clear message and give it to the masses, Budenz said—a message that will show itself in action, beginning with the fight for plenty and ending in the conquest of power."

HEALTH AND LOW WAGES
The average wage in Ontario is 55 per cent below the minimum health budget requirement, according to a recent official survey quoted by *Federated Press*.

"Four out of 10 children have physical defects; six out of 10 have dental defects; five out of eight who are ill and need trained care do not get it," the report declared.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The "forgotten man" is becoming more militant in West Virginia. Challenging President Roosevelt's statement that no one shall starve, thousands strong he marched on the state capitol and on relief agencies throughout the state on National Unemployed Day, Nov. 24.

Party Fund Drive Opened By National Committee

Assigns Tasks to Members in \$5,000 Campaign

The Six Months Program of Action adopted by the founding convention of the Party must be put into effect.

To that end the first essential is to get together as promptly as possible the Five Thousand Dollar Party Foundation Fund. Without this Fund all our work will be seriously handicapped—the national office, the organizers, the party organs, the trade union and unemployed fractions. With this Fund we can make only a beginning, it is true, but a beginning which will give us an impetus that will carry us steadily and rapidly forward.

The organization of the campaign for the Party Foundation Fund has begun. Comrade Muste has been appointed chairman of the Campaign Committee and Comrade Rose Karsner executive secretary. The National Committee calls upon all members and friends to give immediately their fullest support to the Campaign Committee and its officers.

Each member of the Party is called upon to give two days pay or ten per cent of one month's pay

Youth in Convention Plans Broad Radical Organization
Spartacus League Pledges Adherence to Workers Party

Pledging adherence to the Workers Party of the United States, the first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League formulated policies and plans to build a broad revolutionary youth organization. Understanding the need for clarity for effective action, three days, from December 3 to December 6, were spent in thrashing out the course of the Spartacus Youth. Delegates had liked in or jumped the freight from Los Angeles, Frisco, Youngstown, Chicago, New Haven, Philadelphia, Newark.

At the first session an honorary presiding committee was elected consisting of founders and builders of the predecessor of the Young Workers League, the Young Workers Party, Martin Aberg, Oliver Carlson, Albert Glotzer, John Edwards and Max Shachtman. This act was symbolic of the connection between the old and the new militant youth movement.

Growth of Spartacus Youth
The organization report of the national secretary, Joseph Carter, showed the growth of the Spartacus Youth from a small club in New York City in late 1931 to several hundred members with branches in New York, Chicago, New Haven, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The difficulties of the national center due to financial poverty were explained and discussed. The effectiveness of the united front policy of the Spartacus Youth was cited as one of the major achievements of the past period.

The following report, given by Manny Garret, on the inadequacies of the existing workers' youth organizations and the character of the Spartacus Youth League, provoked a great deal of discussion. All agreed that the need is a broad militant youth organization which, while accepting the program and policies of the Workers Party, would embrace masses of youth who were sympathetic to working class struggle but not mature enough to understand or to accept the program of the party.

The discussion revolved around the problem of the specific weight to be given by the Spartacus Youth to various phases of its work—political, opponent workers' organizations, capitalist controlled youth organizations, cultural, sports, etc. A clearer understanding that the main field of work of the Spartacus Youth is among the politically unemployed youth resulted from the discussion.

Muste Addresses Convention
A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, brought greetings from the party to the convention. He emphasized the importance of the youth movement and

Eleven Point Program Is Mapped

NEW YORK—With unconquerable enthusiasm, branches, members, functionaries and friends of the Workers Party of the U. S. are going to work to carry out the six months program of action adopted at the unity convention.

There is reason for the enthusiasm. The new party, for which many have been waiting, has been formally launched. An example of unity has been set after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement.

Sets Eleven Tasks
The Program of Action includes eleven points as follows:

1. Double the party membership in six months.
2. Raise a \$5,000 Party Foundation Fund—in sixty days.
3. Build the paid circulation of the New Militant, official weekly organ, to 10,000.
4. Build the circulation of the New International, monthly theoretical organ, to 6,000.
5. Organize two coast to coast tours and two as far west as line drawn through Minneapolis and Kansas City.
6. Establish Party concentration districts with district organizers in at least five centers in addition to New York—Chicago for the Illinois-St. Louis territory; Pittsburgh for Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio; Detroit, Toledo or Cleveland for Western and Eastern Ohio; Lower Michigan and Eastern Indiana; the Anthracite and textile area of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania; the South.
7. Organize national Party educational system—including the first semester of a resident school in New York.
8. Publication of at least one popular agitation pamphlet per month—elaborating some point in the Declaration of Principles or dealing with some urgent political question of the day.
9. Build and consolidate a National Youth Organization.
10. Help to launch an organization of the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions.
11. Extend and strengthen the National Unemployed League—and work toward united action by the unemployed and final unification is one solid organization.

Party Machinery in Motion
The party machinery itself in the national office and the local and district units must be set up and put in motion as the first essential for carrying out the Program of Action. That is already being done.

Directives to the branches of the former C.L.A. and A.W.P. instructing them to fuse where branches of both organizations existed and to get the branch of the new party organized and functioning were sent out three days after the close of the convention. The new membership books are being printed and will be in the mails in a few days.

Enrolling Charter Members
Steps are being taken to enroll immediately the many workers who have been waiting for the fusion. Those who apply for membership before February 1 and who are accepted become, with the members of the former C.L.A. and A.W.P., charter members of the Workers Party.

Despite technical problems in the print shop and the mailing department the party literature is going out to the masses.

Today the first issue of the *New Militant*, official organ of the W. P., makes its appearance. Pioneer Publishers will have an attractive pamphlet containing the Declaration of Principles and the Constitution ready before another week. Shortly thereafter a pamphlet describing in popular language the program, structure and activities of the party will be published.

Launch Speaking Tour
Party speakers are supplementing the printed word and spreading the message of revolutionary unity through the W. P. Comrade Oehler has addressed a meeting in Baltimore. Comrades Cannon and Muste will appear at mass meetings in (Continued on Page 4)

MASS MEETING IRVING PLAZA
Sunday, December 23rd. 8.00 p. m. Irving Pl. & 15th St.

J. P. CANNON A. J. MUSTE

FROM THE FIRING LINE

We Ride The Rods To The Merger Convention

From Kansas City To New York

We were off the evening of Nov. 20, amid falling snow and sleet, on a Wabash oil car. I had \$3 in my pocket—all the available cash of our Kansas City branch of the Communist League of America. My companions were three C.L.A. comrades who had travelled from California and who, like me, were bound for New York and the national C.L.A. convention and merger convention.

There was no place to sit, so we had to hold onto the iron rod that ran around the car. Oh boy, what a hold-on! My feet ached until they lost all feeling; I knew I had to hold on for 12 miles, so I did.

At Carrollton, Ill., we spent the night in the railroad station. When we asked the station agent to let us stay, he said curtly, "That colored fellow, does he get cold?" I replied emphatically, "Most assuredly; very much so." He let us remain, but looked at me suspiciously until I obeyed his dictate in the middle of the night and brought in a bucket of coal.

Next morning we decided to travel in pairs, so that in case of arrest at least one pair would reach New York. Ray and Abe took the highway; Al and I took another. But the next 90 miles were unprofitable. Open box cars, flat cars, on top and in coal cars, but no more oilers.

From then on it was a nightmare of cold cars and long walks from one railroad yard to another and efforts to get food and a place to sleep. In Moberly, Mo., we tried to panhandle for food and coffee, because we knew my \$3 wouldn't last the whole 1,600 miles of our trip. All the restaurants lived up to the true American tradition of segregation. Finally we went into one to buy two cups of coffee. The corpulent blond at the counter informed me she was "so sorry" but I would have to go in the kitchen; but she became apologetic when Al went with me.

In Springfield we searched for hours and walked miles to find Joe Angelo, one of our League comrades. When we found him, he was

almost barefooted and on the verge of starvation. He had been thrown out of his union and his relief reduced because of his radical activities.

Once we went too far, riding past Fort Wayne and on to Montpelier, O., where we had to wait all day to get out of town. This mistake was due to our ability to be so tolerant in the midst of bitter cold.

In Detroit, we had to walk 12 miles to get from one freight yard to another, and in Toledo, 20 miles and then remain for the night in a dilapidated vacant house. In Cleveland, we got a train out right away, after walking 15 miles to the west yards.

In Elmira, N. Y., we spent the night in the county jail lodging house on iron beds. The transient

camp had gone on a holiday and the Salvation Army refused to feed us, although the table was elegantly set for the officials, on the pretense that we were too late.

At Susquehanna, Pa., we were pulled off the train and threatened with 30 days in jail. After some explanation the railroad bull directed us to the transient camp and advised us to take a day's rest and dry our clothes. We took his advice. I was forced to sleep on the floor because the transient authorities have not discovered that Negroes sleep in beds.

We left our last transient camp, in Port Jervis, with a group of hobo geniuses. From Jersey City we caught a bus to New York, took a subway to the office of the Militant, went home with a comrade to wash the dust from our faces and attended the celebration meeting of the joint convention that night. The conventions of the League and the merger were over. The song was over, but the melody of enthusiasm lingers on.

—SIMON WILLIAMSON.

Defeating the Militants in Illinois - The Real Story

Allard's Account Reprinted from Labor Action

By GERRY ALLARD

Ralph Shaw, southern Illinois organizer of the Communist Party, writes another story of the Illinois coal miners in the Nov. 24 issue of the Daily Worker. Shaw writes of the struggle to place militant candidates on the ballot for the elections in the Progressive Miners union, Dec. 4.

He charges that the Left Wing miners, an amalgam of A.W.P.s, Socialists, Syndicalists, and independent radicals, refused to join with the Communist Party in fighting for a radical slate in the P.M. of A. elections. If Shaw means that we turned him down in a united front proposal he doesn't know what he is talking about as no such offer was made on this specific situation. The Left Wing group has turned Shaw down on a number of occasions when he approached us on united front proposals on the "basis of supporting" the Unemployed Councils, the International Labor Defense, etc.

The Left Wing faction of the P. M. of A. has time after time made unity with Communist miners, over the heads of Ralph Shaw and B. K. Gebert. We have no reason to alter our policy in this connection. We are dealing with a coal miners' situation; therefore, when we speak of united fronts in the Progressive Miners union we deal with members of that organization, and not with people who have opposed and scabbed on the Progressive Miners of America.

The struggle in the P. M. of A. to nominate a Left Wing slate was conducted without ballyhoo or a Communist Party. The line of the Left Wing faction was one of concentrating on local union elections.

Shaw states that the refusal of the Left Wing to unite with the Communist Party enabled William Keck, reactionary incumbent secretary-treasurer, to secure the nomination for president without opposition. In another paragraph he hastens to assure the readers of the Daily Worker that the Communist Party will support Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate for secretary-treasurer. Shaw does not explain just how the refusal of the Left Wing to join in a united front with the C. P. resulted in Keck president of the union by acclamation.

The Real Story

Here is the real story: During the nominations for union offices in Amalgamated local union Number 1, at Gillespie, Ill., with a membership of some 2,400 members, Claude E. Pearce, incumbent president, was nominated by his faction for the position of secretary-treasurer. Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate, was nominated by our faction. As predicted, the vote proved to be very close. In order to make it easier for the reactionaries to win the nomination the Communist Party miners, not of their own free will, but because of faction discipline, nominated Laverne Pruett, who everyone agreed had very little chance to receive the nomination. The result of the vote on the nominees resulted in Pearce receiving 118 votes; Burrell 115; and Pruett 4. Burrell was snubbed out by a nose, thanks to the treachery of the Communist Party.

Indignation swept through the rank and file miners of this territory. The repercussions penetrated deeply within the ranks of the Communist Party, and rumors are circulating to the effect that Adam Churs, leading rank and file Communist, has resigned from the C.P. and the professional ballyhoos began to justify the course by stating that the C.P. did not believe in the theory of the "lesser evil". This is horse radish to the miners who know Burrell, and the miners accepted the Shaw version of the C.P. position as an insult.

Shaw switches from his lamentable "theory of the lesser evil" to a blanket endorsement of Burrell. He does this not because of the interest of the rank and file, but in order to check the revolt within the C.P. coal miners.

C. P. Tactics

The treachery of the C. P., under caucus instructions by Shaw, was duplicated in scores of local unions where Left Wing candidates were nominated. In local union after local union, the reactionaries are plurality candidates not majority candidates, thanks again to the Communist Party leaders' tactics.

The Left Wing miners succeeded in placing in nomination candidates for every desired office with the exception of the presidency. What the result of the election will be is a foregone conclusion. The right wing have a machine, funds, political connections with the Reporators, etc., which will enable them to land the major offices. If the Left Wing fails to elect its slate, it will not be because of the workers; it will be because the Communist Party is

Merry Christmas--! F. D.'s Little Gift To the Jobless

FERA 30 cent Minimum Wage is Abandoned

Just a year ago President Roosevelt handed the unemployed a Christmas gift in the form of CWA. Men who had been out of work for several years gratefully accepted wages of \$12 a week—and sometimes more—for "real work". The President was going to abolish the dole—and Christmas was a joyous time for those who had been put on CWA, and a time of happy anticipation for those who were still getting relief but hoped for CWA jobs soon.

Another Christmas will be here in a few days. President Roosevelt has a new gift for the unemployed. FERA, which succeeded CWA last spring, has abandoned its 30-cent-an-hour minimum wage rate. Instead, rates are to be set by local relief boards (which means by employers of labor) in accordance with local wage standards.

A Merry Christmas

It's a merry Christmas for the bosses, who have been begging for this ever since CWA was started. Reports from the south tell of new minimum rates of 5 cents an hour and maximum of 15 cents in some districts.

Removing the restrictions on FERA wages has had the result the employers hoped for; it has affected wages for employed men. The south, where lack of organization by labor always gives employers the jump when restrictions are removed, again reports farmers paying laborers as little as 50 cents a day; and, since employers, farm and industrial, usually run the relief boards, threats of withdrawal of relief can be used to force the workers to accept.

Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins, whose good but futile intentions promise to pave hell for the unemployed, fought long against lowering the minimum wage standard. But President Roosevelt, under pressure from employers, forced acceptance.

Unemployed Are Fearful

The unemployed are fearful that the relief administration's acceptance of the bosses' wishes in this instance presages further trouble for them. Pressure is being brought to reduce the already inadequate relief standards. While the Scripps Howard newspapers publish a survey in 24 areas in the country, showing 18,000,000 men, women and children are receiving public relief and pointing out that "the present outlay is inadequate," business men are asking for investigations and insisting that relief be reduced.

Voice of Wall Street

Speaking in San Francisco, Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York, pleaded for a return to direct home relief and abandonment of work relief projects. Concerned about the increased tax burden—and evidently not at all about the effect on the unemployed—Mr. Aldrich talked about business and taxes and budgets (government budgets, of course, not more adequate budgets for the unemployed). He wants the cost of relief borne by local communities; but did not suggest how local communities which are now defaulting their bonds could meet these costs.

Clearly, what the bosses want is a return of relief to local communities over which they have more control, so that they can reduce standards and, by making voluntary contributions, or setting taxes through local politicians, can reduce at the same time their responsibilities.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Community Chest campaigns—for private agencies—this year have been more successful than for several years past, and in many cities exceeded their quotas. For every business man who contributed more generously through a greater sense of responsibility—or sense of guilt?—there must have been others who want to see relief back in their own hands.

Using Sales Taxes

The growing custom of using sales taxes for relief is another symptom of the trend for industry to play the tune in relief. New York City has just put a tax of 1 and 2 percent on all articles costing more than 12 cents, exempting foods. Mayor LaGuardia, who made speeches in Congress against sales taxes a couple of years ago, suggested an income tax, but the bankers have a way of persuading the liberal mayor what is best for the city—and the bankers.

And So—Merry Xmas!

October, balmy month that it was, added 37,600 families to the relief rolls, according to preliminary figures by the Relief Administration in Washington. This brought the total to 4,082,000, as compared with 3,010,516 in October of 1933.

Another report from Washington showed that while incomes under \$25,000 during 1933 had decreased, those above this figure had increased.

Merry Christmas!

Red Sees the New Militant Coming From the Press

Finds the Shop Coffee Good - And Black

By RED

First thing you see is a big coffee pot. In fact there are two coffee pots and a dozen cups. Half the cups are clean and half the cups are not clean. The biggest big coffee pot sits on top of a little heater which is sometimes hot and sometimes not so hot.

You go through a dark hallway on the first floor, and at the back a door opens into the print shop of the Pioneer Publishers of the Workers Party. You can't see the print shop for the clutter of things. The one peaceful spot is on top of the stove, and the coffee pot has a monopoly on that.

Clutter of Things

Tables, shelves, piles of paper, buckets of lead, fonts of type, a linotype machine moving its one long arm up and down, rattling out labor news and editorials for the New Militant, a Whitlock press in the hands of Joe Hirsch (who does everything) whooping off 1,200 copies of the paper an hour, a job press turning out red membership cards of the Workers Party of the United States, and three or four people going from tables to type and type to tables and back again so fast you get confused and imagine there must be at least a dozen of them.

theoretically supposed to be a part of the left wing labor movement. Until the Left Wing miners can definitely clarify the relations of the bankrupt Communist Party to the Left Wing, as that of being fundamentally dissimilar, the right wing will continue to be plurality candidates.

"We're Kept Busy"

"Yes," said D. Marcus, who takes care of the financial end of the shop, whichever end that happens to be, "we're kept busy. We're getting out 8,000 copies of this issue. The type is set for the first pamphlet of the Workers Party—the Declaration of Principles. The first printing will be 10,000. A new pamphlet will be issued each month. We're printing thousands of the membership cards. And in addition to the New Militant, we get out the New International and Young Spartacus.

"However, the shop does need a new press. This one is too slow. When the party moves into new headquarters, we will look around for a new press."

On Its Way

The rumbling in the shop continued. The linotype key-board under the hands of Walter Turshmann continued rattling off news from the labor front. Ann Cohen who looks 18 but declares she is older bustled herself setting up new headlines. Joe Hirsch was busy at the press, feeding papers into the machine, printing the first forms. The 8,000 sheets would have to be fed through once more and then the mailing department could get busy.

The New Militant would be on its way to you—in the mails!

P.S. Your correspondent had a cup of coffee from the big pot on the little stove and though it was black it was pretty good if you like black coffee.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES and CONSTITUTION

of the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.
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102 East 11th Street
New York, N. Y.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Building Trades War

"When thieves fall out, honest men get their due," says the old proverb. And while it may not apply entirely in the case of the officials of the Building Trades Department of Labor, this rift in the ranks of the old guard labor leadership merits the most careful attention by those who are out to revive the fighting spirit of the trade union movement.

There has always been trouble between the big unions of the Building Trades—electricians, carpenters, bricklayers and their supporters—and the smaller unions of the department. For many years the Big Three were unaffiliated with the Building Trades Department of the Federation. Last spring, however, they joined again and the unity of the building trades was hailed with much jubilee and shouting.

It Didn't Last

A short six months and the war was on again. At the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. the ranks were again divided when the smaller unions in control of the Department refused to seat their opponents at the B.T.D. conference. It was a serious split and the Federation convention was unable to settle it. All efforts since have been fruitless. A convention of the Department called by William Green was attended only by the Big Three and their supporters. The Department was reorganized and in consequence we now have two departments, each claiming to represent the building trades unions of the A. F. of L.

Jurisdiction Claims

Behind the whole fight is the bitter jurisdictional squabble which has always cursed the unions of this industry. Who, for example, hangs metal doors? Sheet metal workers, iron workers and carpenters have claimed the work. What union takes care of moving metal

furniture? The list is endless and the jurisdictional fights and strikes that they have caused has ripped labor solidarity in the building trades to pieces. With the coming of the NRA and the inauguration of the tremendous government building program, the issue has become even sharper.

The control of the Building Trades Department has become an important weapon in the jurisdictional war, since Department officials are the ones who confer with government agencies in charge of building projects. They have a great deal of influence in determining what kind of jobs should be done and what arrangements made to carry them out. Building Trades bureaucrats are afraid of the thousands of unemployed in their membership. If the per capita is to continue rolling in and their power to continue unchallenged, work must be found for as many as possible. The control of the Building Trades Department is a matter of vital concern to the union moguls. On it may depend, in large measure, their very existence.

Does It Mean Split?

The smaller unions know that the Big Three intended to take the reins into their own hands. They are determined to keep control themselves.

As yet, no solution has been found. The A. F. of L. itself must support the Big Three. But it must also find some solution soon if one group or the other is not to pull out of the Federation ranks entirely. The situation is already giving plenty of headaches to the executive council of the Federation. They know that unless some compromise can be patched up and patched up soon, a jurisdictional war is likely to ensue which will make all those which have gone before look like sham battles. Such a conflict, in fact, may go so far and be so vicious that unionism may be practically wiped out in the industry. The building trades organizations, furthermore, have always been the financial and political backbone of the Federation old guard. Unshakably conservative in their policies, they have constituted a Rock of Gibraltar against progressive ideas.

For their own self preservation, some sort of settlement will have to be worked out. Indications are that some sort of compromise will be concluded in time to prevent all around throat-cutting from killing organizations in the industry.

Basically, however, the conflict will continue until the reign of bureaucracy, gangsterism and corruption is wiped out, and until steps toward industrial unionism are taken. That is the job of the progressives.

Department Stores

There are few cases on record of strikes of department store employees. The labor turnover is great, the percentage of skilled workers small. Employees generally consider their jobs as temporary and are unwilling to organize on that basis. In Milwaukee, however, 1,500 employees of the Boston store have gone out in a strike which presents a number of interesting angles. The workers are organized into a number of craft unions of which three—clerks, janitors and truck drivers—have struck. Four other groups—the electricians, painters, carpenters and linoleum layers—have remained on the job because of contracts and are working side by side with scabs.

Books by Leon Trotsky

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Men Who Get \$3,000 a Day Doubled by Nira, Roosevelt

Incomes Under \$25,000 Shrink, Tax Returns Show

President Roosevelt once remarked, echoing Adolf Hitler, that his New Deal would redistribute wealth. There is hardly a person left outside of Germany who still believes that Hitler is redistributing wealth; but a good many Americans who took Roosevelt seriously were unpleasantly surprised by the report, on Monday, of the U. S. Income Tax Bureau.

In the calendar year 1933 there was a rise of 25 in the number of people reporting a million dollar a year income. Mind, a million dollar income, not a million dollar capital, but a million dollar profit in one year, or about \$3,000 per day. There were twenty million-dollar boys in 1932; in 1933, even though the first two months of that year saw the very lowest depression culminating in the bank crash, the New Deal in the remaining nine months succeeded in creating 26 new financial monsters, bringing the total up to 46.

"Redistributing" Wealth
That isn't all. Income tax returns are tabulated according to classes. There is the million dollar class, the five-hundred thousand dollar class and so on down to the thousand dollar class. (Incidentally one unnamed man, in a class by himself, reported an income of five million, \$15,000 per day!)

Both the number of incomes and the amount of the incomes above \$25,000 per year increased, while both the number and the total amount in the classes below \$25,000 decreased. Guess which way wealth is being distributed by the New Deal!

Where did the money come from? Wages and salaries reported to the bureau totaled 7.7 billion dollars in

Wealthy Americans

Twelve billion or one-third of the \$36,000,000,000 now on deposit in the banks of the country is owned by 49,900,000 small depositors, according to figures released recently by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. This figures out at an average deposit of \$240.

Twenty-four billion or two-thirds is owned by 800,000 other depositors. They average \$30,000 each. Nothing is said about the financial status of the other 70 million who make up the population.

We know, however, that 18,000,000 of them are being "kept alive" by relief.

Mooney May Be Pardoned

SAN FRANCISCO.—While the working class anxiously awaits the results of Tom Mooney's recent appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court (an appeal which would have more assurance of success if there were an organized and militant movement fighting for Mooney), rumors are afloat in California to the effect that the newly re-elected Governor, Frank P. Merriam of strike-breaking fame, is contemplating the pardon of Mooney.

Mooney has for years refused a conditional parole or pardon. Strenuously maintaining his innocence of the crime he was charged with, he has conducted a bold battle for unconditional release from San Quentin prison where he was incarcerated 18 years ago at the behest of the organized bosses of California. Merriam, who was elected by the skin of his teeth, is thinking of releasing Mooney in order to gain a little popularity among the California workers who hate his very bones. The reasons for the change are described as follows by George F. West, New York Times correspondent in San Francisco:

"A strong conservative minority embracing some of the most influential business men in San Francisco have long been saying privately that the Mooney agitation should be ended by executive action, preferably a commutation of sentence that would release Mooney with no opportunity to accept or reject; a choice that would be his should the method of release take the form of a parole, for which Mooney has repeatedly said he would never ask. (Continued on Page 3)

MARCH
OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Chaotic Balkans

Once more the Balkan caldron threatens to boil over. In retaliation for the assassination of the dictator Alexander by Croat terrorists, the Yugoslavs, accusing the Hungarians of complicity, are resorting to wholesale deportation of Hungarians. Official figures issued by the Yugoslavian authorities place the number of those driven out in the most ruthless fashion at three thousand. Yet Belgrade denies that this is a "mass" deportation; it is merely getting rid of undesirable individuals. The Hungarians, whose irredentist struggle to regain territory lost in the War is one of the factors in present Balkan intrigue, have not been behindhand in the expulsion of Yugoslavs. The tension existing at the borders of these two countries is only one added strain among the many tending to tear asunder European civilization and to bring about the second World War.

Inssofar as the Balkans were concerned the first World War represented in actuality only a third unfinished Balkan war. It solved nothing but the temporary question of greater military strength. The present economic chaos in Europe is the outcome of the arrested development of the proletarian revolution after the World War. That tremendous upheaval signified the revolt of the productive forces of world economy against the outworn system of national capitalist states. By the failure of the proletarian revolution to spread, the bourgeoisie was permitted to remain in control of the national states and thereby to set in motion once again all the reactionary forces of capitalist imperialism. Thus the Balkans become anew the pawns of the Great Powers in their intrigues for world domination. Today, as at the end of the War, there can be only one real solution for the insoluble contradictions of capitalism that will inevitably make a bloody shambles of the Balkans: the creation under the hegemony of the proletariat of the Soviet Federation of the Balkans as part of the Soviet United States of Europe.

Italian Foreign Exchange Monopoly

The intense economic warfare of the capitalist nations for the capture of foreign markets during the world crisis unfolds itself in one aspect through the war of currency depreciation. The manipulation of currencies to make goods cheaper on the world market so as to regain a vanishing export trade, was accompanied in all the countries resorting to this weapon by a drive on the living standards of the masses, by a lowering of wages as the other method of producing goods more cheaply. The currency difficulties are far from over and continue to disrupt world economy as one country after the other finds itself in a condition bordering on bankruptcy.

Now it is the turn of Italy to resort to desperate measures to stave off a complete breakdown. Fascist Italy made drastic cuts in wages and salaries by decree in the vain attempt to meet cutthroat competition. Despite all efforts of the Italian capitalists to unload all their difficulties on the backs of the workers and peasants, the fascists now find their gold reserves down close to the minimum permitted by law. The lira is at its lowest value since May 1931. Hence Mussolini has decreed a government monopoly of foreign exchange through the National Exchange Institute.

All private citizens and corporations are required to make available to this Institute all their foreign credits and holdings. Even foreign securities will be registered in case they must be used to prevent Italy from going off the gold standard and from losing her last gold reserves. A similar situation drove Hitler to attempt the complete withdrawal of German economy from world economy—through the reactionary ideas of autarchy. Mussolini may be forced to take similar measures to protect the Italian bourgeoisie from the onslaught of world forces of capitalism.

Scrapping the NRA

As the legal end of the NRA approaches, the reactionary forces of American capitalism wish to make sure that there will be no continuance of government interference or control of business in any form whatsoever. Hence there is a concerted effort on the part of big business to apply the utmost pressure to all government agencies to carry out its reactionary program. An address by Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board delivered at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, sets forth all the planks desired by the big finance capitalists. He calls for the reduction of the heavy surtaxes on individual and corporate income, the relaxation of the Security Act, the lifting of restrictions regarding minimum wages, maximum hours and the collective bargaining provisions of the NRA (scrapping of the 7-a clause), the cessation of the expenditure of Federal funds for relief, the extension of the CCC and of the subsistence homestead idea, the deportation of alien unemployed, forced labor for other unemployed,

SOCIALIST PARTY TURNS TO THE RIGHT

The American Socialist Party turned sharply to the right at last week's three-day session of the National Executive Committee in Boston.

Six months of persistent pounding by the right wing extremists finally produced results. Of the ten N.E.C. members elected on the Militant slate in the heterogeneous amalgamation which rallied around the centrist Declaration of Principles at the June convention, seven definitely lined up with the right wing, while the remaining three retreated before the right wing attack on every issue.

The reorganized right wing of the N.E.C. immediately showed its colors, by accepting in essence the position of the reactionary New York State-Pennsylvania combination of Waldman-Solomon-Limbach, etc. on the three most important issues.

Thumbs Down on United Front

Consideration of united front negotiations was repudiated by the N.E.C. The avowed spokesman for the New York-Pennsylvania reactionaries, James O'Neal, was joined by four elected on the Militant slate (James D. Graham of Montana, Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts and Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania) in a motion categorically and unequivocally rejected the united front with the Communist party or "splinter parties" under any circumstances until the 1938 party convention. There was a tie vote for this motion. Whereupon Maynard Krueger, Chicago Militant leader, prepared jointly with Hoopes a face-saving compromise which affirmed the united front "in principle"—but put it off, in exact accordance with the right wing demand, until the 1938 convention! Local united fronts are permitted in organized states upon specific permission from the State Committee and from the N.E.C. in unorganized states. O'Neal from the right and Hapgood and Daniel from the left voted against this resolution.

Since Thomas and Krueger voted for it, the Militants have been privately palming off this retreat as a clever maneuver which would actually allow them to have united fronts in unorganized states, in Illinois, and among the youth, etc. But Thomas destroyed this pretense by some frank talk in the New Leader of Dec. 8: "So far as the action of the N.E.C. is a victory for one group or another, I should say that it was clearly a victory for that group in the party which I am convinced is a majority, which de-

Million Dollar
Incomes Rise

(Continued from Page 2)

Now we can see where the big shots over \$25,000 per year got their money. While wages and salaries as a total decreased, the big shots took a much larger proportion. While dividends as a total decreased, the big shots were able to capitalize on their stocks by speculation.

It should be noted that income tax returns are filed by only about eight per cent of the total number of gainfully employed in the United States. The lowest class is the thousand dollar a year class, and the members of this category are subject to many exemptions, such as dependents, wives or children. Hence the number of actual working class people represented in the returns is comparatively small. What the decrease in the incomes under \$25,000 as compared to an increase in incomes over that figure represent is the entrenchment of big capitalists at the expense of and to the ruin of the small business men and high waged working class people.

It is just this petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy which forms one of the bulwarks against revolution. The New Deal, by depleting this class is separating the population all the more sharply into clear, opposing groups. Thus while Roosevelt's "redistribution" is actually the same old concentration, the New Deal is preparing the conditions for a real redistribution through a socialist revolution.

What the Figures Show

The New York Times, in commenting on these figures, remarks that the decrease in the lower groups cannot be taken to indicate a decrease in working class wages generally. This is quite true, for as shown the figures include only the labor aristocracy.

In any case the Times is up a tree, for as a matter of fact, the A. F. of L. reported that working class wages generally did not rise noticeably during 1933. The figures for 16 chief industries rose from an average weekly wage of \$20.53 at the beginning of the year, to \$20.56 at the end of the year. A gain of 3c per week. And that gain of 15 per cent in wages was overwhelmed by a rise of 7 per cent in food prices and 21 per cent in clothing and furnishings!

No matter how you look at it the result is the same. The working class is worse off than ever, the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie are being ruined, and large scale capital continues to grow larger.

sires no negotiations on the united front."

The Position of Thomas

In the same column, Thomas admits that the only differences among the right wing majority was concerning the phrasing of this position. When the intransigent Waldman-Solomon group after the meeting continued to criticize the N.E.C. repudiation of united front negotiations as insufficient, Thomas a letter to the N. Y. Times of Dec. 8 and Mayor Hoan in a statement to the press (N. Y. Post, Dec. 3), accused Waldman's group of misrepresenting the N.E.C., and proceeded to compete with Waldman in denouncing any united front with Communists. Since, in line with the non-aggression pact affirmed in France, the Stalinist offer here is actually a capitulation to the Social Democratic idea of a united front as a "non-aggression pact", the N.E.C. repudiation of a united front reveals starkly the cowardice of the Militants (Krueger) and the ultra-reformism of Thomas, Krzycki & Co.

In a score of public statements the New York and Pennsylvania State Committees, controlled by the reactionaries, have openly refused to be bound by the majority decision of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles. This outright breach of party discipline was not only tacitly condoned by the N.E.C. majority, but the "true blue" leftists, Krueger, Hapgood and Daniel, did not even introduce a motion to censure this violation of party democracy.

Instead the Declaration of Principles was morally buried and the

sod piled on it to the height of six feet, by the passage of a resolution designating a committee to receive proposals for restating the Declaration which won a referendum only a month ago!

Move to Expel Left Wing

The N.E.C. majority's rapprochement with the reactionaries was accompanied by an attack on the revolutionary elements who still find themselves in the Socialist Party. A resolution was passed practically reading the Revolutionary Policy Committee out of the Party. The R.P.C. is but a small segment of the left wing, and is unpopular even among revolutionaries in the Party because of its erratic career and its Lovestonist complexion. But the resolution against it, introduced by the reactionary O'Neal, makes obvious that the attack is really directed against all revolutionaries, for after mentioning the R.P.C., it says:

"The acceptance by a group of party members of doctrines which include the theory that armed insurrection is a proper Socialist method of achieving Socialist aims is viewed by the National Executive Committee as a dangerous departure from Socialist principles and tactics. It leads the workers into unnecessary dangers, exposes the Socialist movement to the intrigues of agents provocateurs, diverts the workers from the work of organization and education as the basic means of attaining power, and commits the Socialist Party to the use of methods that will delay, instead of hasten, the triumph of Socialist ideals. We hold that such doctrines are not only in conflict

with the position of the Socialist Party, but are subversive of its aims and purposes."

"Shocked Beyond Words"

One is not surprised to find that not only did Thomas vote for this reactionary resolution, but orally added that he was "shocked beyond words" by the R.P.C.'s stand. But it is surprising to observe how precipitately the N.E.C.'s "left wing" of Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood retreated. They must know what the relation is between armed insurrection and the dictatorship of the proletariat which they have on previous occasions avowed. They could have pointed out, as against Thomas' accusation against the R.P.C. that "these people have arrogated to themselves the right to commit the party to a program that will endanger their own members", that the fundamental issue at stake was the essential implications of the theory of revolution. To those who have taken seriously their previous avowals, Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood owed it as a duty to openly affirm a revolutionary position, if they held it. Here, for the first time in a period of internal party confusion, the issue of reform versus revolution was sharply thrust forward. Here was the opportunity to draw the line between revolutionists and reformists. But for such a task the so-called left proved incompetent. They contented themselves with defending the R.P.C. on the grounds of the right of freedom of opinion within the party. This formless, liberal position without content, might be justified under other conditions, but certainly not at a time when the

burning question to be settled in the Socialist Party is, according to the "left's" own claims, "Who shall prevail, reformist or revolutionist?"

Right Wing Presses Forward

With this mandate from the "leftist" N.E.C. at last Sunday's meeting, the New York State Committee moved to expel all members of the R.P.C. With a similar mandate from the N.E.C. calling upon all organized factions to dissolve, the N. Y. Committee made its first move, not only against revolutionaries, but to break up the Militant caucus. Undoubtedly the first use of this prohibition will be made in a right wing move to prevent the Militants from gaining further votes in the New York City central committee elections. Already the right wing is preventing the seating of newly-elected Militant delegates on various pretexts. Now they have a real excuse. One may predict that in the next few weeks delegates will be refused seats on the grounds that they were elected by illegal caucuses.

As a further gesture of good will toward the right wing extremists the N.E.C. set up a committee to move for a farmer-labor party and gave a majority on it to the die-hard right wingers. This means that the Julius Gersbers, Sarah Limbachs and James D. Grams will dominate all the future negotiations for united political action.

Aim to "Cleanse" the Party

Pressing their advantage, the right wing extremists continue to express themselves as dissatisfied with the concessions made to them. The right wingers want an end to all ambiguities: they want the S.P. unequivocally committed to classical reformism on the model of the German Social Democracy or, better still, the British Labor Party. And now, after the Boston meeting of the N.E.C., they feel confident they can get what they want. If they have pushed the Militants and the Thomas group so far, they can now unite with Thomas, Hoan & Co. against the Militants and those to the left of the Militants. To "cleanse" the S.P. of all revolutionary elements, to break up the centrist current—these are the immediate steps which the right wing proposes, and the Boston meeting shows that most of the N.E.C. will aid them in this reactionary task, while the present leadership of the Militant group is incapable of fighting back.

What perspective does this situation leave for those ex-communists who recently flopped into the S. P. on the theory that it was becoming "the party of revolutionary unity"?

Mooney May
Be Pardoned

(Continued from Page 2)

"Some such action by Mr. Merriam as a commutation thus would not be so surprising as it might appear on first thought, and it would be hailed by shrewd conservatives as a wise and clever move. It would scotch the Mooney agitation, obviously one of the greatest assets of the communists and other radicals, and it would be just the gesture for which Mr. Merriam is looking to allay the bad feeling left over from the Sinclair campaign and to back up his own liberal professions.

"There is no question that Mr. Merriam keenly resents the assumption widely prevalent during the campaign that he is a pliable agent of reactionary interests and that he would welcome an opportunity to show that he is capable of acting decisively on his own responsibility."

Here is a remarkable tribute, in a capitalist paper, to the validity of mass pressure as a working class political instrument. True, the Stalinists by their fake 1932 Mooney Congress in Chicago (since denounced by Mooney himself), managed to dissipate a great opportunity to build a real militant mass campaign. But despite the lack of organization and leadership, pro-Mooney sentiment has never died out and the working class, not only of the west coast but of the whole country, has never ceased to be intensely interested in the fate of Tom Mooney.

It is because of this attitude of the masses, and a desire to take on a liberal and reformist coat in a period when the workers are being more and more disillusioned about capitalist politicians, that Merriam is now contemplating the release of Mooney. Should he take the step, he will be owed no gratitude by the workers.

Nor will we alter our ideas of capitalist "justice". Those liberal and reformist fakers who will "feel" a "new confidence" in the working of the American boss-class system of justice, are ornery swindlers. An innocent man has been jailed for almost two decades while everybody has known that he has been innocent. To release him now, when the workers are in so angry a mood on this and a thousand other questions, is a mere maneuver. Mooney will walk out of San Quentin, if ever, as the result of the powerful effect of mass pressure, not because of "justice".

At this time more than ever, agitation must be carried on for the release of Mooney.

WORLD
IN REVIEW

Lerroux-Gil Robles on Tightrope

All is not well with the Lerroux-Gil Robles regime in Spain. With the solution of a partial cabinet crisis last month when several ministers resigned, the government still finds it necessary to maintain a treading position between the aggressive Monarchist-Rightist bloc and the masses who are already preparing to avenge the October defeat.

Although thousands have been arrested only two persons have been actually executed for activity during the uprising.

Another indication of the manner in which the government is forced to offer concessions to the masses was to be seen in a conference held by the Minister of Agriculture (the Popular Actionist—Jelencz-Fernandez) in Badajoz last week-end.

This Catholic-Fascist minister, meeting with representatives of peasant and agricultural workers organizations and representatives of the landowners, proposed to the latter that they voluntarily commence a division of the land among landless families. He went on to threaten that if the landowners did not do this he would then propose a law in the Cortes for the Government to divide the estates "at once", arranging later for indemnization.

On the other hand, the forty-eight (48) hour week in the metal-mining and smelting industries has been reestablished by decree, replacing the forty-four (44) hour week won as a result of the last summer's strike. The Asturias coal mines have at last been reopened, it being required that every miner carry an identification card issued by the authorities in return for his finger prints and one rifle. Until the Asturias mines are again functioning normally the coal companies are being allowed to use duty free British coal to fill pressing orders.

The newly constituted bloc of Monarchist and Rightist parties threatens to overshadow all of the other reactionary forces of the country. It is proposed to fuse the church and state into a single monolithic whole with the whole reorganization of the government along corporate lines. If the new bloc is successful in its purposes the stars of both Lerroux and Gil Robles will be considerably dimmed if not entirely blotted out. Every effort is being made by the present regime to check the advance of this formidable foe on the right. The censorship has prevented the publication of the first programmatic manifesto of the new combination.

Bolivia Makes Last Stand

The new regime established in Bolivia following the overthrow of the Saavedra government is making a last desperate attempt to stem the victorious advance of the British-supported Paraguayan army. Wall Street's puppets could not agree on how to run the war so Saavedra was arrested in the customary, persuasive Latin-American fashion.

Were it not for the continual injection of new blood from Chile into the veins of Bolivia's economic structure, it would have been impossible for that country to have held out as long as it has done. The last available resources of the country both in war material and man-power are now being massed for one final effort.

Unless the Chaco War spreads to other South American countries, it is very likely that the North American munitions manufacturers will be obliged to look for another arms embargo to break.

PRICES RISE IN GERMANY

HAMBURG (T.I.S.)—Prices are sky-rocketing in the New Germany. This is best shown by a comparison of wholesale prices as officially quoted on January 25, 1933 (a few days before Hitler came into power), and the end of October, 1934. Taking the average price level as 100, prices were as follows:

	1933	1934
Vegetables and other		
agricultural products	95.8	112.2
Meat products	57.2	79.8
Dairy products	88.0	111.3
Coal	116.0	115.1
Iron	101.8	102.6
Other Metals	40.9	44.5
Textiles	60.3	80.6
Skins and Leathers	106.7	101.6
Chemicals	103.3	101.2
Paper	93.5	101.7
Building Materials	103.3	111.0

GERMAN ARYANS RUNNING

AMUCK

BERLIN (T.I.S.)—An all-time height of Aryan legislation has been reached by a decision of the Reich's chamber of lawyers, concerning the officially requested dissolution of a prominent German law firm. The partners in this firm are father and son, and the dissolution was ordered on the ground that the father is a non-Aryan (he has a Jewish grandmother) while his son is an Aryan, "since the Aryan rule applies only to the last three generations". It would be unthinkable to concede a partnership between the two under such circumstances, aside from the fact that such partnership between an Aryan and non-Aryan is expressly forbidden by law.

The National Unemployed League

History and Methods

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of a series of articles on the history and methods of the National Unemployed Leagues, the strongest and most substantial organizations in the unemployment field.)

By LOUIS BREIER

A brief history of the National Unemployed League necessarily involves a history of the unemployed movement as a whole. As it stands today, the N.U.L. represents the highest point in a long process of development and transition from the first, uncertain attempts of the "technically" unemployed to organize on a "Self-Help" or "Chiselling" basis in 1920 to class-conscious and militant organizations with policies of cooperation in struggles of the employed workers (and leadership, as in the case of the famous Toledo Auto-parts strike) and a trend to political consciousness.

The earliest history of the unemployed movement must be classified according to the methods used. Roughly, therefore, we may divide it as follows: a) Self-Help, b) Mass-Pressure, c) United action with the employed workers and a growing political consciousness. None of these stages should be taken as utterly distinct. They are progressive stages and the political stage, of course, combines with the Mass-Pressure stage. There are, however, Mass-Pressure groups that have failed as yet to derive political clarity from their activities. And though Self-Help organizations have largely ceased to exist, the remaining examples manage to eke out a precarious life by virtue of adding a measure of Mass-Pressure tactics to their "Barter" or "Chiselling" policies.

Furthermore it should be noted that many of the thriving organizations never went through the first or "Chiselling" stage, but were organized directly as Mass-Pressure groups. Such, for example, was the case with many of the leagues affiliated with the National Unemployed League, which were organized by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. But on the whole, the characteristic history of an unemployed organization is its formation on a Self-Help basis, its development into a Mass-Pressure organization through realization of the futility of self-help tactics and its transition to a stage combining militant tactics with a progressive political understanding.

"Self-Help" and Barter Schemes

Three years ago, then, the greater portion of the unemployed movement was comprised of Self-Help organizations. The philosophy that called these organizations into being (and received the full support of President Hoover, the Chamber of Commerce and all the local or national organizations of conspicuous mercy) can be condensed as "Planned Economy in Garbage-picking." Unemployment was a temporary aberration on the part of capitalism, man's noblest institution, and the one purpose of these groups was to tide the unemployed over from the Crash to the Prosperity that was just around the corner. To that end they were put to work chiselling scraps of meat, bread, old clothing remnants etc. from the merchants; offering their services to farmers during harvest time in return for a share of the crop; clearing forest tracts for the privilege of burning brushwood and scrub. Later, when the patience of merchants began to wear thin and

the federal government peeked at the unemployment problem and decided to handle it as the Agricultural Department handles insect pests, by charts and advice, the Barter system began to supplement Self-Help.

At this stage it was no longer supposed that Prosperity was hiding behind a curtain like an old maid stretching out the anticipation of a kiss as long as possible. Instead it was thought that Capitalism was a trifle "tired" and needed only to be primed by an artificial resumption of services and the distribution of commodities (a nice homespun metaphysics since adopted by the N.R.A.). The Barter system was guaranteed to do this, by what devious economic law does not concern us here, and elaborate systems were set-up in various parts of the country, reaching its highest stage of development in Seattle, where the Unemployed Citizens League was able to put its members to work in abandoned factories, canneries, fisheries, etc. The strong family resemblance of this scheme to Sinclair's "Epic Plan" and the government's "Ohio Plan" should be noted. Distribution of the products ranged from the simple "share and share alike" method to the use of scrip.

From "Self-Help" to Mass Pressure

The publicity given to the Self-Help and Barter movement was copious and generally friendly and called many such organizations into existence. A few of the localities and organizations involved were: Seattle, Tacoma and other parts of Washington; the California Cooperative Relief Association concentrated in the southern part of the state; the Natural Development Association of Utah which later spread into Idaho and Colorado. There were local Self-Help organizations in Philadelphia, Allentown, Dayton and a number of other cities. The Mutual Exchange with headquarters in New York was an effort to coordinate the Self-Help movement on a national scale.

While most of these groups rapidly disintegrated under the impact of objective realities or were snuffed up by enterprising old-line politicians (as was the case with the Seattle organization) others provided the base for the development of Mass-Pressure groups, going through the transition already described. Examples are Allentown and Belmont County, Ohio. In Allentown efforts were made from the very inception of the organization to substitute Mass-Pressure for Self-Help but the membership blithely continued to pick peaches on neighboring farms until by the sheer pressure of circumstance and peace juice these tactics were suddenly dropped and attention was turned to the business of stopping evictions by mass-demonstrations, buying sheriffed farms for a nickel, boosting relief schedules by invading relief offices, etc. Trucks, buildings and other paraphernalia cheerfully contributed to the Allentown league by the city government and the local civic leaders as a reward for chasing its own tail. are now used to transport pickets and demonstrators; the buildings harbor every manner of "dangerous doctrine."

C.P.L.A. Enters Field

When the Conference for Progressive Labor Action entered the unemployed field, it advocated pressure on the state and federal governments and public officials for direct and substantial relief and

the unity of the unemployed and employed on the industrial front.

At the same time the Communist Party, in the field since 1929, had demonstrated its inability to organize their Unemployed Councils outside of the large, industrial cities, especially in the smaller cities and towns and in rural areas. Where Unemployed Councils were successfully organized, they demonstrated a remarkably brief span of life, due undoubtedly to the familiar C. P. policies of mechanical control and wholesale indoctrination. The National Hunger Marches of 1930 and 1931 as well as several state marches and demonstrations in the larger cities afforded the general impression that the C.P. was leading an effective fight for the unemployed and achieving an inclusive organization.

The Socialist Party, after a long period during which it regarded the unemployed with mingled friendliness and indifference, made its bid for leadership by the organization of the Chicago Workers Committee and the publication of the "Unemployed", a magazine which gave out the news that the unemployed could vote themselves out of the bread lines and which terminated publication after three issues. However, any analysis of the unemployed situation revealed the fact, that in spite of claims to the contrary, the vast majority of the unemployed remained unorganized and were not following either C.P. or S.P. leadership, or were dedicated to the various Self-Help and Self-Flagellation schemes. There was no effective national organization.

Moves for National Organization

The S.P. recognized the need for a unifying national organization even as the C.P.L.A. did. But their solution to the problem was to set up a loose federation of unemployed groups through a conference of the top leadership—a device which the S.P. seems unable to abandon and which they are attempting to use at the present time. A preliminary conference to set up a National Federation to which unemployed leaders were invited was held in Chicago in November of 1932. The formal conference was not held until the May of 1933, following the Continental Congress white elephant in Washington.

In the meantime, the C.P.L.A. was placing most of its forces into the organization of the unemployed, especially concentrating on the building of the Ohio Unemployed League. A conference of local leagues was held in Niles, Ohio on October 2, 1932 which was followed by a convention on November 6, 1932 when a temporary state organization was established. This much accomplished, an intensive organization drive was instituted which culminated in the convention in Columbus on February 27-28, 1933 when the state league was finally instituted by delegates from leagues in most of the counties, cities, villages and hamlets in Ohio.

It was this convention that determined to call a National convention of the unemployed on July 3-5. To insure the widest possible rank and file representation and to avoid another still-born aggregation of scattered groupings, the call to the national convention stipulated that 5 delegates were to be sent from each local league. The distribution of this call stimulated organization of leagues in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, West Virginia and other states. It was also sent to every established organization of the unemployed which the Ohio league could contact.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
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The New Militant

THE New Militant makes its appearance as the official weekly organ of the Workers Party. As such, it will not be independent or neutral but will strive in all respects to represent the aims and ideals of the party as laid down in the Declaration of Principles and to reflect its revolutionary spirit.

The vanguard political party is the highest expression of working class organization and a party organ, consequently, is the highest type of paper. Our aim, however, is not to publish a "house organ" for restricted party circles, but a political organ for the masses. We hope to popularize the New Militant without diluting its political and party character. Such a combination is what is needed to serve the aims we have in mind. If we succeed in this endeavor the New Militant will soon make a place all its own in the field of labor journalism.

The main line of the New Militant will be the attack against capitalism, the exposure of its frauds and intrigues, and the advocacy of the socialist order of society. As we see the situation, the chief recruiting ground of the new party, even in the early stages of its struggle, is among the politically unorganized but grievously oppressed and bitterly discontented masses of American workers. The main appeal of the New Militant will be directed to them.

They are the forces for the new party. They are the troops of the American revolution. They have long remained indifferent to working class politics of any kind. The political labor movement, reformist as well as revolutionary, has been a comparatively small and isolated circle. But the conditions have matured for a great and rapid transformation. The two gigantic strike waves we have seen were heralds of a mass participation in the political movement as well.

The American workers are moving now in true American style—rapidly and with militant disregard for any kind of obstructions. The New Militant will march with them, talk to them in their own language, and aid them in their struggle. To awaken the discontented workers to class consciousness and draw them toward the party in the course of their experiences in the class struggle—this will be the chief endeavor of the New Militant.

The road to the masses is through the vanguard. Our paper can become a power among the masses only if it organizes and educates the advanced workers as it goes along. The fundamental nucleus of revolutionary militants which has been assembled at the founding of the Workers Party is only a beginning. Thousands of others, scattered and disorganized by the long period of disintegration in the movement, belong with the party right now. The New Militant will help them to find their place in the party ranks. In this field quality is what counts. Every class conscious worker is important. Every honest rebel against capitalism is dear to us and we hope to make our paper their paper. To that end the New Militant will provide them with accurate information about all phases of the movement, about the activities of other labor organizations at home and abroad, and strive to illuminate all the important questions of the day with the light of Marxist principle.

We must make our revolution in America, not in some other country and not on the moon. That means, if we are to go to our work seriously, that our paper must concern itself primarily with the actualities of American life and talk to the workers in their own language. It is necessary to show that we understand them in order to make them understand us. The American people have not inherited conservatism nor the tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions. They overthrow the rule of a king and broke the institutions of chattel slavery by means that were far from polite. The history of the labor movement

of the country, on the whole, is a magnificent history of militant struggle. Our paper can and should appeal to these traditions in its agitation among the masses. It can and should be distinctively American in its methods of approach and its realistic concentration on the concrete tasks at hand.

But the world we live in is a unit and the liberating workers' revolution, as our Declaration of Principles truly says, is by its very nature international in character. One cannot even begin to think straight about a national revolution unless he proceeds from this point of view. We don't believe in the dogma of "socialism in one country", for the United States or for Russia. We see our American revolution as one link in the chain of revolutions which will emancipate the world from capitalism and establish world socialism. This conception stands in the center of the system of ideas which binds us together and animates all our work on national grounds. The New Militant, in all its departments, will reflect this revolutionary internationalist point of view.

Non-Partisan Defense

THE Workers Party founding convention went on record for the idea of a militant defense organization embracing workers and sympathetic elements of diverse political views, for a united class fight for mutual defense interests. Earlier, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. had vigorously supported this idea when it was broached by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The N.P.L.D., while limited in forces, has won a good name in struggle. When the I.L.D. refused to raise a finger for four young German workers deported from Holland to Fascist Germany, the N.P.L.D. organized the protest movement in this country. The N.P.L.D. played an important part in the fight against New York police brutality which led to the resignation of Commissioner O'Ryan. It was to the fore in local protest movements against government strike-breaking moves on the Gulf Coast, in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco.

Last week the N.P.L.D. was able to announce that it had saved Antonio Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist, from danger of deportation to Fascist Italy. Now comes news that a committee set up on the initiative of and led by members of the N.P.L.D., has won a signal victory in obtaining the release from Sing Sing of Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, strikers framed on a charge of beating scabs in the New York hotel strike. The two workers may have to undergo a new trial, but in any case their first conviction is reversed through the legal fight of the N.P.L.D. The superior court admitted that Robins and Gras were convicted due to the prejudiced conduct of the notorious anti-labor trial judge, Corrigan.

Revolutionary workers now in the W. P. played an important part in the united front for Robins and Gras. The N.P.L.D. was also able to draw into active work the Socialist Lawyers Association one of whose members was Robins' counsel in the appeal.

The W. P. is ready to go further in support of the N.P.L.D.'s plans. Even since June, when the N.E.C. of the S.P. gave favorable, though formal, recognition to the idea, we have urged conclusive action. Almost three months ago a draft plan was approved by representatives of the C.L.A., the A.W.P. and the S.P. Since then the S.P. representatives have taken no action. That some elements in the S.P. are opposed in principle to collaboration with revolutionaries even against the worst reactionaries, everybody knows. What rank-and-file Socialists should ask, however, is why the "militants", who claim to have a majority in the N.E.C., constantly avoid a final decision on the pressing question of setting up a broad, militant defense organization.

The history of the I.L.D. in the Dutch case; in the Bellussi case, where it sabotaged the defense because the defendant was suspected of "Trotskyism"; in the Robins-Gras case, where it refused all collaboration and constantly maneuvered to sabotage the united front committee; in Scottsboro, where its policies have jeopardized the whole cause and where it is now begging the reactionary Samuel S. Leibowitz for a united front—all these facts and many more make clear that the I.L.D. is not to be thought of as a defense instrument of the workers.

A militant, non-partisan defense organization is a crying class need today. The Workers Party has put the building of such an organization on its program. It is ready and willing to cooperate with other organizations to build it. The Socialist Party ought to give some definite answer to the N.P.L.D., or to make clear that it is unable or unwilling to carry out in action its verbal commitment of last June. The N.P.L.D., far from having confirmed the diagnosis made last April by the I.L.D.—that it "died aborning"—has grown constantly stronger. Its further work should not be jeopardized by anybody's passivity. The W. P. calls for action on this matter.

Anti-Crime War Aimed at Lone Killers - while Bankers and War Makers Get Protection

WASHINGTON—While the Senate committee investigating the munitions industry continued to unearth graft and corruption involving some of the biggest names in the country, righteous speeches were being made at the Attorney General's four-day conference on crime.

In none of these speeches, however, was reference made to the DuPonts, the Morgans or the Rockefellers. Neither was anything said about the bankers who steal their depositors' money, nor about the Wall Street manipulators who rob small investors of billions of dollars, nor about the industrial barons—the Weltons, the Mellons, the Fords—who employ armies of gunmen to shoot and terrorize their workers.

Of a Lower Order

The crime the Attorney General's conference dealt with was of a lower order. It was concerned with kidnappings, blackmail, banditry, burglaries, etc. And it was against the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baby-faced Nelsons and their kind that the speeches and the indignation were directed. It appears that criminals of this type are increasing with great rapidity, and are becoming exceedingly bold and arrogant.

"It is amazing that such a situation as now exists is possible at this stage of our civilization," declared Attorney General Cummings. "When officers of the law are forced to engage in drawn battles on public highways, in railroad stations and elsewhere, armed with the desperate implements of modern warfare, we realize the danger which is involved and the menacing character of those who thus boldly defy the powers of our government."

No Reference to Causes

Although the increase in the number of criminals and their boldness was referred to by nearly all speakers very little was said about the causes underlying this increase—with the exception of blaming it on the newspapers, the radio and the "attitude of the public".

President Roosevelt, in his speech at the opening session, did say that "crime is a symptom of social disorder" but his remedy for this disorder was a vague reference to "marshalling the assets of home, school, church, community and other social agencies to work in common purpose with our law enforcement agencies". What this purpose is, aside from more efficient shooting and capturing the pickpockets, the gunmen and other such criminals he did not say.

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation, described what in his opinion was the reason more of these small criminals are not put in the morgue. "Until political pressure is removed," said Hoover, "we must regard the eradication of gangs like that of Dillinger, Floyd, Bailey and others as transitional phases of a condition which can change overnight."

"Political Pressure"

Mr. Hoover did not define the nature of this "political pressure" but what he apparently meant is that these lesser criminals are only the agents of higher-ups who by their respectable position in society are able to give them protection.

PAMPHLET PUBLICATION PROGRAM

One of the main points in the six months concentration drive of the Party is the publication of a series of popular pamphlets on the important issues confronting the American working class.

It is planned to issue one new pamphlet monthly during this period, to sell at not more than 10c. In order to finance this work, subscriptions are being accepted for the first six pamphlets which will be mailed directly to the subscriber as soon as they are off the press. The price for the series is 50c.

Every member and sympathizer of the new Party should aid in the publication of these important pamphlets by subscribing immediately and getting their friends to do likewise. Subscriptions should be sent to the PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 102 East 11th Street, New York City.

Those able to make a contribution for this purpose should specify that the money is to be applied to the Publication Fund.

Subscription

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
102 East 11th Street,
New York, N. Y.

I wish to subscribe for the series of six pamphlets to be issued by the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. in the first half of 1935 and enclose 50c for this purpose.

(If you wish to send the series to any friends, just write their name on a piece of paper and enclose.)

Name
Address
Here is my bit toward the PUBLICATION FUND \$.....

Had Mr. Hoover gone a step farther he would have pointed out that one of the reasons for the growing boldness of the gangster is the open flouting of the law by the big capitalists. The examples of the bankers and industrialists and their politicians are not exactly conducive to teaching respect for the government.

However, it was not the purpose of the Attorney General's conference on crime to discuss how to deal with the big criminals. As a matter of fact, it was observed by some who attended, the real purpose of the conference seemed to be to discover how best to protect the big criminals against their hirelings and agents. Since the burglars, the kidnapers and the blackmailers do not menace, excepting in a very slight degree, the welfare of the poor people—about 90 percent of the population—it

seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that it must be the wealthy people who are so excited about the "crime wave"

An Important Question

But when millions of children are undernourished and more than a fourth of the population of the country on the verge of starvation, while the rich continue to pile up millions in profit, why should the dispossessed get excited about killing the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baileys and their kind?

This question was not asked at the Attorney General's conference on crime. But undoubtedly the growing resentment of the poverty stricken masses was in the back of the minds of those who called the conference. And it is this resentment that they really fear. It is this resentment that the bosses are attempting to label as criminal.

FASCISM AT WORK

Mr. Hjalmar Schacht, who was a big capitalist banker before Hitler took power and who remains today a big capitalist banker, is more and more consolidating his strength in Germany. Today he is the dictator behind the scenes . . . and not so far behind Hitler jumps when he cracks the whip.

The discharge of Gottfried Feder from his official post in the Nazi government is Schacht's latest victory. Feder was Under-Secretary for Economics when Hitler first became Chancellor. He has been out down a few inches each six months or so, and now his official head is off altogether.

How important this is can be appreciated when one realizes that Feder was the author of the 25 so-called "unalterable theses" of the Nazi party on economic questions. Adopted by the Nazi founding fathers more than a decade ago, they were full of confused pseudo-socialist terminology. They raved on about abolition of "slavery of interest," proposed to nationalize all banks, and promised to put a flock of chickens in every German worker's pocket.

Capitalism, the Voelkischer Beobachter (chief Hitler organ) announces, is getting another chance to prove itself. Here is a quite candid confession that Hitler Fascism is nothing but capitalism in a new and more ruthless guise. The firing of Feder, author of the demagogic slogans which the Nazis used to recruit their army of dupes and desperados, is a symbol of the end of bluff about "national socialism".

What this Hitler capitalism means to the workers of Germany is revealed anew by every report about economic conditions which comes out of Germany.

A report from Thuringia in the Deutsche, Hitler newspaper, reveals the workers of that province of Germany to be in profound misery. At Tausche a glass-blower, with the help of his wife and six children working 10 hours daily at

home, earns \$8 weekly. The only food of thousands of families is potatoes and salt. At Steinheld, 225 out of 250 inhabitants live on relief alone . . . and very badly. Soneberg district reports 33,000 unemployed out of 80,000 inhabitants.

A Hamburg official reports that the "steadily employed workers" get only \$5 a week for the two or three days weekly work they get. He calls this a wage "which is neither sufficient to live nor to die". Prices are constantly rising while wages drop. For example, agricultural products in 1934 cost 112.2 as compared to 95.8 in 1933; meats are up from an average of 67.2 to 79.8; dairy products are up from 88 to 111.3; textiles are up from 60.3 to 80.6.

The Berlin government reports a total paid-wage increase of only 1 percent for 1934 over 1933. This reveals a terrific real decrease in the workers' earning power, since more than 2,500,000 workers unemployed in 1933 now share the work (and wages) of those who were employed before. The standard of living of all has been lowered.

Recent news from Austria indicates that the Heimwehr variety of Fascism is just as "beneficial" to the workers as the Nazi variety. During the first half of 1933 total wages paid out in Vienna were 556,000,000; during the same period this year, the total was only 518,000,000. The income of the Vienna proletariat has fallen by 24 percent.

These trends have been duplicated for years in Fascist Italy. Mussolini, Hitler, Stahmerberg . . . all birds of the same feather. What they bring about is summed up by the exploiting class as "the restoration of national unity". Furthermore, "the trains run on time". The workers' organizations have been smashed, their resistance lowered, wages are cut, profits are maintained, the sun shines! That a whole generation of workers starves does not matter to the ruling class.

Launch Six Month Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Philadelphia, Boston and New Haven in this month. The New York district is organizing a great mass meeting. The first national tour which will take Comrades Mute and Cannon to the high spots in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, West Virginia and Pennsylvania has already been projected. Details will be found on another page in this issue.

Hold Unemployment Conference. A Provisional organization of the Trade Union Department of the party under National Organizer Arne Swaback has been set up. Conferences on the unemployed work have taken place and decisions arrived at are being carried out by Arnold Johnson in Ohio and Anthony Ramaglia in the anthracite district.

By the first of January party organizers will be at work in Illinois and Ohio.

The Political Committee has appointed an Educational Committee under the chairmanship of Hugo Oehler which will map out plans for carrying out section 7 of the Program of Action.

Must Raise \$5,000. While the general program of action covers the six months period, the Party Foundation Fund of \$5,000 must be raised by March 1.

Consequently special attention is given to this matter elsewhere in this issue. This sum can constitute only a beginning if we are really to measure up to the job which we have undertaken. However, if we can put over the Party Foundation Campaign in the next 60 days, it will give us an impetus that will carry us forward with leaps and bounds.

Wide Interest in Party. In the meantime every day brings evidence that the merger of two

important groups and the launching of the new party have aroused widespread interest among the workers and are having tremendous repercussions in other political groups, especially the C.P. and S.P. where confusion, uncertainty and disintegration prevail. All the signs indicate that the party was launched at a most opportune time. Advantage must be taken of the opportunity that has been placed within our grasp. We do not have unlimited time at our disposal to do the job. We must work—every last member of the party—work hard, resolutely, untiringly for the 100 percent realization of the six months Program of Action of the Workers Party.

NOTICE

Beginning this issue, THE MILITANT becomes THE NEW MILITANT and the official weekly of the new party. The serial number begins over again with Vol. 1, No. 1. The number on your wrapper will therefore be changed, beginning issue of December 22. All subscribers will be given the full amount of issues due them.

The last whole number of THE MILITANT was 252. If the expiration number on your wrapper is say 260, it means that you are entitled to 8 more issues. Your new number will therefore be No. 8 beginning issue of Dec. 22. Please watch the expiration number on your wrapper, and send your renewal promptly. It will avoid skipping issues and you will save us much time, labor and expense.

—BUSINESS MANAGER.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL

To the Workers Party of the U. S. To the New Militant and its 10,000 readers—Greetings!

Spartacus

"For Spartacus means fire and spirit. For Spartacus means soul and heart." These words of the immortal Liebknecht best describe the first National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League held in New York, Dec. 3, 4, 5. You can take it from me that the delegations of Spartacus Youth—who by freight train, hitch-hike and auto came from California and all points east—not forgetting the fraternal delegates from Canada—have "fire and spirit" and are "soul and heart" in the revolutionary movement. There was no sign of Stalinist "made to order" thinking in the S.Y.L. convention. An old timer of 31 summers and 30 winters, who was one of the founders of the original Young Workers League and who sat with me in the visitors gallery, remarked that he had never seen anything to match the independence of thought and intelligent discussion of youth problems of the S.Y.L. convention. Profiting by the experiences of the past—intelligent, vigorous, confident, eyes front—the Spartacus Youth League marches forward.

At Last the Forgotten Man

"Driving money-changers from the temple," "For more equitable distribution of our national income"—Just call to mind a few of the New Deal slogans and then read the income figures of 1933. You'll find the "forgotten man" brought back in all his glory. Here are the headlines in the New York Times: "1,000,000 incomes rose by 24 in 1933 . . . Individual net off . . . One of 46 in higher brackets reported \$5,000,000 or more against none in 1933. (That's him. That's the forgotten man.)" "Corporation profits up . . . Increased 35.3% in first New Deal year . . . Total fell mainly in lower scale."

Time-Clocks vs. Military Muster

According to a press report the Nazis have issued a decree, "Time-clocks must go and be replaced by a military muster." "Whoever heard of a regimental commander installing a time-clock at the entrance to his barracks?" asks Doctor Ley, Nazi chief. May we add that we never saw a time-clock at the entrance of a prison either. In addition to the military muster every factory manager is to "give his staff a little speech each morning and evening on Nazi ideals". And to show that the Nazi butchers are not without a satanic sense of humor the manager is to end his speech with: "Any complaints?"

Bankers and Lawyers Gyp Crippled Veterans

"Many instances" where lawyers and bankers "bilked the veterans of large sums of money" were reported by Rep. Patman, Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Comm. "A hopelessly crippled veteran in New York drawing \$30.00 a month was charged \$100.00 lawyer fee for a signature"—"Bank and trust companies acting as guardians for veterans unloaded worthless securities on them." Rep. Patman's statement told of case after case, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars lost by veterans through the activities of patriotic bankers and lawyers.

Free Workers

Alfred P. Sloan Jr., President of General Motors Corp., declared that the "spell" of regimentation and planned economy had been broken and America now had a future of tremendous opportunities under a system of free enterprise. "I believe workers should be free. Their right to work should not depend upon their membership in a labor union." Anyone who has stepped into an auto factory in Detroit and watched human robots at work will understand just what Mr. Sloan means by "free workers" and a "system of free enterprise".

Voodism and the Quintuplets

Doctor Defoe who gained notoriety by being present when Mrs. Dionne gave birth to quintuplets in New York. In a speech before a large audience Dr. Defoe reported that, after the birth of the children Mrs. Dionne seemed to be in a dying condition but instead of remaining with the apparently dying woman to give what aid he could, he, Dr. Defoe, who was brought up and trained in the Voodism of the Catholic Church, travelled a distance of two and a half miles to get a priest, leaving Mrs. Dionne to the care of a backwoods midwife. In a sane society a man guilty of such an act would be punished, not praised.

Spartacus Youth Adopts Program

(Continued from Page 1)

reports and the proposed resolutions were accepted unanimously.

Speech of Schachtman

Max Schachtman, of the former Communist League of America, then addressed the convention. He brought greetings from the comrades whose organization had sponsored and helped build the Spartacus Youth League. Pointing to the degeneration of the old guard generation, with few exceptions, he reiterated the need for the development of new leading forces for the revolutionary movement and urged that this is the most important task of the Spartacus Youth League. This is to be accomplished, he further stated, by building the S.Y.L. as a mass youth organization, politically subordinate to the Workers Party while organizationally autonomous.

The report of comrade Schachtman was greeted by the adoption of a resolution extending thanks to the comrades of the former Communist League for their aid in building the S.Y.L.

Student Problem

The next report covered the problem of the students. The discussion revolved around the question as to whether there is a need for a national student organization. The overwhelming majority of the delegates opposed such an independent

organization and decided to work through the existing student clubs and organizations and Spartacus Youth fractions for winning the students to the Spartacus Youth "activist group" (cultural, committee or fraction); to stabilize Young Spartacus and begin a fund for a semi-monthly; to prepare material for a youth handbook. The program was accepted and the incoming national committee was given the task of working out the details.

Name "Spartacus" to Stand

The debate over the name of the youth organization was very spirited. After a good deal of consideration, informally and formally, the delegates decided to continue the name "Spartacus Youth". The alternative proposal was "Young Workers League". Those supporting the majority viewpoint contended that the name "Spartacus", bearing the revolutionary traditions of the leader of the ancient slave rebellion and the heroic struggles of the German group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had more color and meaning than the suggested alternative.

The opposition held that the name "Young Workers League" was more popular. That the content would be given by the future activities of the organization. "Spartacus" carried the day.

The program of action was then considered. This consists of a three

months plan, to begin Jan 1, 1935 for the strengthening of the national center, the building of new branches, and the reorganization of the existing branches. It includes a plan to double the membership by April 1; to build a youth branch wherever a Workers Party branch exists.

New National Committee. A new national committee was elected consisting of Nathan Gould, Reva Crane, Manny Garrett, Bill Streeter, Jane Ogden, Irving Bern (Chicago), M. Slavin (Youngstown), Murray Weiss (San Francisco), Ray Sparrow (Los Angeles), James Cross (Gillespie), Francis Drake, Frank Visconti and S. Yaver were elected as alternates.

As the convention concluded with the singing of the "International", the delegates were more confident than ever in the bright future for the Spartacus Youth as the mass organization of the young workers and students.

Workers Party Lecture
BROOKLYN BRANCH
"Is the Socialist Party Splitting?"

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, Dec. 21, 8:30 P.M.

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NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

VOLUME I, NO. 2

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A L A R M Signals in the Soviet Union!

By A. J. Muste & James P. Cannon

RECENT events in the Soviet Union, commencing with the assassination of Kirov and followed by secret executions totalling 103 at the present writing, cause the deepest alarm to the thinking revolutionary workers of the entire world for whom the Soviet Union is and has been since 1917 the star of hope and inspiration.

The alarm that every revolutionary worker feels at any indication of danger to the Soviet Workers' State is increased and intensified enormously by the secrecy and mystery in which the present happenings have been shrouded. For days after Kirov's assassination there was complete lack of any explanation as to the identity of the assassin or the reason for his act. Then the Soviet authorities placed the blame upon White Guards, counter-revolutionists left from the old Czarist regime. Later it was hinted that representatives of some foreign capitalist power were engaged in dastardly counter-revolutionary activities in the Soviet Union.

If the Soviet Union is in danger the advanced workers throughout the world will rally to its defense as they have always done and they will not object to drastic measures against conspirators.

The right and the duty of the proletarian state to adopt the sternest methods of repression against its class enemies is indisputable for a revolutionary worker. Lenin and Trotsky taught it. And history will applaud them for it, for the young revolution fighting for its very existence, and learning from the terrible mistakes of the Paris Commune that leniency to the class enemy ends in the bloody massacre of the workers, had to crush the resistance of the overthrown class with swift and terrible blows. But, once the power of the revolution was consolidated, after the working class had triumphed in the civil war and the wars of intervention, the prosecution of counter-revolutionists was conducted in court. From the beginning, moreover, Lenin and Trotsky always proved the necessity of their actions; they explained everything clearly, fully and honestly to the international working class as well as to the workers in the Soviet Union and were supported by them.

Workers who see the operation of the white terror in a large part of the world, the mass murder of the victims of fascism and reaction in Germany, Austria, Spain and other countries—not to speak of the killing of strikers in the "democratic" United States—will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter-revolutionists who seek to restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union. They need only to be convinced that the victims are really White Guards and that it is really necessary to resort to such drastic measures against them.

The revolutionary workers have nothing in common with the hypocritical outcries of anti-Soviet elements, whether they be Social Democrats or capitalist editors, who come forward now with increased aggressiveness to renew their agitation for bourgeois "democracy" as against workers' dictatorship. These critics were effectively silenced in the past, or at least deprived of all influence among the advanced workers. If methods are now employed which enable them to raise their heads again it is only another count in the indictment of those responsible for the methods.

In the Summer of 1922, more than twelve years ago, the trial of the leaders of the Social-Revolutionary Party, charged with responsibility for an organized campaign of terrorism and sabotage, took place in Moscow. It was held in open court in the one-time "Hall of the Nobles", then and now the headquarters of the Moscow trade unions. The accused, at the request of the parties and organizations of the Second International, were allowed to have foreign counsel—ironically enough one of the attorneys for the accused S.R.'s was Vandervelde, Minister of the Belgian King during the war and the present head of the Second International to whom the Comintern recently offered a "non-aggression pact". The guilt of the accused was established at the public trial beyond any doubt, in part by their own confessions. They were convicted of responsibility for and the direct organization of the assassination of Volodarsky, the attempts on the lives of Lenin and other Soviet leaders, the dynamiting of bridges and other acts of terrorism and violence against the workers' state. As a result of this open trial, conducted before the eyes of the world, the revolutionary vigilance of the Soviet Government was approved and endorsed by the international working class; the moral position of the counter-revolutionists, including the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, was completely destroyed.

So strong was the position of the Soviet Government then, in 1922, when the country was still suffering from the devastation of civil war and famine, when industrial production was at its lowest point, far below pre-war standards, before anybody had even thought of "socialism in one country", not to speak of proclaiming its existence—so strong was the position of the victorious revolution that the Soviet Government, with the approval of the Communist International, found it possible to commute the death sentences passed on the terrorists by the proletarian court.

It was Trotsky who came before the Executive Committee of the

(Continued on Page 4)

Muste Calls for Funds To Carry on Mass Work

The contents of this issue of the New Militant give the reason why the drive for the \$5,000 Party Foundation Fund must be put over, and furnish at the same time conclusive evidence that it will be. Consider the situation: One of the founders of the Communist Party in this country, prominent leader in its trade union work, has joined the W. P. In at least two basic industries this week, automobiles and steel, the workers have again been put off with empty promises and gestures by the capitalists and the Roosevelt administration.

In automobiles, for example, one of the million and one Roosevelt commissions is holding hearings on "stabilization of employment", but refuses to listen to the testimony of workers regarding the anti-unionism of the bosses which is the root of the turmoil in the industry. Discontent mounts among the workers. "Send an experienced organizer," cry our Toledo comrades, "to get busy on this situation."

Look abroad and we witness the swift, amazing developments which have followed the assassination of Kirov in the Soviet Union and which constitute the subject of an important statement in this issue. On every hand, on the economic

and the political field, in the unions and in other political parties and groups, at home in the United States and abroad, the evidence piles up that the new party was launched at the most opportune moment, that in the midst of confusion and disintegration everywhere else, our Declaration of Principles sets forth clearly and sharply the answer to the questions of the day in the revolutionary movement.

COMRADES, WE MUST NOT SHIRK OUR GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES NOW BY FAILING TO RALLY ALL OUR RESOURCES AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT TO GET OUR REVOLUTIONARY MESSAGE TO THE MASSES.

Now every branch, every member, every sympathizer, must get busy. Bring in every dollar, every penny that can be raised. Forward money to the national office as quickly as you get it. A dollar given early in the drive will do the work of two.

FOR THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

FOR WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

A. J. MUSTE,
National Secretary

Steel Truce In Deadlock At Capitol

Roosevelt's Plan is Balked
By Failure to Agree on
Company Unions

WASHINGTON.—A three-point "truce" program for the steel industry ended in a conference deadlock when labor leaders, mindful of pressure from below, refused to agree to "company unions" in the industry.

The plan was submitted by President Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Perkins as the first step in carrying out the President's personal desire, announced in October, to extend the "truce" between workers and employers throughout industry. It was submitted by the President at a special White House conference of leading steel barons and A. F. of L. leaders.

Sanctions Company Unions
The three points in the President's plan, which would have bound the steel workers for a period of six months, were:

1. The employers would bargain with all groups of employees. This proviso would have given Federal sanction to company unions in steel.

2. Both labor and employers would recognize the National Steel Relations Board as the arbitration agency of the industry.

The proviso was submitted despite the fact that the Steel Board has been unsatisfactory to labor. The Board was appointed by the President at the time of the threatened strike in steel last June and since that time has been swamped with complaints and petitions from union locals in the steel centers, but has held only one election, at a small concern, the West Virginia Rail Company, where the workers won over the company union.

3. Both sides would agree on a six months "truce", during which no elections of representatives for collective bargaining purposes would be held.

Myron Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, had been campaigning for several months for both the "truce", as outlined by Roosevelt, and the proposal that the employers should have clear governmental sanction of company unions.

Asks More Conferences

When it became evident that the conference had reached a deadlock, President Roosevelt asked the Steel Board to continue its "good work" and to arrange further conferences. The deadlock over the question of "majority rule" was caused mainly by the fact that Green, Tighe and other A. F. of L. representatives in the conference were being subjected to pressure from the rank and file, which is fast becoming more progressive and militant than the old-line union leaders.

What the next steps of President Roosevelt and the Steel Board will be was not announced. Unrest pointing toward a general strike is reported in steel.

Hit Sabotage In C.P. Trial

BERKELEY, Calif.—Indignation of the rank and file members of the Communist Party at the incompetence, mismanagement and outright sabotage of the defense of the 18 comrades on trial in the Criminal Syndicalism case at Sacramento has reached the point of explosion. Last week the general membership meeting of the C. P. at Berkeley adopted a resolution calling the district leadership to account in the most scathing terms and categorically demanding a radical change of policy and attitude toward the case and towards the defendants involved.

The leading defendants, among them Caroline Decker, are allowed to lie in jail for lack of bail while favorites of the C. P. clique are taken out. Nothing is done to promote a broad united front with other working class organizations in behalf of the prisoners, the case is deliberately played down in the party press and a venomous campaign of slanderous insinuation is conducted against the leading defendants in the case. The reason: they are "suspected" of deviations in the direction of the Workers Party!

(Continued on Page 4)

MERRY CHRISTMAS-WHERE?

By DAN EASTMAN

The fifth Christmas of the depression and the third of the New Deal is a very merry one indeed—in some classes. Looking through the newspapers one finds nothing but optimism, bright hope, and reassurance. Steel is turning up, Henry Ford is reemploying, recovery is just around the corner, unprecedented Christmas boom, business and government cooperate for the common welfare, department stores show rise, and so on and so on.

Somewhat overwhelmed by all this good cheer, your reporter determined to carry the message of Christmas down to the people. In Madison Square Park he stopped to have his shoes shined, and engaged the bootblack in conversation.

His name, he said, was Bill Shields, sixty years old, born on a poor farm in upstate New York. A tall, gaunt Yankee, with a white stubble on his jaws, he was wrapped in an old army coat, and wore a ragged cap over his eyes. He kept his shoe cream bottle in an inside pocket, near the warmth of his body, to prevent its freezing.

"I make three to five dollars a week," he said, "depending on the weather. Make less in winter, barely three last week. I'd rather bootblack than go on home relief. They ask you too damn many questions, and even then you have to wait around for months before they give you anything. Of course if my health fails me, I'll have to take a different point of view."

"It's pretty tough in winter."

Joseph Zack, C.P. Leader, Joins the Workers Party

The trend of the revolutionary workers toward the new Workers Party was illustrated in the most striking manner this week by the action of Joseph Zack, one of the most prominent veterans of the American Communist movement, in withdrawing from the Communist Party and simultaneously joining the W. P.

As will be seen from the statement of comrade Zack which appears in another column he came to this decision after a thorough study of the fundamental problems which have arisen in the last decade and, in doing so, arrived at the same conclusions on all the principle questions as those outlined in the party's Declaration of Principles. The action of radical labor circles in New York where he is known to every militant who has taken active part in the movement during the past 20 years. The panic of the leaders of the C. P., signaled by their hasty announcement of his "expulsion" after his resignation from the party, is increased

by the knowledge that he does not stand alone. The C. P. will have plenty of "expulsions" to announce in the near future, and the names of some of the most active and militant workers in the trade union movement will appear on the lists. Joseph Zack was a foundation member of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Central Committee in the underground days and afterward. For years he was the head of the party trade union work in the New York district and secretary of the N.Y.U.L. Later he held the same office in the Cleveland district whence he was "expelled" for the capital offense of having opinions and talking about them. Commencing next week the New Militant will publish a series of articles by comrade Zack which will be of interest to every revolutionary worker.

COMRADE ZACK'S STATEMENT
New York City
December 20, 1934

To the National Committee
Workers Party of the U.S.A.

Comrades:
I hereby present my application to join the Workers Party, having resigned from the Communist Party.

I have been a member of the C.P. U.S.A. since its inception. Before that I was a member of the Left Wing of the S. P. My differences with the leadership of the C.P. originated on the Trade Union question more than two years ago, leading up to the 1934 Party Convention held in Cleveland. As a result of my brief talk as a delegate to that convention, organizational measures were taken against me in plain and flagrant violation of inner party discipline. I was threatened with expulsion 24 hours after the convention if I did not retract the views I had expressed at the convention the day before. I was immediately removed from all party activity. As a result the whole question of the inner party regime

(Continued on Page 4)

9 Join Party At Philly Meet

PHILADELPHIA.—A crowd of 300, including members of every political current in the world of labor—Syndicalists, Stalinists, Socialists and ex-radicals of all shades—turned out to hear A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon present the program of the new revolutionary party here on December 16. Nine new members were added and \$73.50 pledged to the party building fund.

Mostly workers were present—militant trade unionists—Negro and white, many unemployed and professional people.

The speakers told of the fusion of the former American Workers Party and the Communist League on a principled basis of revolutionary Marxism to build the Workers Party of the United States. The addresses were warmly applauded and sale of the new party literature was good.

The Lehigh County Unemployed League asks that readers of the NEW MILITANT will help them build a library by sending them books, pamphlets, etc. Send them to: Ed. Moser, L. C. U. L., 341 Union Street, Allentown, Penna.

(Continued on Page 4)

Super Lobby Seeks Wage Relief Slash

Capitalists in United Front
Against Labor to Put
Screws on Congress

WASHINGTON.—The "super-lobby" set up by the capitalists who met last week at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., will lay before President Roosevelt and Congress when it convenes plans to put the unemployed on doles and to perpetuate company unions.

The united front of industry against labor was formed with the aid of members of Roosevelt's Cabinet. Ninety leading industrialists and bankers of the nation attended the conference.

Will Ask for Dole

For the unemployed, the lobby will demand that Federal relief be reduced and gradually replaced by the dole, the funds to be provided by local charity and the state through "strongly centralized bureaus".

For the workers in industry business will ask that the Administration continue the NIRA codes another year, with labor having the right, as at present, to bargain collectively with employers through organizations of their "choice", including company formed unions.

United Front

The lobby will speak for the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association, railroads, banks, utilities and the corporations which control the country's industries. Permanent headquarters have been set up in Washington. The Administration, it was said, "can no longer misinterpret the desires of industry and business."

"Let industry take the lead in recovery," was in effect the slogan adopted.

Screws on Congress

A simple analysis of the united front and preparations being made to put the screws on Congress to halt government spending and stop labor organization reveals that the capitalists have got together to slash wages and living standards all down the line. A "wild" Congress is coming in, a Congress under pressure from the "people back home" to appropriate more and more funds to relieve distress and somehow make President Roosevelt's golden political phrases and promises come to life.

The danger, as seen by the super-business lobby, is not that this can be done while they hold the reins of wealth and industry, but that the people might begin to believe it is possible and so expect "too much".

Pressure on the Administration recently forced Harry L. Hopkins, Relief Administrator, to cut relief wages below \$12 a week.

The Journal of Commerce, which interprets business and political trends for Wall Street, predicted in the early fall that the Administration would soon be "forced" to reduce relief wages to help industry stabilize industrial wages at a "reasonable level".

Cats Eat Relief Meat—Live

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Toledo relief authorities have found a new way to test the fitness of meat for the bellies of unemployed workers and their children.

When unemployed workers here brought tainted relief beef to the authorities the relief agents set out to demonstrate to the workers that the meat was edible. Mice were put in the cage with some of the suspect beef, but the mice, caged and caged, turned up their pink noses at the meat. Determined to show that the meat could be eaten, some alley cats were captured and fed the meat.

The cats, noting the similarity to their regular fare, of garbage, pronounced the meat good. The nameless tabby martyrs convinced the relief authorities that the meat was fit for consumption. (a) not good for mice, (b) edible by cats, (c) perfect for unemployed workers and their children.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE
NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

MASS MEETING

Sunday, December 23rd, 9.00 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. & 15th St.

SPEAKERS:
J. P. CANNON A. J. MUSTE

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Wild Cat Strike Looms at Mine

JOHN L. LEWIS HOLDS ON BY STRONG-ARM METHODS

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—When the miners of mine No. 4, Panther Creek Coal Co., here made demands that the haulage way be cleaned and the wash house enlarged, they got immediate results. They issued an ultimatum that if the coal dust wasn't cleaned out of the haulage way in three days they would call a strike. So two days later the company worked a night crew to do the job.

Instead of enlarging the wash house, which is what the miners demanded, the company merely made some repairs. The wash house is dirty, cold, unventilated and dangerously unsanitary. The miners called state mining inspectors to examine the wash house as the state law was being violated. The company promised to arrange suitable washing facilities for the men and the state inspectors said they would return in three days.

Discontentment over conditions is

Left Wing Polls Heavy Vote in P.M.A. Election

GILLESPIE, Ill. Dec. 14.—Joseph Burrell, president of local union 34, Gillespie, and former chairman of the Progressive Miners State Relief and Educational Committee, polled a good vote in the state union elections recently held, according to incomplete reports gathered here this week. Burrell was the left wing candidate for the position of secretary-treasurer of the Progressive Miners of America.

Burrell defeated Claude Pearcy, incumbent president of the union, by a vote of 106 to 63 in local union No. 77, Springfield. Burrell also polled nearly 500 votes in the large amalgamated local union at Gillespie. Unofficial reports state that Burrell also defeated the union president at Auburn, Pa., "Little Dog" mine and Local Union 12, Springfield. S. L. Jones, Sherman Stiehl and Jess Anderson were also candidates for the position.

Pearcy's candidacy for the position is an outright swindle as the recent convention of the P.M.A. as well as the first convention of 1932, stated that "no officer could succeed himself in office nor run for a lower office until he had worked two years in the mine after his tenure of office." The union president's candidacy is obviously a conspiracy for the right wing clique to perpetuate themselves in office through machine rule. Much indignation was expressed by the rank and file at Springfield, where the Progressive Miners of America have 14 local unions, seven under job control.

The six amalgamated striking local unions and local union No. 77 at Springfield voted in membership meetings to condemn the bureaucratic procedure of the union officers. Local union No. 77 also filed charges against Joe P. Goett, erstwhile Lewis tool, and now editor of the "Progressive Miner" because he refused to publish a resolution adopted by the local scoring Claude Pearcy's candidacy.

Unconfirmed reports state that a run-off is to be held for the position of secretary-treasurer since no one candidate received a decisive majority of the votes cast throughout the state.

The Party at Work

MEMBERSHIP MEET RAISES \$500 ON BUILD PARTY FUND

The program of action for the building of the Workers Party was presented to the New York membership at a general membership meeting Friday, Dec. 14, at the Stuyvesant Casino. The reporter for the National Committee, Comrade A. J. Muste, the National Secretary of the party, outlined the various points of the program of action and spoke of the enthusiasm with which the launching of the W. P. was met throughout the country.

The report of Comrade Muste was followed by a report of the New York District Organizer, Comrade Lewis, who dwelt on the concrete tasks before the New York District.

The Workers Party in this city starts out with seven branches in the various sections. All of these branches will very shortly have to be subdivided, since some of them are too bulky even now and new applications are coming in very rapidly. Over 40 applicants for membership in the party were received right after the mass meeting that followed the fusion convention.

The general membership meeting

rife. A "wild cat" strike is liable to break out any time.

In Benton, Ill., on Dec. 11, the day for biennial elections of the United Mine Workers of America, local and national, the rank and file of the union was dumfounded to learn that John L. Lewis and his entire machine, with rare exceptions, were without opposition. At least, the union gangsters did not permit duly nominated rank and file candidates places on the ballot.

In the Springfield and Franklin county sub-districts of the U.M.W.A., only the perennial office-holders were allowed places on the ballot. Dictator John L., of course, took care that no one should compete for his job. He barred Bill Sloan, Westville, Ill., and other rank and file members from the ballot for the offices of president, vice president and secretary-treasurer. Sloan and his group were permitted, however, to appear on the ballot as delegates to the A. F. of L. convention.

So the Lewis machine rolls on, in spite of its tremendous unpopularity among the rank and file. One day the miners, under real leadership and organization, will destroy this infamous machine.

In St. David, Ill., where the fight between the Progressive Miners of America and the U.M.W.A. has been bitter for two years, George Stouffer, for years a gun toter and agent of the notorious Lewis-Farrington machine, and one Murray, also a former crony of the machine, are dead, victims of a gun duel. Stouffer was former sub-district president of sub-district 2, district 12 of the U.M.W.A.

Stouffer, recently proprietor of a beer tavern, shot it out with Murray; both were killed outright. Two other persons, one a woman, were wounded.

For two years, in St. David and the surrounding territory, the battle between the Lewis gunmen and the P.M.A. has resulted in much fighting. The field is now closely divided between the two unions. Neither has absolute control.

Leibowitz Plans Anti-Labor Trial for Scottsboro Boys

By HARRY STRANG

The moment approaches when the United States Supreme Court clerk will call to the bar of the highest tribunal of capitalist justice, the contestants in the historic Scottsboro case. And although the defense counsel must soon make his argument, the working class public is bewildered as to who that counsel will be.

Many weeks ago Samuel S. Leibowitz, reactionary flag waver once employed by the I.L.D., announced his claim to represent the boys. Ever since he has been mum as a clam. The I.L.D. having denounced its former ally as a traitor (because he did just what revolutionaries predicted he would do when he was hired) continues to shout that it represents the boys. . . . and to offer a united front to Leibowitz, correctly characterized by the I.L.D. as an ally of the Southern lynch-ers.

United Front With Leibowitz

Why does the I.L.D., which for years would make no united front with reformism represented by Norman Thomas, or with revolution represented by those now in the Workers Party, offer Leibowitz a united front? Can it be that the I.L.D., having lost the support of the defendants, hope by an unprincipled united front with the ally of the Southern lynchers, to get, if not a front seat, at least a back one when the case comes to court? Leibowitz is silent because he is

confident. Having been told by the I.L.D. that it deserved their trust because it had enlisted Leibowitz's services, the nine defendants came to lean solely upon Leibowitz. Would it be surprising that when the I.L.D. lost its boasted asset, the boys were to leave the I.L.D.?

Leibowitz's "defense" plans include a furious attack not only on the I.L.D. and the C. P., but on all progressive elements, on all militants and advocates of working class mass action. Although the I.L.D. has not used mass pressure (substituting the opportunistic alliance with Leibowitz while he let them, and covering up with provocative stunts), Leibowitz is in a good position, thanks to the previous boosting of the I.L.D., to give the idea of mass action a black eye.

Leibowitz plans to do more than attack all shades of militancy and radicalism. He means to whitewash Alabama class justice and sing praises of the Bourbon ruling class of the south. He wants to "put the Negro in his place", and to beg mercy for the innocent victims of a vicious frame-up.

All the more reason why a mass pressure campaign is needed. Some liberal elements who regarded the I.L.D. as very clever when it hired Leibowitz (and who now naturally prefer Leibowitz to the I.L.D.), oppose further mass pressure. They say mass pressure was helpful in the past but would be harmful now. Aside from the fact that they opposed mass pressure in the period in which they now say it was useful, the fact is that mass pressure is more essential today than ever before.

Every new turn in the Scottsboro fight makes clearer the need to found a militant defense organization with genuine principles and a broad enough base to include all honest working class and progressive elements. Members of all trade unions and workers' political organizations should consider and prepare to act on this question.

Workers Party of the U. S.
112 East 19th Street
New York City
Enclosed find \$..... for a Party Foundation Certificate.
Or, Send me collection lists for the Party Foundation Fund.

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Steam Shovel Dynamited

MINERS EKEING OUT EXISTENCE IN CLASH WITH COAL CO.

SHAMOKEN, Pa.—A steam shovel costing \$8,000, brought here last week by the Stevens Coal Company, was blown to bits when someone planted dynamite beneath it.

Coal diggers who belong to the United Anthracite Producers, a "bootleg group" numbering 1,600 miners, would have been thrown out of work by the new machine. These miners dig coal in small quantities, by hand, a small group to each "bootleg hole", entire families, men, women and children joining in the risky work.

The Stevens Co. turned up last week with a brand new steam shovel, prepared to wipe out the miners' holdings with a stripping. The miners barricaded the road leading to the tract, and succeeded in "persuading" the truck driver, who was hauling the shovel, to turn back.

Later in the day George Jones, superintendent of the Stevens Co. turned up with the state police. The barricade was torn down, but the ill-fated shovel hadn't gone a hundred yards before it slipped on the muddy road and went into the ditch. Mr. Jones then asked for a conference with the miners.

He said that the fate of the Cameron Colliery of the Stevens Co. depended on the successful working of the Edgewood tract.

Lester Koble, replying for the miners, observed that they were completely indifferent to the success or failure of the Cameron Colliery, and were only concerned for their own means of support.

The conference was a deadlock. A few hours later someone deposited several sticks of dynamite under the shovel and blew it to pieces.

"Save the Workers From Revolution!"

U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUSY

Words of Abraham Lincoln on Rights of the People To Change or Overthrow the Existing Government

One of the primary purposes of the United States Chamber of Commerce is clearly revealed in the report on "Combating Subversive Activities in the United States" which was sent out to its members for special consideration on Nov. 27.

The 29 page report defines as "subversive" all "activities of political or other bodies in the United States, having as their objective the overthrow, by force and violence, of the Federal, State and Municipal governments, and of the existing social and economic order of the United States." Mentioning anarchy as the main danger in the past, the report goes on to indict "Soviet Communism" as the real danger of the present post-war period.

Hit Working Class Violence

The authors pretend that they are not opposed to the aim of the communist movement—that is, to the replacement of the capitalist system by a new worker-controlled economic, social and political order. All they dislike is the method of violence. But do they protest equally against the Fascist murderers, to the violence breaking up of peaceful picket lines by boss thugs, corporation police and state militia? No! The Chamber of Commerce has not one single word to say about any of this, but it sets up a special committee, prints pamphlets, and urges its members to press Senators and Representatives for action against the "Communists" because they are the "leaders and agitators" of the working class.

Defending Capitalism
The truth is the C. of C. is solely interested in defending capitalism and the interests of Big Business. And it is exactly its members who are most willing to resort to the use of force and violence, to the most under-handed stool pigeon methods, in order to defend their "rights" when confronted by organized labor. In fact, it is reliably reported that the C. of C. promotes a labor espionage bureau for the use of its members involved with unions.

In contrast to the Chamber of Commerce contention that it is "American" to try to reform the present order by amending the present laws peacefully and that it is "Un-American" to try to overthrow the system by revolutionary means, it is well to recall the political philosophy of early America. Abraham Lincoln expressed it quite clearly in his First Inaugural Address as follows:

Right of Revolution
"This country, with its institutions, BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT IT. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, OR THEIR REVOLUTIONARY RIGHT TO DISMEMBER OR OVERTHROW IT."

After maintaining that Communism is an alien movement backed and sponsored by the Soviet Government, the report goes on to list all the subversive activities of communism from 1932 on: working class discontent and rebellion in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Finland, Spain, China, Japan, Germany, Cuba and finally from coast to coast in the United States.

(Poor capitalists! But for a few thousand "communist agitators" the workers would be satisfied with this lovely world and let the rich live in luxury and peace!)

All to "Save" the Workers!
The Chamber of Commerce is going to "save" the working class from such evil influences as "communism"; therefore it recommends the following government measures of force:

1. The amending of the present seditious conspiracy law so that it would be more like the "World War Sedition Act" or the Canadian Anti-Red Law, so that stern punishment could be meted out to anyone who even dared to think that a revolution might be necessary.

2. That the U. S. mails be denied to any person or group advocating revolutionary or subversive doctrines.

3. That immigrants only be admitted on condition that their native country agrees to take them back on request of the U. S.

4. That no person believing in revolution shall be naturalized.

5. That stern penalties be provided for those persons or groups which try to spread anti-war or revolutionary propaganda among the armed forces.

6. That the Department of Justice be given authority and funds to set up a special department to investigate the activities of all persons, groups and organizations suspected of "communism" or "subversive activities" and to bring before the courts for punishment all those persons suspected of violating any of the broad measures mentioned above.

Wants Stricter Dictatorship
It is not enough for us to point out that this action of the Chamber of Commerce indicates that Big Business in this country has come to the conclusion that some strong anti-labor measures are necessary for capitalism's good and welfare. Business would like to take away from labor its right to free speech and self-organization. It wants a stricter dictatorship against labor. Therefore, it first intends to isolate and jail the radicals, the revolutionists, the militants, the fighters; then, if it succeeds, it will take the same measures against the freedom and organizations of the working class as a whole.

The aim of the Chamber of Commerce must be defeated! The working class must be aroused to the danger that threatens it! An organized mass protest of the entire labor movement can resist the attack at this time.

—A WORKER.

Why Mooney Remains in Prison

SAN FRANCISCO. — "Governor Stephens, it is my life you are dealing with."

"I demand that you revoke your commutation of my death sentence to a living death."

"I prefer a glorious death at the hands of my traducers, you included, to a living grave."

"I am innocent."

"I demand a new and fair trial or my unconditional liberty through a pardon."

These are the words Tom Mooney

sent to Governor Stephens of California sixteen years ago when at the wired request of President Wilson who feared "if Mooney is executed international affairs will be greatly complicated", Stephens commuted Mooney's death sentence to life.

Tom Mooney is still in San Quentin. All the world knows that he is innocent, yet he remains in prison.

Why? The answer is plain. Tom Mooney is a fighter for the working class. That is why he is held in jail, and only that.

CAPITALIST SABOTAGE

PITTSBURGH.—Steel, industry's basic unit, continues to reflect accurately Wall Street's sabotage in production. Steel finishing mills have operated at only 40% of capacity during 1934, despite America's vast need for good housing, railroad

Here are typical figures of steel production capacity in tons and 12 months' production ending September 30:

	Annual capacity	12 months' production.
Heavy structural shapes	5,350,000	993,000
Plates	6,124,000	1,016,000
Standard rails	4,750,000	873,000
Tool steel bars	107,000	19,000

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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Rubber Organizes

Big Bill Haywood of the I.W.W. hit Akron, Ohio in 1913. He organized a union and led a strike of rubber workers in that year which was smashed beneath a torrent of riot sticks in the hands of police and company guards. After the war and during the boom years unionism was practically dead and the few small groups which maintained an under-cover existence were unable to challenge the rulers of the industry.

In July 1933 the workers in the Firestone plant organized a Federal union of the American Federation of Labor. Two weeks later the Goodrich Rubber employees got their charter from the Federation. A great wave of union sentiment hit the area and under the leadership of young and militant rank and file a great organizing job was begun.

Is Akron Next?

A year later it was estimated that almost 100,000 rubber workers in various parts of the country were organized. The India Tire and Rubber at Akron had recognized the union. In Los Angeles, Regional Labor Board elections went overwhelmingly in favor of the A. F. of L. A vigorous four weeks strike at the Akron plant of the General Tire and Rubber had forced the signing of a contract. In December 1933 an attempt to organize an international rubber workers union failed, but a parade of over 10,000 greeted a convention held in Akron the next June which organized the National United Rubber Council.

Six months more have passed and the rubber workers face their great test. Akron may furnish 1935's first major labor explosion.

Yellow Dog Unions

Nor were the employers asleep. Company unions were immediately installed at the large plants without letting the workers vote on the proposals. Employee representatives were bribed with extra salaries. All expenses were paid by the companies. The representation plans did not provide for general meetings of the workers nor even for regular meetings of the whole body of representatives. Elaborate machinery was set up to defeat any possibility of even these armour plated plans being used to advance labor's conditions.

Put Up or Shut Up

Now comes the showdown. The unions in the great plants of Goodrich and Firestone in Akron petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for supervised elections in order to establish their right to act as the representatives of the workers. The Board ordered such elections held. Immediately both companies started suit in Federal court to prevent the N.L.R.B. from proceeding with the vote, and the Labor Board has agreed to postpone action pending the outcome of the court proceedings. J. A. Thomas, Firestone president, issued a circular to his workers in which he declared his intention of fighting the legal battle all the way to the supreme court. Labor has answered with a special membership drive. The unions claim that over 13,500 of the 21,000 employees of the two companies are organized, and predict that 75 to 80 per cent of the workers will vote for the A. F. of

L. organization in any poll taken now.

Another Wierton???

Here we have all the makings of another Wierton case. Will the organized rubber workers allow their fate to be dragged through an endless procession of capitalist court rooms till the spirit of their organization is broken and the banner of unionism dragged in the mud? The steel barons have succeeded in playing that game all too well. Aided by a cowardly, chair-warming pack of national union officials they have stifled the fighting spirit of the steel mill men and have reestablished the company unionism that was once so thoroughly washed up. The same problem confronts the organized rubber workers. The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, for example, has maintained an employee representation plan for the past fifteen years which is strongly entrenched. Real action on the part of the United Rubber Workers Council will do much to break up Goodyear's phony union. Delay in taking real steps, weak kneed handling of the situation, will have exactly the opposite effect.

Where Are the Progressives?

The initial organization work in the rubber plants was carried on by militant rank and file members. Later an A. F. of L. organizer, well versed in all the tricks of trade union politics was sent in. The progressives followed faulty counsellors and—inexperienced as they were—made a number of bad mistakes. The Federation officialdom took over the situation.

In place of the original organization structure by which all workers in any one plant belonged to the same Federal union local, the A. F. of L. chiefs introduced a modified craft union apparatus. Craft workers joined their craft organizations which were then supposed to be united in each case by a plant council. The unskilled and production workers remained in the Federal unions which were scorn of most of their power although they represented the great majority of the employees.

Briefs

Over 1,000,000 workers have joined 1,400 local unions of the A. F. of L. in the South since NRA went into effect according to Federation Organizer George L. Googe. . . . G. E. Beers, chairman of the Southeast Portland Lumber Company local of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen—better known as the 4 L's—should have known better than to try to get wage raises from that company union. He was fired when he did. . . . In April 1930 several thousand members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen went out on an unauthorized strike. Officials of the B.R.T. immediately revoked the charters of the locals affected and ordered cancellation of their insurance certificates. The ousted members have been trying to recover their insurance in the courts ever since. They met on the tenth of December to try to figure out what to do next. Forget it boys. . . . About 57,000 new members have joined the International Association of Machinists and 240 new locals have been organized since July of 1933 says President A. Wharton. About 150 strikes have been conducted by the I.A. of M. in the last 15 months.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Profit System and Capitalist Sabotage

No class-conscious worker will be fooled by the revelations of so-called "inefficiency" in the handling of food stuffs for relief purposes by the Federal, State and City authorities. When millions of pounds of potatoes, cabbage and veal threaten to glut the market, lower prices and decrease the profits, not of the farmer-producers but of the big commission merchants and the monopoly capitalists of the produce exchanges, the government steps in to protect the interests of the class in power. It buys up the huge food surpluses and hides its real motive for the purchases—the preservation of the profit system—by pretending that the food will go to relieve the starving unemployed. Under cover of this phraseology for deluding the masses, the various agencies of government, Federal, State and City, then cooperate in the task of destroying the food surpluses by a game of "inefficient handling".

This capitalist sabotage manifests itself everywhere and at all times when the maintaining of profits requires the destruction of wealth, whether in the form of means of production, food supplies or raw materials. The rotting of the foods so desperately needed by the hungry, penniless workers is not a New York phenomenon, it is one more revelation of the decadence and rottenness of the entire capitalist system. Vebien aptly characterized this capitalist sabotage when he spoke of it as the "conscious withdrawal of efficiency". It is indeed the brazenly cold-blooded fostering of mass hunger in order to create the demand necessary for the coining of profits in the capitalist market.

Profits and Housing

Capitalist society in the throes of crisis is faced continually with the problems of planned economy. But so long as private property and profits remain the backbone—the unbroken backbone—of the economic system, a planned economy remains like a watery mirage in the desert, something thirsting after but far-distant and unattainable. Thus it is with any real housing program of which there is so much talk in banking and industrial circles. The proper housing of the masses is linked up with a myriad of problems that remain almost totally insoluble under capitalism. There is the problem of slum clearance; the moving of large masses out of the cities; the reallocation of industries; the establishment of so-called subsistence homesteads to "solve" the unemployment problem, etc.

What the capitalists desire is that the government shall somehow set the wheels of heavy industry going once more by means of a housing program involving Federal financing and subsidizing society. Thus "city demobilization" would immediately affect land values which would in turn affect the entire taxing structure of the state. There would be a profound effect on the transportation systems built around and through the big centers of population. The entire profit structure involved in the present distribution of foodstuffs would be disturbed. The relations between town and country, between the farmer and city worker, would undergo striking changes. Clearly the need for profits stands uncompromisingly in the way of real planning of housing.

Housing and the Building Workers

This does not mean that the government will not concoct schemes for aiding the languishing heavy industries through some form of subsidized housing. In its usual fashion the government will attempt to create the illusion that its real aim is to help the unemployed building trades workers. As a matter of fact the whole scheme of starting a housing boom is being linked up with the idea of stimulating greater demand by lowering building costs in the most radical manner. The one completely satisfactory method for accomplishing this objective known to the capitalists, is to conduct a fierce and relentless onslaught on the wages and standards of living of the construction workers.

The government is moving to take the lead in this process of "deflation" of costs. If present intimations become a reality, then we may expect a direct conflict between the construction workers and the capitalist state. Far from helping the building trades workers, the Federal authorities will aim a blow at them. Already there is an effort to encourage the mass production of factory-built houses ready to assemble. This would eliminate the need for any skilled workers who would become part of the permanent reserve army of unemployed. The use of new materials and factory methods is relied upon to create a new industry for capitalist exploitation. In this way, from every aspect the government's housing program contains within it a dark threat to the livelihoods of the construction workers.

Robins-Gras Free on Bail

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, whose conviction for assaulting a scab during the hotel strike was reversed last week by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, were released Wednesday on bail of \$2,000 each pending the new trial ordered by the appeal court.

Happy to be free and ready again to take their places in the labor movement, Robins and Gras were confident that a new trial would prove their innocence once for all. They pointed out that the attempt of the District Attorney to appeal the Appellate Division's decision to the Court of Appeals, an attempt which was refused by the Presiding Justice of the Court of Appeals on the grounds that the Appellate Division's decision had been unanimous, showed that the District Attorney was afraid to take the case before a jury.

The Robins-Gras Defense Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will continue the fight for the freedom of Robins and Gras from the charges against them. Abraham Abramowitz, of the Socialist Lawyers Association, and Louis Glickhouse, the volunteer lawyers whose splendid brief resulted in the reversal of the original conviction will continue to serve as attorneys.

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Munitions Makers Put the Screws on Roosevelt

President Overplays His Hand In Profitless-War Plan

WASHINGTON. — Last week's take-the-profit-out-of-war campaign was a lesson in capitalist politics. War has always been one of the crucial questions for a capitalist regime, for it is in war that the bloody contradictions of the class state become most apparent. While some 50,000 young Americans were killed and 150,000 wounded on a wage of exactly one dollar a day during the last war, 181 capitalists back home, who risked nothing, even their fortunes reported incomes of one million a year or over.

New Deal and War
There can be little doubt that Roosevelt recognizes the ultimate necessity of war if the capitalist regime in this country is to continue. One need only remark that while the government handed out one billion in relief under the New Deal, it spent two billion, exactly twice as much, on armaments.

The Nye committee on armaments has barely scratched the surface. If the investigators care to follow every lead, no matter how indirect, connected with munitions, they would finish by indicting the whole capitalist state as a monstrous device for oppression, graft, and murder. As it is, the committee has blundered on to some rather startling revelations of the conduct of our super-patriot, millionaire, "dollar a year" men during the last war. On Wednesday the committee was blithely prepared to show that not only the Dupont Co. but our War and Navy departments, and by inference the whole government as well as every financier in the country were involved in the exorbitant profits from the sale of war supplies to the government, and in the sale, at a tremendous profit, of munitions of enemies or potential enemies of the United States.

Roosevelt on the Spot

There can be no doubt that President Roosevelt was put under pressure by just those financial interests that found the Nye committee so dangerous. The President responded nobly. He responded too nobly, he overplayed his hand, and for twenty four hours it looked as if he had actually laid bare the real capitalist nature of "our democracy". However, he was forced to retract his original uncompromising stand, and the fortunate intervention of a hare-brained thirty year, two hundred billion dollar recovery scheme distracted public attention.

A brief glance at the President's end-profit-in-war pronouncement reveals its source and its intent. The New York Sun said, "In announcing the afternoon conference on war profit laws, President Roosevelt declared that he hoped war would never come again, and that he was taking up the question now because there was at this time no war cloud on the horizon."

No War Clouds?

Leaving aside the asinine pieties of hoping war out of existence where did Mr. Roosevelt get the idea that there was no war cloud on the horizon? The President knows that war with Japan over the Chinese market is always imminent; that war with Great Britain over the colonial market, especially in South America, is ever possible; that the war between Germany and France, now brewing, would involve the United States very rapidly; to mention a few war clouds. As for actual war—the Chaco dispute is, as the State Department knows, a war not between Bolivia and Paraguay, but a war

W. P. AND TRADE UNIONS

By ARNE SWABECK
Secretary of Trade Union Dept. of the Workers Party.

IN THE program of action adopted at the convention giving birth to the Workers Party the central point is its trade union activities. That is a job which the party intends to tackle in earnest in order to become a factor of influence in the trade union movement.

Thoroughly realistic, this program of action sets out objectives that are within reach of a live active force. Following further in the same fashion the initial steps are now under way to organize the party itself, its members who belong to trade unions, and to cement a firm contact with the progressive elements who are eagerly awaiting a lead to chart a new course in union movement today.

A trade union department has been set up. The party trade union fractions are being organized and the first steps taken to contact the live wire progressives in the various localities. Information will be exchanged mutually between the branches and the center, taking up such questions as: How to start the trade union activities; the organization of the party fractions; the organization of local progressive groups; the problem of organizing in unorganized shops; the burning issues in the trade union movement; the essence and meaning of

the party's trade union policy, etc. These are, of course, only preliminary steps to get the machinery into motion in order to take up the bigger points on the order of the day.

Basic Tasks
The program of action for the trade union work centered around two basic propositions. The first and foremost is the creation of a national progressive movement in the trade unions. The second presented the idea of selection of a couple of concentration points, the section of the textile industry in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania and the automobile industry in and around Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland.

Insofar as the first proposition is concerned, the crying need for a national progressive movement does not have to be emphasized to militant workers. In fact it represents to them a long felt need; but the forces to actually tackle the problem were not at hand. There is today not such a national movement in existence. Excellent examples have been set of what progressive and left wing policies mean and what can be accomplished when a group of determined militants begin to act in an organized fashion. We need mention only Minneapolis and Toledo. But these examples had so far mainly a local character.

Many other examples could be adduced of how not to conduct left

that make this the only possible interpretation. First: The President, who is supposed to be taking profit out of war, concerns himself, not with corporations, but obviously with the mobilization of human beings. Second: The anti-labor, militaristic, capitalist nature of the board makes its intent plain. Third: The overwhelming evidence of history and circumstance points toward the conclusion that equal mobilization means equally low wages for workers, and equally higher profits for capitalists.

The Lever Act

During the last war the Lever Act, as the New York Post pointed out, was intended, so far as the public was concerned, to take the profits out of war. The Lever Act was never employed against a single one of those 181 who made over a million a year during the war. Although the Secretary of War once called the Duponts "outlaws" he later signed contracts with them. The Lever Act was supposed, just as the President's end-profit-in-war laws are supposed to be employed against excessive corporation and individual profit.

Such laws, such attempts at what purports to be reform, always greeted clamorously by liberals and right wing Socialists, react inevitably to the greater advantage of capital.

Against Labor

The Lever Act was employed, just as the present proposed laws will be employed, against labor. Striking unions were held for "conspiring to make unfair profit". Many strikes were broken, even as late as 1920, two years after the war, the strike of the Pennsylvania anthracite miners was broken on the just these grounds. Thus while 181 million dollar a year incomes went scot-free, trade unionists who tried to raise their wages a dollar or two, or cut their hours from ten to eight were accused of "conspiring to make unfair profits".

The President made his intention even more plain in completely neglecting the Nye committee. Evidently he could not afford to have any blunders associated with the delicate problem of making capitalist war palatable to the people.

The President overplayed his hand on the whole end-profit-in-war business. He made it quite plain that the government must and can only represent the capitalist class, and that New Deals, labor promises, welfare governments, all sorts of so-called reforms are not only predestined failures, but worse, come to serve more and more directly just those interests they pretend to regulate.

Foundation Fund Campaign

Fusion between the former American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, is consummated. The Workers Party of the U. S. is launched. The membership of the two organizations is now functioning in united branches and the enthusiasm engendered at the mass meeting which launched the party, is taking concrete form.

The eleven points outlined in the Program of Action, printed in the first issue of the New Militant are taking on life.

Reports from the country show that new applications for membership are being received everywhere. The organization of the two coast to coast tours is under way with a short three week Cannon-Muste tour as a forerunner to begin January 13. The Party's national educational committee is functioning and its program will soon be available for the branches. Two of the Party's concentration districts have been started. A pamphlet, embodying the Declaration of Principles and the Constitution of

the Party is on the press. The national Trade Union Committee is gathering its forces and the sixty-day Party Foundation Fund Campaign is swinging into action.

This covers six points in the Program of Action. There still remain five points to be acted upon.

To accomplish the Program in full we must bend all our forces and energies toward the raising of the \$5,000 within sixty days. A beginning has been made in that direction.

The New York District is collecting the Foundation Fund tax from its membership. More than \$400 has been pledged and about \$109 has been paid in cash as reported below.

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wing or progressive policies or organizations. For the present, however, we do not intend to enter into a discussion of these questions. They will be taken up in subsequent articles in the New Militant dealing more directly with the purposes of the projected national progressive movement in the trade unions. At this moment our first task is to get the wheels into motion and to begin the first steps in our activities. To this end we are discussing this question directly with a number of outstanding progressive trade unionists.

Concentration Points

The idea of selecting a couple of concentration points for our trade union work has to do with our initial party stage when with limited forces it would not be advisable to attempt to spread over the whole field at once.

But this is not the only reason. In the two particular concentration points mentioned issues of the most important character are accumulating and great struggles are in prospect. The issues are of course not the same character in both instances and to that extent the approach to the problems differ. In the Detroit automobile area for example the real problem is still the one of establishing a union organization. But that also is a job for the militant forces. And so, with the initial preparations on the way our party will proceed to the bigger issues confronting it.

Harlan "Law" Still Active

HARLAN, Ky. — Carl Williams and two other union miners were attacked and beaten in the Louellen Hotel here by Ben Unthank, Frank White and George Lee, three of the 75 gunmen on Sheriff Middleton's deputy sheriff force.

"They are reds," the deputies said, explaining the attack.

Middleton, who was elected by the miners' vote, has been ordered by Lieutenant Denhart, chief of the state militia, to rid his force of "gunmen." Immediately after the election of Middleton he re-hired the deputies who terrorized the miners in the big strike of 1930. The miners say they have been "sold out" again.

Gunmen are procured to "uphold" the law and to prevent the miners from organizing in the United Mine Workers. Many of them are on the payrolls of the companies and the straighter they can shoot the more they are paid.

Denhart intervened in behalf of "the good state of Kentucky," which fears a repetition of the 1930 "national scandal" when the coal operators and the Sheriff's office crushed by violence an incipient union movement.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

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WORLD IN REVIEW

FASCIST STATE IN PORTUGAL

The dictatorship of President Carmona has ridden rough-shod over the rights of the workers and peasants of that country for the last nine years. Labor organizations have been suppressed, their publications suspended and workers' leaders imprisoned. As a culmination of the process that has been definitely developing for some time, the ruling clique has now decided to convert Portugal into a corporative state modeled after Mussolini's Italy. The change is to take place "peacefully" through elections in which only one slate of candidates appears on the ballot. In view of the weakness of the Portuguese labor movement, and the complete lack of a revolutionary party, it appears that Carmona will encounter no serious opposition to his schemes at the present time.

CHACO WAR TOLL HEAVY

As the Paraguayan army prepares to drive the Bolivian troops from their last strongholds in the Gran Chaco, the government of that country has rejected the proposals for settlement offered by the League of Nations. Flushed with victory, the Paraguayans are now unwilling to terminate the two and a half years of open warfare, excepting on their own terms.

This conflict, having its origins in a territorial dispute involving American and British oil interests, has already cost the lives of 80,000 men, sixty per cent of which were Bolivians. Between 350,000 and 400,000 men were mobilized during the course of the struggle.

POWER BALANCE IN EUROPE

The following significant item, reporting from Paris that French policy is turning in the direction of reaching an agreement with Germany, is taken from the British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party:

"In well-informed circles here it is believed that French policy has turned in the direction of reaching an agreement with Germany. Official circles are now reconciled to the Saar Plebiscite resulting in a return of the territory to Germany, and it is recognized that nothing effective can be done to prevent Germany re-arming.

"This turn in policy is likely to affect French-Soviet relations. The critics of Soviet foreign policy have always taken the view that the French capitalist government would be an unreliable ally of Soviet Russia. If an agreement with Germany can be reached, the French government will not hesitate to throw over Russia.

"Austria is also changing its attitude towards Germany. The government has issued instructions to the Press (1) not to print anything in future regarding German re-arming, and (2) to treat the Saar problem 'in a manner favorable to Germany'."

TREND IN FRANCE DOWNWARD

The general economic situation continues to go from bad to worse, according to a news dispatch from Paris in the Sunday, Dec. 15 issue of the New York Times. "Unemployment statistics just issued," says the dispatch, covering the ending last Saturday, "show a rise of 9,658 over the previous week and 115,223 over the corresponding week in 1933."

"The total was 384,841. These are registered as wholly unemployed, and it is generally agreed that the actual total is about four times the official figure. Competent observers expect unemployment to reach the 500,000 mark by the end of February.

"The industrial production index is pursuing a steady downward trend, which indicates contraction of trade. Bankruptcies have reached an all-time record. The stock market index is down, although bonds have risen slightly. Railway earnings and car loadings declined."

SECRET WAR PLANS

WASHINGTON.—Despite reports that the War Department will not permit the Senate committee investigating the munitions industry to bare to the country the secret arrangements between the government and big business for the mobilization of 1,200 peace-time and munitions factories for the production of gases, guns and explosives in the next war, Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota liberal, chairman of the committee, said that the "plans" would be gone into. Nye will ask an appropriation of \$50,000 from Congress to continue the committee's work.

He said the committee would keep secret the allocation of wartime procurements among plants and the details of arrangements between the government and industry in regard to kinds and quantities of war materials to be produced.

labor seeks unity with black. That was true then as now. To make secure its position it exonerated white bourgeois philanthropy and renounced all efforts of solidarity of white and black labor. They preferred and still prefer seeing black labor remain subservient to the opulent whites.

Negro Workers in the Early American Labor Movement

Fight for Social and Economic Equality Since 1869

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of a series of articles by comrade Williamson on the history and problems of Negro labor in the United States.)

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

Negro labor in America showed the tendency to unite with white labor as early as 1869. It was then that four delegates, representing the interest of the black proletariat, appeared before the national convention of the National Labor Union. This organization averred itself as a purely industrial union, having for its only objective the securing for the producer his full share of all that he produced. However, after the first convention of the new labor organization no Negro delegates seemed to have appeared at any of its succeeding representative affairs. There seems to have existed a difference of opinion among the various strata of the organization on the Negro's position as an industrial worker.

This change of attitude toward the black proletariat was, no doubt, due to the peculiar psychology that the new industrial bourgeoisie was using upon the white worker for the purpose of weakening its class understanding and rendering it impotent in the face of all attacks.

Just emerging from slavery, the black worker, especially in the south, found himself master of the crafts of his era. This made him a fierce competitor of the white proletariat who was less skilled in workmanship. The Negro was not, however, conscious of his true position as a workman. His only interest was to find the necessities of life at whatever wage was available. Low wages to white artisans were lucrative salaries to Negro artisans just emerging from chattel slavery. Thus one could easily be played against the other.

Sowing Seed of Hatred

The slave masters were responsible for the uneven development of the two workmen, and sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust which is responsible for their disassociation until this day.

In the cities of the south, where skilled labor was needed, the bourgeoisie, the former slave masters, employed black labor because of its skill and cheapness. Thus white labor came to regard black labor

as a foe rather than friend, that sought to take its means of livelihood. Whereas the black worker who experienced the arrogance of the white, developed a feeling of mistrust instead of comradeship.

Knights of Labor

The National Labor Union finally gave way to the Knights of Labor, an organization of all races and creeds, that sought to serve the needs of all who toiled. Thousands of Negro proletarians entered the struggles led by the early knights of the American labor movement in various parts of the country. It may be somewhat astonishing to many of us to know that William Sylvis, president and one of the founders of the National Labor Union, as early as 1868 made the assertion after a trip through the southern states, that:

"Careful management, and a vigorous campaign will unite the whole laboring population of the south, white and black, upon our platform. The people down here will unite on the money question, because everybody is poor."

The Years 1881-86

Sylvis was partly right, but his dream is yet to be realized. He visualized an age not his own. However, thousands of Negro and white workers lined up behind the Knights of Labor between the years 1881 and 1886. During these perilous years of crisis that followed the Civil war the militancy of the black proletariat reached superb heights. Their demands were for equal citizenship and, logically, a higher standard of living. Their demands were as piercing and effective in the struggles of organized labor of that time as any demands formulated by any section of the labor movement in America.

Development of Industry

The technical development of the United States' industry, the short-sightedness of the white proletariat, the mistrust of the Negro worker, and the betrayal of the Negro middle class are responsible for the many setbacks of the black proletariat in the United States.

The new industrial system brought with it new crafts and devices that required time and money to master. The Negro worker was possessed of neither. His precarious lot forced him to succumb in face of disaster and to return to the plantation of his former slave master. In fact but few had left the plantation. Here they were forced to lead the miserable life of tenant farmers and share croppers.

White Labor Monopoly

White labor finally organized itself into the craft unions of the American Federation of, should we say white, labor. These newly organized craft unions in many cases barred Negro labor, to insure white craftsmen of steady employment. They sought to do for their crafts what the capitalists sought to do for their wealth. They sought to gain a monopoly on their crafts. Where Negro artisans were admitted, they were placed in separate locals and given a lower wage.

Middle Class Negroes

The Negro middle class, which we shall discuss later on in detail, always despised white labor. It had made a bid for power. It can only exist on the antagonism of labor which has resulted in separation. They get their chance in such a state of affairs to become the small leeches on the backs of black labor. They become mistrustful, and afraid for their position, whenever white

DON'T DELAY! ACT TODAY.

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Alarm Signals in the Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist International, at the head of a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to ask approval of this commutation. He explained: We must show that we do not disregard the wishes of the social democratic workers of Europe who have asked us to show leniency. We must convince them that we do not follow a policy of revenge. And, moreover, we must show the world that we are strong and can afford to moderate our penalties against those who are completely defeated.

If the Soviet Government could act so openly and yet so firmly, could display such strength and, at the same time, such moderation in 1922, how is the present procedure—the secrecy, the hysteria and the suppression of all real information—to be explained?

How does it happen that secret trials and secret executions are necessary in the 18th year of the revolution? The capitalist opposition was smashed to bits in the civil war, and the interventionist armies were routed in battle while Lenin was yet at the helm, while Trotsky led the Red Army and Zinoviev was chairman of the Comintern and the Petrograd Soviet. The great advances of Soviet economy in the past ten years, unparalleled in the history of the world, cut the ground from beneath the feet of capitalist restorationist elements and completely shattered their morale. How does it happen that they can now suddenly rise up again and begin an aggressive campaign of terror?

If it is maintained that precisely the growing strength and invincible position of the Soviet Union have inspired some foreign capitalist State or States to despatch attack—if that is so, then it is necessary to mobilize the working class, especially the workers in the country or countries involved. And for that, not secrecy and ambiguity are needed but the plain truth plainly told. The imperialists and their diplomats work very well in the dark; for them whispers and hints suffice. Not so the toiling masses; they move in the broad daylight; they need to see and to know where they are going. If some capitalist power is attacking or preparing to attack the Soviet Union at the present time it is necessary to let the workers know the name of the enemy. It is necessary to drag the conspirators out into the open and put their agents on trial before the eyes of the world in order to inform and mobilize the workers for the defense of the Soviet Union.

This, however, is not the course being followed by Stalin, the Soviet bureaucracy, the Communist International. The Daily Worker illustrates the method which is being followed—the method of sowing confusion and demoralization in the working class by hinting one day about unnamed capitalist powers and the next day about party-political opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy and the C. I., who, as every one knows, have nothing to do with capitalist governments. Instead of reporting facts and citing proofs and appealing for a common working class front for the defense of the Soviet Union, as would be done by serious people if there were a real danger and a serious desire to meet it, the Daily Worker occupies itself with bizarre descriptions of the "united front of counter-revolution stretching all the way from the Japanese imperialists to the German fascist butchers and on down to the Russian white guards, the Trotskyites with their unholy alliance of J. P. Cannon and A. J. Muste," and so on and so forth. (Dec. 19.)

The workers of the United States have seen the Daily Worker and the so-called Communist Party pursue this tactic of throwing mud at any and every one who ventures to criticize their insane policies. The workers of the U. S. see through this tactic. It is discredited. Nobody, not even the C. P. members will believe this latest slander. Only insane demagogues could lead to the resort to it now. The inevitable effect is to deepen the distrust of the present bureaucracy of the C. I. and the Soviet Union.

We do not know the facts surrounding the assassination of Kirov. They are concealed from us as they are concealed from the whole international working class. We do not know whether he was killed by a white guard or by a worker whose antagonism to the bureaucracy led him to the anarchistic

act of individual terror. There is plenty of ground for the latter assumption, since the individual responsible is reported as a former member of the party. If that is really the case, and if similar attempts have been made or planned by others, the international working class is entitled to know all the facts and is also entitled to an explanation of why such incidents, which never occurred in Lenin's time, occur now in the 18th year of the revolution. Such a movement, taking the extreme form of individual terrorism, could only arise from profound social causes and would need the inspiration of an anarchistic or social-revolutionary philosophy. If such a movement, animated by such a philosophy, really exists today in the Soviet Union it is a fearful indictment of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In any event, whether the terroristic acts were committed by capitalist agents or by demoralized and disoriented workers, the attempt to attribute the responsibility for them to party-political opponents of Stalin is a fraud on his face, and every revolutionary worker knows it. Every one in the least familiar with the history and literature of the Marxist movement knows that the Marxists always based themselves on the mass movement of the workers and opposed individual terrorism as a political weapon on the ground that it operates against the organization of the mass movement and becomes a substitute for it. Marx and Engels opposed individual terrorism. Lenin, following them, did likewise in all the years of his revolutionary activity. So did Trotsky and Zinoviev and every one of the leaders of the Russian revolution. The Communists in every country have had to explain this to reactionaries who accused them of terroristic actions. Is it necessary now to explain it to the Stalinists?

Evidently they do not dare to make the direct accusation that Zinoviev, the former chairman of the Comintern and the co-worker of Lenin, had anything to do with a terroristic group. But they have begun to whisper and insinuate it in order, at the next stage, to make a bolder and more direct accusation and then to "connect" Trotsky and his adherents and everyone else who raises a critical voice.

In the light of what has taken place in recent times, in the light, especially, of the turns in Soviet foreign policy—the recognition agreement with the United States, the entry into the League of Nations which Lenin called the "thieves kitchen of Geneva", the pacts with capitalist governments to defend the boundaries established by the Versailles Treaty—in the light of all this, the enlightened workers of all countries have the duty to probe deeply into the present situation in the Soviet Union and ask what is behind the official propaganda. Does Stalin contemplate a still further turn to the right in foreign policy, does he seek to silence it by a preventive terror? Is the talk about a capitalist attack a pretext to alarm the masses and enable Stalin to take bloody revenge on honest opponents in the revolutionary camp? Is the revolutionary opposition to the regime of Stalin growing inside the country as it is growing outside on the international arena?

We contend that the present methods of the Stalin leadership, which bears the responsibility for a chain of working class defeats throughout the world, is aiming a mortal blow at the Russian revolution itself. The Stalin group would lead the Soviet Union, as it led the German working class, blindfolded to catastrophe. The international working class is the one power in the world that can prevent this catastrophe. It must do so in its own interest, as well as in the interest of the Russian revolution, for the fate of one is bound up with the other.

The defense of the Soviet Union, its real defense by revolutionary workers, not the empty pretences of careerists, not the counterfeit defense of those who cover up and justify every crime of the bureaucracy and slander honest opponents for hire—the real defense of the Soviet Union requires a merciless criticism of the methods of the Stalin bureaucracy in the present situation, a demand for complete information produced at open trials and a mighty proletarian protest against the attempt to link the proletarian opponents of the Stalin regime with the agents of capitalist counter-revolution.

Today again, as in the first years of its existence when the imperialist bandits of the whole world surrounded it with a ring of steel, the fate of the Russian Revolution depends directly on the international working class. The task today is more complicated, but the responsibility is no less direct. The Soviet Union is the greatest conquest that has been gained by the working class in all its history. It embodies the inspiration, the hope and the example that will lead the workers to victory and emancipation throughout the world. The international working class must come to the aid of the Soviet Union now against the mortal dangers which menace it from within as, from the first, they have defended it against the external enemy.

The defense of the Soviet State requires now more than ever a merciless criticism and exposure of the usurping bureaucracy. It requires the building of a revolutionary proletarian force in the capitalist countries strong enough to put pressure on the bureaucracy and to give real aid to the working class of the Soviet Union. Above all, it requires a force that can challenge capitalism in its seats of power and overthrow it.

That means for us—

Build the Workers Party of the United States!
Build the New, Fourth International!

Joseph Zack Joins Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

In the C. I. and the C.P.U.S.A. arose in my mind as a major issue of even greater importance than the trade union question itself.

I thought: "If I, a party member of 15 years standing, can be deprived of my rights so easily, what chance has an ordinary party member to express his opinions on any basic question?"

I soon enough realized that in order to understand what had happened to the C. P. I had to unravel a whole chain of events and problems upon which I found out that the abolition of inner democracy in the party and the Communist International had its origin with the expulsion of 14 members (co-workers of Lenin) from the Central Committee of the Russian Party, led by Trotsky, and suppression of their platform four weeks before the party convention in 1927. Following this event the same regime was established gradually in all parties of the Comintern.

Digging further I found out that the Stalin regime had revised the policy of Lenin on the colonial question and the independence of the proletarian party, affiliating the C. P. of China in 1924-27 to the Kuomintang (bourgeois party led by Chiang Kai Chek), thus becoming a partner to the betrayal of the Chinese revolution. At about the same time the C.P.U.S.A. was pursuing the policy of organizing the Farmer-Labor party and flirting with La Follette in the United States. All of this constituted a denial of the independent role and leadership of the proletariat and its party in the struggle of the masses in and outside of the colonies. The same thing was done in England through the alliance with the trade union bureaucrats that betrayed the British general strike in the top united front known as the Anglo-Russian Committee.

I had to realize that the theory of "social fascism" which then followed as the next "general line" and which represented the "left" zig-zag away from Leninism, with its exclusive policy of "united front from below", brought in its train the then "new" trade union policy of "Red unions" and our isolation from the masses, working into the hands of the labor-fakers and social democracy, a line of policy which led to the defeat of the working class everywhere and capitulation to Hitlerism in Germany. The same pseudo-left line isolated the peasantry from the working class in China, resulting in an isolated peasant war and so-called soviets without the working class.

In each case the C. I. declared that its line has been proven correct by events, that the treacheries of social democracy are to blame for the defeats in spite of the correct line of the C. I. In Bulgaria, however, the C. P. had a majority of the working class and a decisive following among the peasantry. Still the bourgeoisie defeated the working class with the greatest of ease. The C. I. has never explained yet how the social democracy was able to keep a dominating hold over the masses if the policy of the C. I. was correct. They simply assume that the masses were incapable of responding to a correct policy. In each case C. I. representatives were on the ground and the policy was shaped by them personally and by directives from Moscow; hence, the failures and defeats cannot logically be blamed on the "inexpertness" of the local leaders.

I then had to look for the root of the problem, so to say, for it cannot be possible that all this train of major defeats of the working class since Lenin died, inside and outside of the U. S., can be ascribed to everybody else, with the C. P. being always correct. I found that at the bottom of it all is the nationalist theory of Stalin of "Socialism in One Country"—a complete departure from the proletarian internationalism of Lenin. This theory lies at the root not only of the disastrous policies of the C. I., led by Stalin, but also the present unproletarian foreign policy of the Soviet government. The work of all the parties of the C. I. is thus subordinated to the exclusive aim of "building socialism in one country", a policy which is not only non-Marxist but cannot be a base for the attraction of the international proletariat and the realization of its revolution. Such a policy is bound to lead to the weakening of the Soviet power itself, a distortion of its course and its disassociation from the international revolution and hence to the weakening and defeat of the entire working class in and outside the Soviet Union.

The latest zig-zag of the C. I. under Stalin is now to the right again, showing strong signs of degeneration into menshevism and social patriotism in the face of the imminent war danger. At a time when the social democratic leaders are about to repeat their traitorous role of 1914 the C. I. signs non-aggression pacts with them (united front from the top again) which include (France) clauses not to criticize the S. P. leaders even inside of the C. P. meetings. This is a country whose government is in alliance with the Soviet government and where the S. P. bureaucracy is preparing to play a patriotic role in case of war. The same

"non-aggression" pact" was offered to the Second International as a whole.

On the trade union question, in order to do away with this "irritant" to the united front with social democracy and the labor bureaucrats, particularly in countries of prospective war alliance, the new unions, regardless of their mass basis or the will of the membership are being driven and manipulated back into the reformist Federations on any terms. The ruthless policy of "red unions" is thus giving way to a fetishism of the A. F. of L. and a policy of capitulation covered with left phrases to the labor fakers.

Thinking over these questions I found that, all and severally, they were the problems raised by the Russian opposition led by Trotsky; that these were the reasons that this opposition, the true followers of Lenin, were expelled from the Russian party and from Stalin's Comintern.

I found that in order to isolate the Communist workers from the "contaminating" influence of Trotsky's Leninist position, the discussion of these major problems is forbidden. Inner democracy is throttled in all the parties. These sterling revolutionists, who were more than anyone else working more against the stream, are branded as "counter-revolutionists", and pretense is made that their criticism of Stalin's bureaucratic regime is slander and opposition to the Soviet power.

Stalin and his bureaucratic clique of usurpers rose to power on the decline of the revolutionary wave and the tiredness of the Soviet masses after war, civil war and intervention. They suppressed Lenin's testament in which Lenin, in his last words to the party before

his death, demanded Stalin's removal as a menace to the party and the working class. They introduced a system of double-bookkeeping in the Communist movement. They did not dare to print the Bolshevik program of the Russian Opposition. The Stalin clique, when polemizing with opponents, introduces false quotations that have nothing in common with the actual point of view spoken or written by them. They imprison and exile proletarian critics of their disastrous adventurist and opportunist policy. They introduced the alien concept of Napoleonic "big shots" and papal infallibility into the proletarian movement. These, in brief, are the reasons why they cannot hold the adherence of serious, honest revolutionists. These are the reasons for the decay and decline of the C. P., its enormous turnover in membership, mass flight of the workers from it.

I therefore join with those international revolutionists in the Workers Party of the U. S. and throughout the world who continue to represent in theory and practice the best traditions of Leninism and the international working class movement.

To those still remaining in the C. P. I say: Workers, remember Lenin's word that "anyone who does not acquaint himself truly with both sides of the controversy before deciding is an idiot". I have been guilty of such idleness for a number of years, but no more.

Comradely,
JOSEPH ZACK.

P.S. In a series of articles to follow, I will explain in a manner undeniable by any one the actual situation in the C.P.U.S.A., both as to the trade union question and inner regime.

J.Z.

Merry Christmas - For Whom?

(Continued from Page 1)

lot of mild insanity, induced by hardship and old age.

As I walked down the street one man accosted me.

Waiting

"I've been waiting for you," he said, "I've been waiting right here ever since Monday."

I told him he was mistaken.

"Don't tell me, I know your tricks. Didn't you promise me you'd be coming down?"

I pointed out that we had never met.

"No," he mumbled, "We never met; but just the same you can't fool me, you said you were going to meet me here."

Further on I leaned up against the wall opposite the dirty grey lodging house. A continuous line on crutches issued from the door marked MEN. I guessed that those who were crippled were fed inside, instead of at the ward.

An old six-footer with an expression of good humor started to swing across the street. One of his crutch points slipped into a crack in a manhole cover. The crutch shattered and he fell to the pavement. He didn't want to be picked up, and managed to right himself with the remaining crutch. With some trouble he hobbled over and leaned against the wall near me.

He was embarrassed, although no one had paid any attention to his fall. He shouted and mumbled every time anyone passing saw the broken crutch lying in the street.

"It's a violation of the municipal ordinance," he yelled to no one in particular, "There is a state law against it, there ought to be a railing."

He was silent and then began to shout again. He liked to use long words and pretend he was making a serious political or religious oration.

I asked if I couldn't get him another crutch.

"Crutch, crutch?" he said, "Where are you going to get one. This is a fifty-six inch crutch; they don't make many that long."

I went across the street and interviewed one of the clerks.

Gale Christmas

"Yes," he said, "They get an extra dinner Christmas. Chicken, mashed turnips and potatoes; same as they had Thanksgiving. We'll have a tree for them. The police band comes up and the police glee club sings. Then they all get Tootsie Rolls to take home with them."

"We're getting more and more every day, feeding about twenty thousand at this station right now. More and more white collar people too. They hang on as long as they can; but finally get tired of living on relatives, and take it on the chin."

I went back and reassured the six-footer that some one would be over with a crutch.

On the way out I fell in step behind a well dressed young man. When I asked him for a story he was suspicious.

"You ain't a phony," he asked, "A detective or something?"

No I wasn't a detective.

"What do you want my story for? It's just like all the rest. You can see what it's all about, can't you?"

A Place to Stay

I insisted.

"Well," suddenly, "I'll tell you, but I won't tell you my name. I don't want anybody to know I'm coming here."

"I'm an Irishman, born in the old country twenty-four years ago. I've been in America sixteen years. I've been a member of the union, local sixty, for seven years. A mechanic, a plasterer I am. I lost my last job about eight months ago. I haven't been able to get a scrap of work since. What the hell, a fella can't starve, so after three months I started coming down here. I gotta place to stay all right, but I gotta eat."

I said goodbye to the Irish plasterer, and went on down town to Corleas Hook on the East River. There, beside the river, fronting on a bare, municipal, waterfront park, is the empty Gold Dust factory building.

The Gold Dust Lodge

The tugs chugging up and down

the East River whistle mournfully.

The Gold Dust factory has been lent to the Salvation Army. The machinery has been cleared out, and row upon row of dingy cots have taken its place. There is only one small entrance to the massive building, a door at the dark end of the loading platform.

Men kept coming out the door, turning up their collars, and drifting across the bare cement of the park. I discovered that the memorial Greek temple in the center of the park housed a public toilet in its base. The men drifted over to the temple, went in, reappeared and drifted back, hardly stopping, never looking around, never speaking, drifted back and disappeared into the tiny doorway of the factory.

I stopped one, a blond man dressed in a new pair of pants and a leather jacket.

"Story? You want a story?" He laughed apologetically and spoke with a thick accent. "There is no story. I am a chauffeur, a chauffeur for private cars; people don't keep chauffeurs any longer."

"I am Swedish; I have been back and forth many times. The last in 1930, now I wish I had not come."

Any family?

"A wife and a child in Sweden. They are all right, I thank God for it; my wife is working."

I asked why he didn't get himself sent back.

"I can't do that," he said, "I must have money when I go back. If I do not buy my own ticket and have five or six hundred dollars when I arrive they will think I am a failure. In Sweden they think there is still prosperity in America. If I come back poor they will not give me work."

I asked how long he had been at the Gold Dust.

"Just two months this winter. I am always trying to get work. In summer I usually manage all right. Last summer I worked in a restaurant. They do not pay enough, only your meals; and I must make money to get back to Sweden."

"Maybe it will be better this summer. Who can tell?"

I asked what he thought of the New Deal.

"The New Deal? It is nothing new. What is the difference if you get all the unemployed together, like this, or leave them all alone; there is nothing new either way."

"Christmas? I suppose we'll get the same thing we had Thanksgiving. Chicken or something. There's a Joker in that though. I missed the Thanksgiving dinner, and all they had that night was fried potatoes and coffee."

Auto Hearing Farc
With 7a Under Ban

(Continued from Page 1)

\$2,500 for skilled workers irrespective of the number of months employed; that the eight-hour day and 30-hour week replace the present 12-hour day and 84-hour week they said the code allows; that an unemployment insurance plan be put into effect, to begin as soon as a man becomes unemployed, continue during the entire period of unemployment, and be administered by the workers' organizations.

What They Told

They told of a speed-up system so great the men can't take time out for hygienic needs, so great that older men are forced out of employment.

They told of the Ford welfare plan, whereby employees may get out of a \$4 wage, \$1 in cash and the rest in credit for relief supplies, so that most of them are unable to check on exactly what they are getting.

And they told of a spy system so effective that when Smith lost the minutes of a meeting of the M.E. S.A., he got a copy from the files of the Motor Products Co.

They described how Ford had movies taken of a mass demonstration, then fired all his employees who could be identified. He even fired men who tried to take up a collection for flowers for four men, killed last year in the demonstration at the River Rouge plant.

These and many other things, the workers told Roosevelt's deputies.

In Toledo the M.E.S.A. and the A. F. of L. union prepared to the board. The Toledo branch of the Workers Party, which has been active in the automobile field, planned to have a speaker to show the impossibility of stabilization in the automotive industry (or any other industry) under the profit system. Using a factual survey of the Toledo automotive industry, the plan is to expose the automobile labor board and the entire NRA machinery.

Theatre Benefit

A theatre benefit of "Sailors of Cattaro", the new play of the Theatre Union, will be given by the Workers Party Thursday, Feb. 7, at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The play, which follows "Stevord" at the theatre, is the third presentation of the Theatre Union. It has been receiving very favorable criticisms.

Tickets for the benefit will be sold at the regular theatre prices, 30 cents to \$1.50. They may be obtained by members of the party from their branch secretaries, and by sympathizers at the party's national headquarters, Room 702, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

Printers' O. K. Aids
Striking Reporters

(Continued from Page 1)

operation between the editorial and the composing and printing rooms. Unfortunately, the press group has not yet taken a firm stand. Privately the leaders are for the strike. But to come out publicly would put their membership on the spot when their contract expired. So they have hedged.

Newark Typographical Union 103, for example, after directing the president to appoint a committee to draw up a resolution endorsing the strike, but "in no way to interfere with our contractual relations with the Ledger", never received a report from the committee. Finally, after the Allied Council had passed its resolution of endorsement, the committee voted to ask the executive committee whether a separate resolution for the typographical local was still wanted. They are still afraid of offending the publisher.

No Arbitration

The Newark Newspaper Guild, on the other hand, has drawn a clear "no arbitration" policy and has made history by fighting a white collar strike on trade union lines. Within four hours after the strike was called, at 4 in the morning, 42 of the staff of 53 had walked out. The strike was an answer to Pub-

lisher Russell, who, when the guild repeatedly requested him to meet representatives to consider establishing contractual relations, fired eight guild members.

Scab-Law or No Law

The strike was well organized at once. A sound truck for the duration of the strike was donated by Motion Picture Operators' Union 306 of New York. The men on the truck were instructed not to use the word "scabs" which is considered libelous in New Jersey, and not to ask people not to buy the Ledger. That was boycott and against the law. Today, with a new law making its operation illegal, the truck rides past the Ledger office, blaring the word "scabs".

The changing attitude of the strikers is illustrated by the story of one girl reporter. A month ago, when the strike was new, she volunteered to broadcast from a radio station. "I'd rather do anything than picket," she said.

The other day a mass picket squad came into the headquarters. As the others piled their picket signs on the table, one girl left hers on. "I think I'll go out for another hour or so in a few minutes," she said. "I think the scab who is working my job will be coming out."

It was the same girl who had not wanted to picket. Thus do workers—even white collar workers—learn how the bosses treat their loyal workers when they begin fighting for themselves and their rights.

Hits C. P. Sabotage
In Trial of Cal. Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

The resolution of the Berkeley membership meeting does not merely words in its condemnation of this whole procedure. It says, "the conduct of the District Office in conjunction with that of the International Labor Defense in this case is one of sabotage." Publicity is described as "misleading" and the lack of a united front "criminal".

Protest is made at the failure to raise bail for the politically important comrades, especially Decker, and the demand is made that it be furnished at once in order that it may be used for propaganda purposes in the raising of bail for the others.

The demands presented in the membership resolution included: The formation of a united front defense movement to include all working class political parties and the trade unions on the basis of a fight for elementary working class rights; non-sectarian methods; a united campaign of mass meetings and demonstrations; real publicity for the case; a real campaign to raise funds on a broad basis for bail and trial and appeal expenses.

(Ed. Note.—Next week we hope to have a comprehensive news report about the extremely important Sacramento case.)

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

VOLUME I, NO. 3

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Prepare for a Year of Determined Struggle!

To the American Working Class:

The resources of this continent on which we live are almost boundless. The productive machinery built up by the workers, farmers and technicians of this country can turn out goods in unsurpassed abundance. The working class is trained and equipped to operate and perfect this machinery. Under these circumstances every family, every person in the land, might today have food and clothing in abundance, a comfortable home, adequate medical care, abundant opportunity for education and recreation, security against accident, sickness, unemployment and old age, and the assurance of rapid and speedy improvement in the standard of living.

This we might have.

What we actually do have is far different. Seventeen million men, women and children are living off relief. Many million more are forced to live below what even conservative government departments call a decent standard of living. Fifteen million are unemployed. The threat of losing his job hangs like a sword over every worker, technician and professional. Homes acquired with hard-earned savings are sold over their owners' heads. Families are evicted from their houses and thrown on the streets. Poor farmers are put off the land and thrown on the labor market to compete with the workers. Farmers who still nominally own their own land are loaded down with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. Millions of young men and women are unable to obtain jobs even at starvation wages. The aged are thrown on the scrap-heap without assurance of so much as a bare subsistence. This is the real picture of America as it faces the new year.

CONDITIONS GET WORSE, NOT BETTER

The economic system under which we live—capitalism—is responsible for these conditions. Under this system, the resources of the nation, the factories, mines, railroads, are owned and controlled by private individuals or corporations. The capitalists use these resources and operate this machinery not for fulfilling the needs of the masses but in order to make profits for themselves. The masses are left without the means to purchase the goods which they have themselves produced. Under this system, which is now everywhere in decline and decay, the workers cannot find deliverance. Even for individuals the possibility of personal improvement every day becomes narrower. For the masses, so long as capitalism endures, conditions will grow fundamentally and rapidly worse.

This has been proved before our own eyes by recent developments in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

In this period of the decline of capitalism, the industrialists and financiers cannot maintain their profits without pushing the standards of the people lower and lower. Resistance to this process they crush by any and every means. Where the workers themselves do not act in time, a brutal Fascist dictatorship is set up. All democratic rights are suppressed, all the forms of democracy are abandoned. The trade unions, the cooperatives, all the independent organizations of the workers and farmers are smashed. The right to strike is abrogated. Open terror is exercised against any one who dares to raise his voice against this capitalist dictatorship. Women are driven back into medieval subjection. The intellectuals are persecuted. The basest racial and national prejudices are called into play. At the behest of the same capitalist interests struggling for markets, raw materials, outlets for investment, the nations pile up armaments. Inevitably war results. The masses who, under capitalism, are machine-fodder in time of peace, become cannon-fodder to be slaughtered by millions in time of war. Humanity sinks back into the Dark Ages. Fascism and War—that is the only "way out" capitalism can offer. Trying to "save capitalism" can have no other result, whether in the U. S. or elsewhere.

THE "NEW DEAL" SWINDLE

Yet it is now as plain as day that this is just what Roosevelt is trying to do—"save capitalism".

The New Deal is the same old Raw Deal for the masses. The unemployed have not been put back to work. Relief standards are being beaten down and capitalists again talk openly of throwing the jobless back on the mercies of private charity. The minimum wage set in NRA codes have become the maximum. On the other hand, the number of millionaires has increased under Roosevelt, and corporation profits have gone up. The employers have been encouraged by the government to organize one hundred per cent. Monopoly capitalists, the "big fellows" as against the "little fellows", have been strengthened. The right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, supposedly guaranteed in section 7a of the NRA, has not, however, been enforced. On the contrary, company unions have been encouraged. Roosevelt himself wrote the infamous "proportional representation" clause into the automobile code. Strikes have been sabotaged. The use of militia against striking workers has gone unrehearsed. "Liberal" members of the Roosevelt administration helped to whip up the "red scare" against the striking marine workers of the Pacific

coast. The same administration acts openly in Cuba and elsewhere as the direct agent of American imperialists and is carrying out the greatest naval building program in all the peace time history of this nation. The warning is clear: here in the U. S. also, no matter how "liberal" may be the pretensions or even the motives of individuals, the attempt to "save capitalism" can end only in the horrors of Fascism and War.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one way for the masses to avoid this catastrophe and to achieve for themselves and their children plenty, security, freedom and peace. That is to abolish the present economic system—to take the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and ownership and control of the natural resources, the communication out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist society.

This can be accomplished only by the revolutionary action of the working class. The poor farmers, the doubly exploited and persecuted Negro people, and the impoverished middle class can find no salvation except by supporting the workers' revolution. The capitalists will resort to any means in order to retain their power and their profits. The government serves as their agent. Unless, therefore, the masses are to yield supinely to their enemies and be plunged into the horrors of Fascism and War, they must take control of their own destiny. Having "grown weary of existing government" they must exercise "their revolutionary right to overthrow it".

CAPITALISM CANNOT BE "REFORMED"

Reforms and half-measures offer no way out of the misery, insecurity and chaos of capitalism. Advocates of such solutions only confuse and mislead the workers. The New Dealers, the Huey Longs, the Bilbos, the Father Coughlins, and the various cheap American imitations of European Fascists—they all fawn upon the "under-dog" and the "little man" and profess to "have the interest of the workers at heart", but they sabotage strikes, oppose militant unionism and bitterly attack the revolutionary movement through which alone the masses can gain their freedom. Whatever their demagogic protestations or their motives, therefore, they serve the capitalists and prepare the way for Fascism. The Upton Sinclairs, the Social Democrats and the Farmer-Laborites tell the masses that by "civilized", "peaceful", "democratic", "gradual" meth-

ods, by "voting for the right party", they can use the apparatus of capitalist government to bring in Utopia for the workers. Here also experience sounds a warning. These methods used by the Social Democrats of Europe have led only to Fascism, to the open, brutal, war-like dictatorship of finance capitalists who have abolished all the forms of "democracy" and plunged whole nations into barbarism.

To the professional, technical, and agricultural workers—to the farmers—to the Negro people and all oppressed races—to the small shopkeepers—to all exploited groups, we say: Only by the complete abolition of capitalism can you gain freedom from insecurity, discrimination, exploitation and tyranny. The solution of the industrial workers, a socialist society, is the only solution for your problems also. The one road to the socialist society is the road of the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class and its allies. Refuse, therefore, to heed those who seek to discredit or to attack the workers' revolutionary movement and to organize you in or around any other social movement. Under whatever guise they may appear, they are the agents of capitalism and they prepare the way for Fascism.

THE NEED OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In order that the daily struggle against the lowering of the standard of living may be carried on effectively and in order that as speedily as possible the workers may take power in order to establish plenty and security, it is necessary that the advanced workers be organized in a revolutionary political party. Not "just another political party" seeking to elect somebody to office under the capitalist system, but the vanguard section of the working class itself, organized for leadership in revolutionary action.

Both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the Second International and the Third International, have in recent years demonstrated that they are utterly incapable, whether in the United States or in other countries, of organizing the workers for effective defense against the offensive of capital, much less of leading them to victory and the new social order.

WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

For this a new party was needed. The Workers Party of the U. S. was established on December 1, 1934 by the merger of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. Workers who had played a leading part in the great strike struggles in Toledo, Minneapolis and other places, founders of the Unemployed League movement, together with founders and former leading members of the Commu-

(Continued on Page 4)

18 Sacramento Workers on Trial--Face Long Sentences

Big Meeting Hears Muste And Cannon on WP Program

Adopts Resolution on Situation in Soviet Union

Irving Plaza was jammed to standing room when A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon addressed a meeting last Sunday night on the Workers Party and its Program. The entire audience, with the exception of seven members of the Communist Party greeted the speakers with enthusiasm. In the course of their speeches they referred to the present executions and arrests in Russia. A resolution, appended below, was introduced at the conclusion, and passed by a standing vote, censuring the secret nature of the trials, and demanding that the persecution of party opponents, old Bolsheviks, such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Yevdokimov cease. The vote on the resolution was everybody for, seven against.

The Resolution

The resolution, to be presented to the Soviet consulate, follows: "We, the workers of New York, in mass meeting assembled under the auspices of the Workers Party of the U. S. on this 23rd day of December, 1934, declare our unswerving allegiance to the Soviet Union, the workers' state, which is and has been since 1917 the star of hope and inspiration to the revolutionary workers of the entire world.

"We condemn terroristic actions, such as the assassination of Kirov, and pledge ourselves anew to the defense of the Soviet Union against external or internal enemies. We shall raise no objection to drastic measures against any who conspire to overthrow the workers' state. The right and the duty of the proletarian state to adopt the sternest methods of repression against its class enemies is indisputable for the revolutionary workers. We condemn the hypocritical outcries of anti-Soviet elements, whether they be social democrats or capitalist editors who now come forward to renew their agitation for bogus bourgeois "democracy" and seek to identify the workers' dictatorship with Fascist dictatorship. We who have witnessed from after the mass murder of the victims of Fascism and reaction in Germany, Austria, Spain, and have seen with our own eyes the murder of strikers

(Continued on Page 4)

TOUR DATES

Following is the schedule of the appearances of A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, who on January 13 will open the first national speaking tour of the Workers Party, to extend to February 9, and covering 21 cities and industrial centers:

Buffalo, N. Y.—January 13-14.
Youngstown, Ohio.—January 15.
Newcastle, Pa.—January 16.
Cleveland, Ohio.—January 16.
Toledo, Ohio.—January 17.
Detroit, Mich.—January 18.
Chicago, Ill.—January 19-20-21.
Waukegan, Ill.—January 22.
Madison, Wis.—January 22.
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.—Jan. 23-24-25-26-27.
Kansas City—Jan. 27-28-29-30.
Des Moines, Ia.—January 28.
Davenport, Ia.—January 29.
St. Louis, Mo.—January 30-31.
Illinois Mine Fields, Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, Feb. 1-2-3.
Columbus, Ohio.—February 4-5.
Charleston, W. Va.—February 6.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—February 7-8.
New York City—February 10.

All comrades and sympathizers are urged to get busy at once arranging meetings, conferences, etc., on the dates indicated and to keep the National Secretary informed of the progress of the arrangements.

INEQUALITIES SHOWN BY A. F. OF L. SURVEY

On the basis of Labor Department reports and federal income tax figures, the monthly survey of business of the American Federation of Labor has compiled a table showing the inequalities which have contributed to present conditions. It summarizes this table as follows:

"In 1933 corporations increased their total income by \$554,000,000, made excess profits (over 121%) of \$125,000,000 and decreased their deficit by \$1,900,000,000. Incomes of persons receiving over \$25,000 a year increased by \$128,000,000. Workers' incomes on the other hand decreased by nearly \$500,000,000 (in reporting industries alone). Our total national income was 42% below 1929, workers' income was 49% lower."

Prospects of improvement in employment are pretty slim, according to the A. F. of L. survey.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

One Year Ago in Labor

(Dec. 23, 1933-Jan. 3, 1934)

WASHINGTON.—Its ends accomplished, the Roosevelt "revolution" is over, the president told Congress in his message to that body. The evils which brought about the smashup of the capitalist machine in the past four years have been abolished, he stated. Among evils ended is the "ruthless exploitation of all labor". How this had been accomplished was not specified.

NEW YORK.—"Our army happens to be the only branch of the government which is already organized and available not only to defend our territory but also to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency," Assistant Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring wrote in an article in Liberty magazine. The C.O.C. camps were "the first real test of the army's

Norris, S.P. Leader Joins Workers Party

The campaign of the Workers Party to unite the revolutionary workers under its banner gets a big push forward this week by the statement of W. W. Norris in which he announces his withdrawal from the Socialist Party and entrance into the W. P. The application of Comrade Norris has been accepted by the National Committee on the recommendation of the Minneapolis Branch with which he is in direct contact.

Was Minnesota Secretary W. W. Norris was the state secretary of the Socialist Party in Minnesota and was a delegate from that state to the Detroit convention of the S. P. He was connected with the Revolutionary Policy Committee and was elected to the National Executive Committee of this group at the Detroit conference

plans for war mobilization under the National Defense Act," he stated.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—"Work-relief" is nothing more than forced labor, Executive Director Eric Bidde of the Pennsylvania Emergency Relief Board stated in his annual report to Gov. Pinchot.

WASHINGTON.—Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were called upon by President William Green to "take such steps as seem necessary to make the boycott of German goods and German services effective". The boycott had been ordered by the Washington convention of the A. F. of L. last fall.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

of the Revolutionary Policy Committee.

The action of Comrade Norris is the first positive answer of the revolutionary wing of the party to the arrogant attacks of the right wing since the Detroit convention and the capitulatory attitude of the "Militants" and the R.P.C. The Workers Party expects in the near future to announce the applications of other revolutionary Socialists who are coming to the same conclusions as those of Comrade Norris. His statement follows:

Statement of W. W. Norris

Minneapolis, Minn.
To the National Committee
Workers Party of U. S.

Comrades: After full deliberation I have definitely and finally come to the conclusion that the Socialist Party has no revolutionary future and that the place for every revolutionary socialist is in the ranks of the Workers Party. Accordingly, I have withdrawn from the S. P. and present herewith my application for membership in the W. P.

Like every other revolutionary socialist I have been in conflict with the principles and policies of the Socialist Party for some time. But up till recently I had the hope that it might be revolutionized from within. As a delegate to the Detroit convention and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, I looked forward to the transformation of the S. P. into a revolutionary party. Developments since the Detroit convention have caused me to change my mind about the prospects of the S. P. and to join the W. P.

Contrary to the hopes of many members, the leftward drift of the S. P. has been sharply arrested.

(Continued on Page 4)

Red Frame-Up Is Mask For Drive against Unions

Victims Were Leaders of Agricultural Laborers

One of the most vicious anti-labor trials in years is now in full swing in Sacramento, California. The District Attorney, on behalf of the Industrial Association, is trying to send 18 militants workers to the State Penitentiary at San Quentin for the "crime" of organizing to get higher wages, an activity described by the capitalist legal system of California as "Criminal Syndicalism". The defendants were the leaders and active militants of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers' Union. Masked as an "anti-red" crusade, the trial is aimed primarily at this organization, the most active and effective of any of the unions under C. P. leadership in California.

At this writing, the jury is being picked which will be asked to convict these workers, some of them members of the Communist Party, and others without political affiliation.

MUSTE DINNER

On Wednesday, January 9, a testimonial dinner will be given for A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, at Irving Plaza, New York City. The dinner is to commemorate his fiftieth birthday, and the fiftieth year of his invaluable service in the revolutionary labor movement.

Comrade Muste was one time executive secretary of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, a New England textile union; served, at one time, as vice president of the American Federation of Teachers; was the founder of Brookwood Labor College; and one of the founders of the American Workers Party.

Among the many sponsors of the dinner are Roger Baldwin, Ernest Sutherland Bates, James P. Cannon, Stuart Chase, George S. Counts, Margaret De Silver, Max Eastman, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Sydney Hook, Freda Kirchwey, Ludwig Lore, Robert Mores Lovett, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Paddock, James R. Tully, George Soule, Carlo Tresca, Stephen Wise, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The dinner will be served at the Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street at 7 o'clock. All friends and sympathizers are invited to attend.

The prisoners were arrested in connection with a raid on the Workers School of Sacramento during the anti-Red drive growing out of the collapse of the San Francisco general strike. In this "anti-Red" setting a blow is being aimed at militant unionism.

It has for years been a systematic practice of the bosses' police to arrest known militants among the agricultural and cannery workers of Sacramento Valley in the late summer. They are thrown in jail on vagrancy charges, held with or without trial for some weeks, and turned loose after the harvest is in. The purpose is to smash or prevent possible strikes at harvest time so that there need be no raise in the slave-wages paid to the workers of the Valley.

Penalty Is 84 Years

This year the anti-Red drive gave the authorities an opportunity to strike at the union and to prosecute the leaders on the more serious charge of criminal syndicalism. If convicted on all counts, each of the accused can get as much as 84 years in San Quentin.

The defendants were arrested during the week of July 18 and tried for vagrancy, nine being convicted. These cases are being appealed. During the vagrancy trials

(Continued on Page 4)

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Three Leagues Built in Week

LEHIGH COUNTY ADDS 600

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Three new branches, Coplay, Ormrod and South Whitehall, totalling more than 600 members, have been added to the Lehigh County Unemployed League during the past week. Two of the leagues, Coplay and Ormrod, grew out of the demand of unemployed youths for work on relief projects.

Many cement workers in this region work only two days per week earning \$7.50. Relief officials have consistently refused to place on relief projects adult members of the families of these workers.

Draw Up Plans

The Coplay League has drawn up plans for a municipal swimming pool and town hall which it will push through in order to provide work for the unemployed of the town. The Ormrod League hopes to force the authorities to approve a project for a community center. The league at South Whitehall was formed when workers realized their united power through a spontaneous strike called to reinstate a worker who had been arbitrarily fired by the boss. The workers on the project are organized practically 100% and have elected committees to carry on collective bargaining with the bosses and relief officials.

Organize in Palmerton

A new League has also been formed in Palmerton, in Carbon County, a company town of the New Jersey Zinc Company. Weston Kelsey, administrator of relief for this area was formerly manager of this company and draws a huge pension from it.

Conditions in Palmerton are unbelievably bad. One family with nine children was found sleeping on the floor, with no mattresses and few covers. Children were found who had no clothing but had underwear, many others who had underwear but no clothing. Company houses that it is almost impossible to heat them. Plaster has almost entirely disappeared from many. A weather vane placed on the tangle of one of the "homes" indicated the direction of the wind! Some months ago when a League was formed in Palmerton the leading members were evicted from company property for their activities. The new League is so strong, however, that the Zinc Co. officials dare not interfere. Already it has forced the relief administration to set up an office in Palmerton. Formerly the unemployed had to walk 8 miles to the nearest relief station.

Mayor McNair Has a Flair FOR SINGLE TAX AND SCABS

PITTSBURGH.—William M. McNair, Pittsburgh's Single Tax mayor, continues to play the role of Allegheny County's leading strike-breaker. Recently in the strike of the A. & P. haulers, McNair rode a truck beside the police and a scab driver to assure the safe delivery of supplies to A. & P. stores. When the strikers persisted in following the truck McNair got off and lead the police in an attack on the strikers and ordered their arrest.

McNair first became infamous as a potential strike-breaker when he announced last June that he would support the employers if there was a steel strike.

After being on the losing end for twenty-five years McNair became mayor last fall in a New Deal landslide. His hobbies are apple eating and "ground rent". He vetoed an ordinance of the city council which provided \$500,000 out of a bond issue for unemployed relief. When a delegation from the Pittsburgh Unemployed League visited the mayor to protest against the veto, he told the committee that they should get behind the bill.

The Party at Work

PITTSBURGH.—The branches of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party have come together and formed the Pittsburgh Branch of the Workers Party of the U. S. The merger meeting was held December 14. John Sullivan was elected chairman; Solov, vice chairman; Irvin Oklin, secretary; Mary Belton, treasurer; Hopton Howell, education; James Sifakis, trade union fraction; Ben Cooper, P.U.L. fraction. These officers make up the branch executive committee.

The branch is preparing to hold a social affair for January 11 to which it is planned to invite sympathizers and other interested persons when the program of the new party will be discussed.

The branch has also selected a committee to work up a mass meet-

which he had in council which provided for taking the ground rent that was now going to Europeans owning land in Pittsburgh.

He also told the delegation that "every mayor should take up housing." He then invited the committee outside to have their pictures taken with him in front of some advertising benches which a furniture company had sent for the unemployed to sit on while they were waiting for food orders. The committee declined to accept the honor.

The mayor is such good copy for the local Hearst paper that an officer of the Workers Party was told by this paper that if the party wanted publicity for any of its meetings they should get the mayor to speak.

Holstein Freed In Minneapolis

ONE FRAME-UP REMAINS

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Hennepin County Grand Jury has voted a no-bill in the case of Emanuel Holstein, leading militant of Drivers Local 574, whom the Citizens Alliance and Police Chief Bloody Mike Johannes have been attempting to frame for the murder of a millionaire special deputy who died during the May strike. The clearing of Holstein is a direct result of the fight staged by the Minneapolis trade union movement led by the militant fighters of Local 574. Minneapolis unionists are wild with enthusiasm at this new blow to the Citizens Alliance, which had hoped to terrorize labor by railroad Holstein to death. A few weeks ago the attempt to frame the Machinists Brotherhood business agent was also smashed by mass pressure.

One more Citizens Alliance

frame-up remains to be defeated: the charge against Phillip Scott for the same murder which the labor-haters failed to pin on Holstein. The County Attorney, has been moving heaven and earth to get Scott before a jury as quickly as possible, hoping to railroad him before the defense could get organized.

The defense movement got going faster than the prosecutor, however, and now the latter has begun to stall. He claims to have discovered a new material witness, and wants to postpone the trial. Meanwhile, the defense campaign goes forward with great speed. The Auditorium has been hired for New Year's Eve and the labor movement will stage a big party for the benefit of the Scott Defense. Local 574 has requested Herbert Solow, formerly Managing Editor of its daily strike bulletin, to solicit funds in the east for the support of the defense movement. Other Minnesota unions are also being asked to bring the fight. The prospects are promising and it looks as though the Citizens Alliance is due for another trimming.

Relief Wood Strike Looms

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 19.—Intensifying their fight against relief officials because of their notorious system of distributing wood while thousands of miners of this city are idle, the Illinois Workers Alliance is preparing for a strike at all wood yards of this territory. A strike committee, with Joe Angelo, Workers Party member, as secretary was elected at the last meeting of the alliance. Workers Party and Socialist workers are leading the fight which is quickly spreading in all circles of the local labor movement.

Independent Printing Employees Win 5 Day Altum Press Strike

A.F. of L. Printing Unions Urged to Help Organize Industry

A striking success has come out of the first strike conducted by the Independent Printing Employees of New York. Despite an empty treasury, sabotage by government officials supposed by law to be impartial and the organized resistance of the boss printers, the workers in Altum Press, 156 William St., after a five-day struggle are back on the job under conditions that set a high mark for shops not organized by the A. F. of L.

Last week's strike was the culmination of a ten-months struggle led by the Altum workers under the I.P.E.'s leadership. Altum Press brazenly ignored the Graphic Arts Code, which is supposed to guarantee the workers certain conditions. The I.P.E. fought before the NRA boards so ably and vigorously that the boards could not evade giving a decision in favor of the workers.

The NRA, as usual, did nothing to enforce its own "decisions", and finally the workers struck. The boss printers tried to make this a test case. The workers held out on the picket-line, however, aided by volunteer pickets from the Workers Party. On request of the I.P.E., the A. F. of L. Printing Pressmen's Union 51 notified all its chapters not to scab. Finally the boss had to back down.

Altum Press negotiated with a committee headed by Sam Gordon, president of the I.P.E. Matthew Levy, member of the Socialist Lawyers Association, advised the I.P.E. committee on legal aspects of the final settlement, which has been signed by the boss and all the workers of the shop. This settlement included:

1. Re hiring all strikers and firing of the one scab.
2. An immediate wage raise of \$5 pending revision upward by further negotiations.

W.P. to Open Training School; In Fight Against Capitalism

The International Workers School, to show workers how capitalism exploits and keeps the masses in poverty, but better still, what to do about it, will open a district school in New York within the next two weeks, to be followed by the opening of other schools in keeping with the growth and expansion of the Workers Party, Hugo Oehler, National Educational Director of the Party, announced for the National Educational Committee of the W.P.

In addition to the International Workers School, the plans of the committee include a National Training School to train Party members. The training school will be in New York.

Party to Train Workers
"The Party through its branches and districts will select comrades throughout the country who will be sent to the National Training School for a period of training," Oehler said.

They will be trained to organize Unemployed Leagues and fight for

relief, to fight for progressive measures in trade unions, to recruit advanced workers into the Workers Party and to build the Party through mass action in the working class struggle against capitalist poverty and exploitation. The aim of the Party and its schools is a workers' government with the machinery of production in the hands of those who work, producing things in abundance and making the masses politically and economically free.

Class Outlines
Branch and district schools of the International Workers School will be opened as rapidly as possible and outlines for classes will be ready within a week, Oehler stated. The first outlines will deal with "Workers Party Fundamentals", "Organizational Principles", "ABC's of Marxism", "Trade Union Tactics and Strategy", "History of the American Labor Movement", "The International Revolutionary Movement" and "Marxian Economics".

Form Research Department
Plans are being worked out for Circuit Schools and Summer Schools in different parts of the country. A Research Department, consisting of a staff of capable research workers, is being formed in conjunction with the school program.

The National Educational Committee consists of A. J. Muste, J. Borkeson, Oliver Carlson, Jack Weber and Hugo Oehler. Comrade Oehler was elected National Direc-

Facts Are Facts For Coal Miners

ILLINOIS "EXPOSURE" EXPOSED

Allard Cites P.M. of A. Records Against Article by Ralph Shaw In Labor Unity

By GERRY ALLARD

In the October issue of Labor Unity, Ralph Shaw, it is announced, begins a series of articles in which he hopes to "expose" the Musteite-Trotskyite elements in the coal fields of southern Illinois. Now it is common knowledge in the radical movement that truth and accuracy are held as "bourgeois prejudices" by the Stalinists. Shaw's mixture of indictments, 'charges' and insinuations are written in characteristic "Labor Unity" prose: he quotes people, but consistently fails to tell the reader where the quotations can be found.

Taken as a whole his article simmers down to precisely one thing: a clear example and admission that the Communist party is no longer an important force in the Illinois coal fields.

Shaw's article is long and cumbersome. It is not necessary to answer his allegations in detail, save from one paragraph. I quote from Shaw, page 18, Labor Unity, Oct. 1934:

"Facts Are Facts"
"The Musteites and S. P. elements helped put over the infamous 'we must accept the same scale as Lewis has with Peabody.' Here is how it was done: The willing Operators' Ass'n. was willing to give \$5.70 to settle the strike (a reduction of 40 cents from the original contract). Pearey and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the convention declaring 'we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more, no less.' (Peabody scale was lower, U.M.W.A.) The Musteites now try to disclaim responsibility for this act of betrayal but facts are facts and undeniable."

We admit that facts are facts and they are not deniable. We will therefore let the facts speak. I quote from the proceedings of the first constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America held at Gillespie, Ill., October 3 through October 8, 1932. On page 1 of the proceedings, Wed., Oct. 5, 1932, night session beginning at 7 P.M.:

From the Record
"Scale Committee's report given: 'Pearey: The operators said that they had to have a scale that was competitive. We had a group of mechanized operators represented and out of that group one representative of the Southern Coal Co. They stated that they could not pay the \$8.10 scale and compete with with other operators in southern Illinois. Then they brought in a proposal. They wanted us to allow their mines to operate next morning on this proposal until this convention gave their approval or rejected the scale. We said that if the mines went to work in the morning they would have to pay the \$6.10 temporary agreement. This group only represents a small group of operators. The largest operators say that if we would take this scale not only them but other large operators would sign it."

"Keck: ... The question is what are going to be our demands from now on. The mechanized operators told us very frankly that it would not be possible for them to pay any relief, to fight for progressive measures in trade unions, to recruit advanced workers into the Workers Party and to build the Party through mass action in the working class struggle against capitalist poverty and exploitation. The aim of the Party and its schools is a workers' government with the machinery of production in the hands of those who work, producing things in abundance and making the masses politically and economically free."

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tor. Shaw states, "Pearey and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the convention declaring we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more no less."

The facts are that Pearey, Keck and Lieutenants fought and voted to have the wage cut ratified. They will not deny this, claiming that this policy put the P.M. of A. over the shadow of Pearey and Keck. He does this unconsciously, of course, but no shrewd Stalinist gymnast would care to be quoted on such a careless faux pas.

Now try to disclaim the responsibility for this act of betrayal but facts are facts and undeniable."

it we must make a wage scale that will catch most of the operators at this time in that part of the country where we hold most of our membership. The operators say they can't pay a higher wage scale than Franklin county and compete with them.

"Douglas: I think this convention should work out a differential. I think that in placing a 12c differential as you go on north you can render the situation satisfactory."

Allard Opposes Retreat

"Allard: I realize that in the first place I speak under a handicap at this convention because I am from Franklin county and my mine is working under the \$5.00 scale. There are one of two courses to pursue. One course is to retreat and the other is to retreat the strike movement. Here is where we incur lots of difficulties. The retreat proposed by the scale committee I don't believe is very well timed. There is not a section of the state that has expressed a desire to retreat. The spirit of the membership is still on the upward."

After considerable discussion a motion was then made to accept the scale committee's recommendation, which was to stand pat on the \$6.10 temporary agreement. McGill, Springfield board member and right wing adherent moved an amendment as follows:

"McGill: Amend that they be instructed to return back and make an agreement identical in wages to this agreement in effect in southern Illinois."

50 Opposition Votes

The amendment was carried by a vote of 112 to 50. After Allard had led the opposition against the cut the fifty opposition votes consisted of the solid left wing vote in the convention which included Corbridge, Steed, Fraser, Allard, Burrell, Battuello, Ansbury, Tracy, Bernard, Latteque, Scramin, etc.

In a last desperate effort to outmaneuver the right wing Allard moved the following according to the proceedings:

"Allard: Motion made that a referendum be held within two weeks."

"Motion to table. Carried 90 to 46."

From the above one can see that the debate and opposition of the left wing was vigorous. Heated discussion took place as the lefts and rights crossed swords. The left wing fought to the end trying to refer the matter for a referendum vote of the rank and file. Three Stalinists, all speakers, did not voice a single word during the debate according to the official record.

Shaw's Nightmare

Now let us compare the above facts with the nightmare in Shaw's article.

1. Shaw states, "the Musteites and S. P. elements helped to put over the infamous slogan 'we must accept as Lewis has with Peabody.'" The convention proceedings (as Shaw says, "facts are facts") disprove this in no uncertain terms.

2. Shaw states, "the Independent Operators' Ass'n. was willing to give \$5.70 to settle the strike (a reduction of 40 cents from the original contract)."

The truth is that the original wage scale for this classification of labor, conveyors, was \$8.04, a reduction of \$1.34. Facts are facts, but Shaw is not sufficiently conversant with details to know what he is talking about.

3. Shaw states, "Pearey and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the convention declaring we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more no less."

The facts are that Pearey, Keck and Lieutenants fought and voted to have the wage cut ratified. They will not deny this, claiming that this policy put the P.M. of A. over the shadow of Pearey and Keck. He does this unconsciously, of course, but no shrewd Stalinist gymnast would care to be quoted on such a careless faux pas.

Now try to disclaim the responsibility for this act of betrayal but facts are facts and undeniable."

Made Supreme Sacrifice
Moreover, in freshly dug graves repose the prematurely dead bodies of miners, some of them Left wing members who made the supreme sacrifice for the wage cut and for a union of the rank and file. Let it never be said by a responsible person that the remaining Left wingers abrogated the principles of the fighting Illinois miners. It simply can't be proven even by fantastic minds of unconscionable jack-

als of the Stalinist camp.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The Labor Racket

The Chicago's unions still fight the labor racketeer. The cancer which made its way into the labor movement of that city has not yet been eradicated. The agents of Murray Humphries and of the late George (Red) Barker still have influence in the workers' organizations.

The Federation News, organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor reports the efforts of the Joint Council of the International Teamsters Union to oust "Lefty" Lynch, secretary treasurer and business agent of Local 704—the coal teamsters organization. The local was originally known as the Chicago Coal Teamsters Union and was one of the locals of an independent organization, racketeer controlled. In February 1934 it affiliated to the teamsters union of the A. F. of L. and in the elections Lefty, a former officer of the old organization, was placed in the saddle again.

"It turned out," says the Federation News, "that Lynch could not forget the tactics employed by the Chicago Teamsters and it was not long before he thought that he was a new Mussolini. One of his first actions after taking office was to get out a book for which he solicited advertisement from coal merchants and others costing from \$25 to \$100."

He transferred the union headquarters to his own home, miles away from the center of town where it was impossible for the membership to attend meetings or to take any active part in union affairs. Special assessments were levied against the membership at meetings with only a handful of the 3,000 members present. No accounting was made on the union books of his disbursement of organization money and the President and vice president of the union were summarily expelled when they opposed him.

Union Receivership

Charges were preferred against Lynch in the Joint Council and that worthy was expelled. The local itself has been placed in the control of a receiver by the International, elections have been held and it is hoped that another step has been taken in blasting the racketeer out of the labor movement.

It is unfortunate, however, that labor organizations generally seem to believe that the cure for a dictator is another dictator. The practice of putting the affairs of local unions under the full control of receivers has been a curse in many national unions. The racketeers had the doors opened to them in the first case by the trade union bureaucracy. The denial of the fullest trade union democracy is bound to breed the rats who fatten on the organized workers.

The classic example of this fact is, of course, the case of the New York electrical workers. H. H. Broach was sent in by the International to clean out a nest of corruption in Local No. 3. He did so and then set up a dictatorial regime of his own to "keep out the gangsters". Under the era of "enlightened dictatorship" that Broach inaugurated the same mess came into being all over again. The only guarantee of clean unionism is full democracy in the organizations of labor.

Unions and Government
Radicals and progressives have always warned against the tendency on the part of many union leaders to involve the trade union movement closely with the machinery of government. There can be

no doubt that the relations of the two have been increasingly intertwined and that the tendency of the NRA labor machinery has been to tie labor's hands more and more in the exercise of its elementary rights. It is almost inevitable that this should happen.

A recent decision of the National Labor Relations Board illustrates how the process works and how almost by accident—the precedents are established by which later labor's rights may be curtailed. Four workers brought a complaint against the Bennett Shoe Company of Marlboro, Mass. The company had entered into a closed shop agreement with the independent United Shoe and Leather Workers Union of which the complainants had been members. Sometime later these complainants were expelled from the union because they violated a provision of its constitution that no member could belong to any other organization in the trade (the Shoe Workers Protective Union in this case). The union demanded that the employer discharge the four, which he did in accordance with for provisions of the union contract. The freed workers appealed to the N.L.R.B.

Dangerous Precedents

The Labor Board upheld the right of the boss to discharge workers under these conditions. It ruled that "by joining the United the complainants ratified . . . the closed shop agreement . . . By requesting and accepting membership in the United at a time when that union had already adopted the constitution they assented to it and it must therefore . . . be assumed to be . . . binding on them."

If we take such a ruling away from its setting in this particular case, it may easily be seen what a tremendous repressive effect it can have on minority groups in unions, or on insurgent groups which revolt against their leadership and strike out on an independent organizational path. In substance it makes it possible for national union officials to get together with manufacturers, to impose anything on a local union and to make them like it. A local in this situation could not revolt, would find it impossible to withdraw from under its national leadership and would have to accept its command unquestioningly.

Briefs

The growth of company unions in the past year is reflected in a recent report of the National Industrial Conference Board, employers' statistical organization, which shows that, of the companies studied 126 have company affairs while only 17 have agreements with unions. Under the New Deal 42 new company unions have been started with twelve more in process of formation. Only nine more companies signed union agreements however. . . . Another survey of 697 public utility companies shows that of the 580,000 employees covered in the survey, only twelve percent dealt with their companies through organized labor unions. In the railroad industry the figure is radically different, 75% of the 700,000 workers covered dealing through regular unions. . . . Be happy Tom Mooney. The workers of the San Francisco Market Street Railway Company—the outfit which framed you when you tried to organize their employees—has had to come to terms with the labor unions. Shorter hours, higher wages and union recognition were awarded following the general strike. . .

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History in the Making

THAT the revolutionary party is to play one of the most important roles in American labor history is no longer a question of doubt. At this critical moment, when the Socialist Party is moving faster and more determinedly to the right, and when the Communist Party is definitely failing the leftward moving workers, there remains only one force capable of giving correct leadership in the class struggle—the Workers Party of the U. S.

The class conscious workers are giving concrete manifestations of their willingness and readiness to struggle. Witness the general strike in California; the Toledo and Minneapolis historic battles; the textile workers and numerous other instances. What is lacking is a revolutionary mass party. To fill that need becomes the paramount duty of the Workers Party. This imposes enormous tasks upon us.

The united forces of the two organizations which merged to form the new party contain sufficient material with which to carry out this obligation. All that is necessary is a determined, obstinate struggle for its achievement. Every party member, every sympathizer, every friend must make a little sacrifice and success is assured.

THE URGENT NEED

The first need of the new Party, weak as yet compared to the great tasks ahead, is a fund to enable us to carry out the plans of the Program of Action.

First and foremost we must rush capable organizers into the field, build and maintain Party districts in the industrial concentration areas, and organize the coast to coast tours. This will bring immediate results in membership increase; it will help double the circulation of our paper and lay the foundation for a national Left-progressive wing in the trade union movement.

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WORCESTER, Mass.—Reinstatement of workers without discrimination and recognition of the U. T. W. A. are the terms of a compromise agreement offered by the Massachusetts board of arbitration which has ended the strike at the Stevens Linen Works at Worcester.

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U.S. Role In Making Bosses' War Shown

WORKERS DIED FOR MORGAN LOANS

Six years before the outbreak of the World War—wherein millions of workers dressed in uniforms were torn to bits—the Colt Patent Firearms Company, the duPont Nemours & Company and the "Government" of the United States knew that it was going to happen. And they set about secretly arming the nations for the conflict.

Nothing could give one a better insight into the nature of the American capitalist government—government by the capitalists—than this: The illusion that the "Government belongs to everybody" is swept away. The words of Karl Marx, who some 80 years ago wrote that a capitalist government is just the "executive committee" of the capitalists themselves, are brought to mind.

Why America Entered War
The facts unearthed by the Senate Committee investigating the munitions industry show up clearly the interlocking alliance between the financial and political "rulers" of the United States, between the capitalists and the Government.

On March 5, 1917, Woodrow Wilson, who had just been returned to the White House by an overwhelming majority "because he kept us out of war," received a cable from Walter Hines Page, then U. S. Ambassador in London. The cable, made public by the Nye Committee, said in part:

"The pressure of this approaching crisis, I am certain, has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial interests. . . . It is not improbable that the only way of

maintaining our present pre-eminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany."

At that moment, according to the Committee's experts, the British government was being pressed by the Morgan bank and other American financial institutions to pay back \$100,000,000 which had been advanced in war credits. The British government was unable to repay the loans, and the loans were in danger.

Woodrow Wilson and Congress declared war on Germany immediately thereafter; and not only did the banks collect their loans, but the "Government" footed the bill—and while the doughboys were being sent over and slaughtered to the tune of \$1 a day, more than 500 American capitalists were drawing down a minimum of \$1,000,000 a year each, and some were "getting" as high as \$15,000 per day throughout the war.

The "Japs" Are Discovered
When the war was over, a new enemy had to be found, and if not found, then made.

The Wall Street financiers, the munitions makers and the country's big corporations, including the U. S. War Department, got busy. And soon poor dumb guys at crossroads and on street corners across the country were talking about the "Japs" and the "Yellow Peril". Plenty money was spent to get that result; newspapers were subsidized by the big interests—the "invisible government"—and Congress began appropriating millions

for "national defense" in the next war.

And at that moment in 1923 when the "Jap" scare was being whipped up in earnest, and loudly drummed into the people through the newspapers and into the children through school text-books, the U. S. War Department began helping the duPont Company of Wilmington, Delaware, sell munitions to Japan.

The American government agreed to turn over to the duPonts a part of the U. S. reserve supply of cartridges to be shipped to Japan. Since then both the War Department and the State Department have aided the American munition makers in arming Japan, Germany and other so-called "enemy" countries, at the same time preparing at home a psychology of fear and hatred, and building up a modern "war machine".

None of this is new, of course. Since the industrialists constitute the real government of the nation, nothing less could be expected. The game has been going along all the time. The Nye Committee has rendered a real service, however, by giving the public a peep behind the scenes.

The "Government" is like the infamous Bruce Barton. Mr. Barton wrote a book about Jesus and a book about the Bible, then he wrote a terrific article in the American Magazine against war, entitled "Let's Advertise this Hell", and he then donated several full-page ads against war in the popular magazines for World Peaceways. But all this while he was serving (at a big salary) as advertising agent for the Remington Arms Company, the Standard Oil Company, the Chase National Bank and the duPont Nemours & Company, equipping armies in Europe, Asia and South America.

In the same way, this capitalistic "Government" dupes the masses and serves the interests of the financiers and industrialists.

Saar Basin Is Pawn Of Imperialist Rivals

PLEBISCITE MASKS REAL AIMS

In the Saar today, there is involved much more than the fate of the Saar or even all Europe.

The tiny Saar district, packed with almost 900,000 people, the majority miners, has become a pawn in the hands of practically every great imperialist rival in the struggle for hegemony in Europe. The question to be decided now is this:

Is it possible for Germany and French imperialism, bound sooner or later to come to grips over the question of continental hegemony, to reach a temporary understanding which would break up the present alliance between France and Soviet Russia, thereby allowing British imperialism to weld all Europe for a short time into a powerful bloc directed against the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.?

At the moment of achieving such an agreement, a new world war would become an imminent danger in a far more immediate sense than hitherto. Thus far the antagonism between French and German imperialism has been the main stumbling block to England's persistent attempts to realize its dream of an all-European anti-Soviet bloc with Hitler-Germany as its spearhead. Such a bloc seems almost indispensable if British imperialism together with its Japanese ally is to fight with a chance of success against both the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. Every move on the part of the U. S. (itself anxious to prevent England from solidifying its European position

lest that ruin American plans for a bloody re-division of the world on its own terms), is designed to prevent it. Naturally, American diplomacy makes its constant moves against England under cover of a desire "to ensure European peace".

Today England seems closer to its goal than ever before. The "understanding" between German and French imperialism as to the future of the Saar mines is, in the main, England's work. Powerful capitalist groups in Germany and France which fear a premature showdown between the two, and which therefore favor an alliance under British overlordship against the Soviet Union (and the U.S.), seem to be gaining the upper hand. The German and French press have toned down mutual attacks, a fact gratifying to the petty-bourgeois "pacifist" who sees here a victory for the "cause of peace", but very alarming to the Marxist who understands that this agreement really smooths the way towards the outbreak of another world war.

The Saar has become the key to the war question, in the sense that the negotiations around the plebiscite are being utilized for the purpose of breaking up the present alliance between French imperialism and the Soviet Union.

For England the plan of an "Eastern Locarno" was, in the final analysis, but a threat whereby to pound Germany into line. The real settlement of the question of "European peace" under British wing is to come out of the negotiations around the Saar. Once the ascendancy of groupings favoring a German-French understanding has been assured in England, France and Germany (and that day seems not far off), no more mention will be made of the "Eastern Locarno". Soviet Russia's isolation will be greater than it has been for a long time past. The French Russo-German alliance will be, at most, a scrap of paper. All the concessions made to French imperialism by the Soviet bureaucracy will have been in vain.

Thus far this stage has not been reached, but this has been the trend of developments. On all sides regroupments and preparations for the new situation are taking place. Both in the German Reichswehr and in the Red Army, those groups advocating a renewal of the former Russo-German alliance as an alternative to both the present Franco-Russian alliance and the proposed Franco-German alliance, again raise their heads. It is conceivable that American imperialism, to counteract England's plans (of which a Franco-German understanding is the cornerstone), will use its still great influence in Germany and its growing influence in Soviet Russia in favor of a new Russo-German "understanding" as a temporary expedient. Actual events in the Soviet Union, aiming at eliminating certain groupings actually or supposedly involved in the Kirov assassination, may be related to this struggle between orientations on foreign policy and accompanying differences as to the inner Soviet regime. The new "purging" in Hitler Germany is undoubtedly aimed at preventing opposition Nazi groups from staging any provocative anti-French demonstrations which might interfere with plans of the Hitler clique to come to an understanding with France against Russia.

To the contending imperialist robbers the plebiscite itself is one of the least important aspects of the Saar question. What matters to them is the use of this issue to further larger ends, all leading up to a single one: the best possible line-up for the coming war.

But to the unfortunate people of the Saar the plebiscite has enormous importance. True, if the majority votes for the continuation of the status quo (under the League of Nations), the question will simply be laid over for a while, giving the workers of the Saar a chance to make of the Saar, instead of a source of triumph for Hitler and a step towards war, a stepping stone towards the proletarian reconquest of Germany and an ally of the fighting French proletariat. But if as a result of the Nazi terror, the bargain between French and German imperialists, and the lack of the active solidarity of workers of other countries, the Saar majority votes for return to Germany, then the plebiscite will hand over to the torture chambers and firing squads of the Nazis the flower of a proletariat whose militant traditions rank with those of our fighting miners of West Virginia, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

The workers of the Saar see to the east a country in which their brethren, having suffered a cruel defeat, are incapable of lending them any help. To the west they see a proletariat hardly able to hold its own in a deadly struggle with reaction and fascism. The workers of the Saar seem to have been left almost completely in the lurch, facing the most cruel and powerful enemies the working class has ever known.

THE METHODS OF STALINISM

By JOSEPH ZACK

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles by Joseph Zack, a former leader of the Communist Party who recently resigned and joined the Workers Party. In this article Comrade Zack paints an unforgettable picture of the methods of Stalinism as he saw them in Moscow. Next week he will describe the working of these methods in the American C.P.)

There is a crisis developing in the C. P. Only here and there are external manifestations of it but its burrowings are deep.

This crisis manifests itself: 1) In the decline of the party's influence particularly in the trade union field, both in independent unions and in the A. F. of L., and in the decline of the unions controlled by the party itself; 2) The increased turnover of party membership. According to Browder's report (Nov. Communist) the C. P. membership declined from 24,000 at the time of the party convention (April 1934) to below 20,000, this in spite of a recruitment of 17,000 new members in that period. According to these figures more than 21,000 members dropped out of the party within six months since the Cleveland convention.

Outwardly, the crisis thus far manifests itself in the withdrawal of groups of independent unions (Building Trades) and A. F. of L. minority groups (Local 3 Electrical Workers) from the party's control, as well as the going over to the opposition or "expulsion" of groups of active party members who are joining the W. P.

Were such a thing as inner democracy in existence in the C. P. this crisis would of course take other forms than disintegration. The background to the present crisis is far more complex, however, than the average party member suspects. Essentially the crisis is due to the fact that while officially Lenin's teachings are supposed to be the official guide of the party, Leninism in fact has been abolished or substituted by the mediocrity of Stalinism. This double bookkeeping is at the root of the present situation in the C. P. and the whole Comintern.

However, in order not to anticipate too much and in order to relate things against the background of American events I will tell my own story, for this is the story of many others still in the party. My own experience brought me to the same conclusions as those stated in the Workers Party Declaration of Principles. I am deeply convinced that many others will take the same road.

Back Stage Methods

Even while Stalin was combined with the Right wing in Russia itself (Bucharin, Rykov and Co.) in order to fight the Left (Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc.) he at the same time was intriguing against his Russian allies (Bucharin was then in charge of the Comintern) in the foreign parties by encouraging the development of "Left" factions against Bucharin. That is, it appeared that way; in reality Stalin was not afraid of Bucharin at all. What he was aiming at was to isolate his main enemy, Trotsky, from the Left in the foreign parties.

This he did by diverting the fight away from Stalin, using Bucharin as the punching bag and bugaboo and thus annexing the Left element to himself, diverting it away from Trotsky.

Against the background of the then declining revolutionary wave in Europe and the tiredness of the Russian masses themselves this strategy worked wonderfully both outside and even to a large extent inside of Russia. This is how I, as well as many others of the Left in the C. P. got hooked to Stalin's kite. Thus the so-called "right on two fronts—against Right and Left"—really was a fight mainly against the Left as subsequent events have proved amply.

Stalin, initiator or partner in all the policies he blamed Bucharin for, took for his main guiding line the question of possessing himself of the party apparatus in and outside of the Soviet Union. To achieve this end he played both ends against the middle. Thus he became the arbiter, the potentate, of the party apparatus, veering right and left against the background of the opportunist theory and practice of "socialism in one country".

The Game of Make-Believe

It took me a long time to find out the inside track of Stalin's politics in those days. His game of make-believe, of pretending to do one thing in order to do the exact opposite—a method used between enemies and developed into a fine art in the class struggle of the Orient—was now introduced into the Communist movement by Stalin.

I cannot pride myself on having understood it then. But I did smell a rat in 1929 when Stalin in the American Commission to Judge the Lovestonites spoke about principles, about the Tammany Hall methods of the Lovestonites. This speech was reprinted in pamphlet form in this country. Stalin pretended not to have favored any of the factions. I, knowing the details, knew he was lying unscrupulously and preparing to cover up his tracks at the same time. This was done by dispersing the leaders of the American Left, sending them to various countries. This was done to "prove" that Stalin did not favor the minority faction. Stalin, then in full power, was preparing to forbid all factions. Not only that, there was to be a "monolithic" party, a party of one thought, the thought of Stalin, and no controversial discussions. It would not do, therefore, to have proofs that Stalin had been organizing factions for years before. Differences were outlawed as "Left Social-Fascist" (Lovestone) or "counter-revolutionary" (Trotsky).

Explaining" the Opposition

Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentaries which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war against capitalist nations. 3) Loosening of the foreign trade monopoly. 4) Building up a war industry but neglect of the rest of economy. 5) Socialism cannot be built in a peasant country, hence the proletariat has to exploit the peasantry to prepare for the International Revolution, war, etc.

Such was the peppery dish prepared against the opposition. Needless to say we foreigners were thus finally convinced that Trotsky's position was all wrong, condemned it as "left" phrase-mongering, "objectively" leading to a counter-revolutionary position. Later this was further simplified to read: "The counter-revolutionary platform of Trotskyism" or "Trotskyism, the Vanguard of International Counter-Revolution."

Just about the time that we were pretty well convinced of the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, occurred the Chinese debacle. Those who follow events in the movement will remember that, contrary to the fundamental teachings of Lenin, Stalin caused

few more such things and I could see Stalinism as it is. I never could admire Stalin or boost him with "quotations" and I was feeling less and less sure of myself when talking about Trotsky. Of course ever since I objected to the resolution I was on the blacklist. This I found out later.

The Moscow Rumor Factory

While in Moscow in 1927 many rumors kept on percolating through to us foreigners about the internal situation in the Russian party. One of them was about Lenin's testament. It was said that this testament was very bad for Stalin and good for Trotsky, but the informers would add: "Lenin in his last days was losing his senses, hence the Central Committee decided to disregard his testament".

Stalin's caucus in those days was a regular rumor factory. Anyone slated for disfavor or elimination would first be subjected to this form of blackmail. As to Trotsky, the rumors were: 1. That he was breaking discipline and organizing a new party. 2. That the Trotskyists were hooking up with counter-revolutionary elements (White Guards). 3. That they were organizing a separate demonstration for May Day and that Trotsky attempted individually to address the demonstration and incite the masses against the party.

When Trotsky was being exiled to Alma Ata it was said that he took along with him a dozen peddler hunting dogs, hunting rifles, servants, lots of furniture, fine clothes and a whole library, all the comforts of a big bourgeois intellectual. The vilification of the opposition in the official Russian press must have been colossal, but we foreigners could not read it. We were supplied, however, with "quotations" from Trotsky's and Zinoviev's writings and plenty of analysis of these quotations, but we never saw an actual textual exposition of the opposition leaders' position written by themselves!

Explaining" the Opposition

Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentaries which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war against capitalist nations. 3) Loosening of the foreign trade monopoly. 4) Building up a war industry but neglect of the rest of economy. 5) Socialism cannot be built in a peasant country, hence the proletariat has to exploit the peasantry to prepare for the International Revolution, war, etc.

Such was the peppery dish prepared against the opposition. Needless to say we foreigners were thus finally convinced that Trotsky's position was all wrong, condemned it as "left" phrase-mongering, "objectively" leading to a counter-revolutionary position. Later this was further simplified to read: "The counter-revolutionary platform of Trotskyism" or "Trotskyism, the Vanguard of International Counter-Revolution."

Just about the time that we were pretty well convinced of the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, occurred the Chinese debacle. Those who follow events in the movement will remember that, contrary to the fundamental teachings of Lenin, Stalin caused

the affiliation of the Chinese C. P. to the Kuomintang, the Chinese bourgeois party of Chiang-Kai-Chek. The C. P. submitted to the discipline of the Kuomintang and did not even have its own press. In order to keep up this reactionary stew all kinds of fancy but completely deceitful and anti-Leninist theories were invented by Stalin and his clique. The peasant masses of China, who were already then in a rising mood, were not only not encouraged but restrained from revolutionary action by the C. P. in order, as the thesis read, to maintain the alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie against imperialism.

The Chinese Debacle

Then one nice day, like thunder from a clear sky, came the news—circulated by rumors—that Chiang-Kai-Chek, head of the Kuomintang and commander of the Nationalist armies, had ordered a pogrom on the Communists only a few days after Stalin had made a speech praising Chiang-Kai-Chek as a "loyal ally". Through a Chinese comrade, whom I happened to know personally, I found out the facts, and also that Trotsky was opposed to the whole line of Stalin in China. The apparatus control of the C. P. by Stalin, however, was so strong even then, that in spite of all these facts and the disastrous defeat of the proletariat in China resulting from Stalin's policies, the C. P. then assembled in a Plenum stated: "Events have verified the correctness of the line", etc., etc. This thing dumfounded me. Although unable to properly assemble all these things in my mind a sort of uncanny distrust took hold of me. Somehow Stalin appeared in my consciousness as a dark force and I could hardly get rid of that feeling ever after.

How the Lefts Were Fooled

The fact, however, that Stalin supported the Left in the American and other parties as against Brandler, Lovestone and Bucharin threw me off the track and prevented me from drawing any further conclusions then and thinking the matter over subsequently. The audacity of the slander against the Trotsky position as counter-revolutionary was another factor, for none of us could fathom that the responsible leaders of the Russian C. P. could have possibly sunk so low as to commit such a falsification. Hence I and many others did not bother to find out the actual facts even after we were out of Russia. We took it more or less for granted that Trotsky had become what the C. I. said.

The present new turn to the right, this time executed officially by Stalin himself, had to occur in order to stir up the memory of things of the past against the background of present events. Now I know, of course, that all and severally the alleged deeds and views of the opposition led by Trotsky, as stated by Stalin and his clique, are outright fabrications. I know now that the whole thing is a tissue of lies. The whole Stalinist system is an unscrupulous system of slander and blackmail that will condemn its authors forever.

In the next issue I will point out how things proceeded in the American C. P. on the basis of these methods and policies.

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The Real Issues in the Soviet Union

THESE are times which impose upon all revolutionary workers an attitude of the greatest responsibility and the most sober judgment in regard to the Soviet Union. Those who have seen the Russian revolution, and its product the Soviet State, as the star of hope and inspiration of the international working class must in no case allow their vision to be obscured by the happenings of the recent days. It is necessary now to hold fast to fundamental conceptions and to view all the happenings in their light. The greatest danger of all is that the sympathetic and partly sympathetic masses will be alienated from the Soviet Union itself by the things taking place now. It is the duty of the conscientious revolutionists to counteract this trend. The indignant protest against the Stalinist frame-up of Trotsky, Zinoviev and other working class critics—which is voiced instinctively by every honest revolutionist—has to be combined at all times with the defense of the Soviet State against its class enemies and an unqualified condemnation of all terrorist acts and tendencies which can only facilitate the eventual downfall of the Soviet State.

The idea that the Soviet State is immune from this danger is a profound illusion. As long as the Soviet Union is surrounded by a capitalist world it is never free from the danger of a counter-revolutionary overthrow. Lenin and all the Bolsheviks who made the revolution always said this, and that is why they

looked for the final solution of the difficulties and contradictions of the Soviet Union on the arena of the international revolution. The theory and practice of "Socialism in the Soviet Union alone" could work only to isolate the Soviet Union from its chief aid, and in the final analysis, its only real source of reinforcement, the international working class movement. The "Opposition", treacherously described as "counter-revolutionary" and now even branded as "terrorist", was animated from the first by this internationalist and fundamentally revolutionary conception. The purpose was to save the Soviet Union by spreading the revolution to other countries.

The accusation that the oppositionist political groups which originated in the Communist Party are responsible for the assassination of Kirov, or any other acts of terrorism, is a monstrous and fantastic slander. Such accusations hurled at the Marxist opponents of Stalin are not believed anywhere, least of all in the circles of the advanced and class-conscious workers. The uncompromising hostility of the Marxists to the methods of terrorism is too well known. The chief result of this infamous attempt to foist the assassination of Kirov onto the oppositionists is to sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the working class supporters of the Soviet State and thereby to weaken its position internally and externally. By resorting to such methods the Stalin bureaucracy testifies to the weakness of its position and the fear of proletarian criticism. The suspicion inevitably grows that further steps to the right in the field of foreign policy are contemplated, and that the aim is to silence criticism and smash proletarian opposition in advance. The bureaucracy can derive political and factional profit from the use of such methods only at the expense of the Soviet Union itself. Therein lies their condemnation.

We know nothing of the details surrounding the latest incidents—and neither does anybody else except the official circle which keeps it secret. We do not know what the political position of Zinoviev, for example, is at the present time and consequently cannot take any responsibility for it. But we do know that the attempt to "connect" Trotsky and his adherents with White Guards and with the assassination of Kirov is a transparent frame-up. We know that secrecy serves such ends, not the exposure and defeat of class enemies. For these reasons we demand open trials and full information. Opposition to this demand in the present circumstances is a confession of guilt. The working class of the world must be armed with the truth for the effective defense of the Workers' State.

Sacramento Trials Aimed at Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

criminal syndicalism charges were entered.

All defendants are charged with "wilfully, unlawfully and feloniously, by spoken and written words and personal conduct" advocating criminal syndicalism and "crime, sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership and control and effecting political change by advocating violence and picketing and by particularly advocating the overthrow of the government of the U. S. by . . . violence and force."

They are also charged with "justifying criminal syndicalism," and with printing, publishing, circulating, etc., matter advocating criminal syndicalism. Among the documents on which this charge is based are the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, Lenin's On the Road to October, the Program of the Communist International, and various publications of the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and numerous speeches, theses, etc. of the Stalinist Party.

Finally, they are charged with "drilling as students and becoming members of a class of students and engaging in the act or acts of performing and executing military drills with intent . . . to effect a political change."

The prisoners are in the main leaders and members of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. Pat Chambers is its District Organizer, and was C. P. Senatorial candidate in the last election. Caroline Decker is District Secretary of the Union. Jack Warnick is the director of the Sacramento Workers School. Norman Mini is an instructor in the school. Martin Wilson is section organizer of the I.L.D. Nora Conklin, a member of the Unemployed Council, is a direct descendant of one of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence. Albert Hongard, C. P. Congressional candidate, is Sacramento organizer of the C.P. Jack Crane is a member of the Workers Ex-Service-

men's League. Lorine Norman is secretary of the Sacramento I.L.D. Donald Bigham is Y.C.L. organizer. The other defendants are Fred Kirkwood, Lee Hung (a Chinese worker), A. G. Ford, Luther Miney, W. H. Huffine, Harry Collett, Mike Piesch, and John Fisher.

Two Out on Bail

In all these cases the bail under the criminal syndicalism charges is set at \$3,000 cash or \$6,000 bond. Those convicted of vagrancy or still under the charge would also have to provide bail on this charge, totalling \$1,000 each in cash or twice as much in bond. This includes Chambers, Wilson, Decker, Warnick, Norman, Kirkwood, Hung, Ford, Collett and Bigham.

Of all these only two have been bailed out. One is Albert Hongard, whose bail was provided by the I.L.D. and the Conference for Labor's Civil Rights, an organization of liberals headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell. The other is Norman Mini, bailed out by friends. Norman Mini is being defended by Judge Charles O. Busick, a conservative Republican who, when a Judge several years ago issued the notorious "Busick injunction" against the I.W.W. movement in California. Busick is reported to have subsequently changed his views and is now a critic of the criminal syndicalism law. The remaining defendants are represented by Leo Gallagher, retained by the I.L.D.

The prisoners have been miserably treated in jail. Among other things, Sheriff Cox has refused to deliver to them literature and newspapers sent by friends although such censorship is illegal.

Prosecution is Crooked

It has already been made clear that the prosecution will be run on Sacco-Vanzetti lines: an outright attempt to bulldoze and hoodwink the jury by playing upon its prejudices. District Attorney Neil McAllister has already begun his rough stuff. He got the wife of one juror, Mrs. R. B. Nix, to state that she had been threatened by Reds. An investigation disclosed that the claim was a fake.

On the other hand, it was re-

vealed that the Assistant D. A. is quite palmy with one of the jurors, a Mrs. Rose. Mrs. Rose likes this district attorney well enough to present him with a brace of ducks . . . but she will give an impartial verdict, of course.

The Communist Party is legal in California and even appears on the ballot. These defendants, however, are charged with the "crime" of distributing Communist literature, published by a legal party! Even those who are not party members are being attacked for Communism, although the real objective is to smash the entire militant labor movement of Sacramento Valley and the state.

Prisoners are Fighting

The prisoners are making a good fight themselves. Despite the misery of all these months in jail, they are on their toes in the court, putting questions to the jurors which anticipate the district attorney's plans to wave the American flag as his chief trial tactic. Caroline Decker makes a practice of asking prospective jurors the following question:

"Should the district attorney use such invectives when referring to us as 'Reds', 'agents of Moscow', 'rats', 'alien agitators', 'sedition radicals', 'free lovers', or 'godless people', would that prejudice you against me, and make it impossible for you to decide my case entirely on the basis of the evidence presented?"

Jack Warnick asks this one:

"If you should conclude from the evidence that I believe that every young person should be given an opportunity to work at the task for which he is best fitted . . . and if you should conclude that such a system ought to be changed radically . . . would that prejudice you against me?"

Martin Wilson:

"If you should conclude from the evidence that I believe that the essential meaning of democracy is majority rule, and that I believe

Issue New
International,
Party Organ

With the December issue, the New International appears for the last time as an unofficial organ.

The historic importance of this last issue is great. The articles by A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon on the Foundation of the Workers Party contain a survey of the past history of the revolutionary movement and perspectives for the future.

Sydney Hook, in his article on Marx and Hess presents a significant analysis of the evolution of Marxist thought. Ruben Gotesky starts the first round of a battle. In his article on Sydney Hook's book "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx". His chief criticism is based on Hook's contention 1) That Marxism is not a science, 2) That socialism is not inevitable. Hook will answer Gotesky in the next issue. Arne Swabeck writes on a current problem—the significance of the November elections. Among the special features will be another "Archive of the Revolution" and several book reviews on religion, art, science, etc.

Beginning with January, the New International will embark on its new career. According to its editors:

"It will not only be the theoretic organ of the Workers Party dealing with socio-economic and historical problems but will also contain articles of a scientific and technical nature—articles on science, medicine, industrial technique, housing, literature and the arts. From time to time non-party writers will be asked to contribute on these technical subjects, or to engage in open polemics with party writers. The fullest freedom of discussion within the broad party lines will be encouraged between party members. Thus, qualitatively and quantitatively the New International will be the foremost theoretic revolutionary journal in the English-speaking world."

that when our economic system fails to satisfy the minimum needs of the majority, the little minority who profit from that unworkable system will attempt to maintain themselves in power against the will of the majority by force, and that I believe that the majority have a right to act in their own interest and to follow militant leadership in establishing a government which does represent the interests of the majority, who are workers and small farmers, and that I believe it would be my duty to that majority of which I am a part to help establish that government by force, would that prejudice you against me?"

Need of United Defense Movement

The Sacramento case has the utmost importance for the labor movement, especially for its progressive and radical section, on a national scale. It is obvious that the defendants are bearing the brunt of a reactionary attack aimed at the working class movement as a whole. Up till now the publicity given to the case has been entirely inadequate, in view of its importance, and the absence of a strong national defense movement greatly endangers the prisoners. The fact that only two of them have been taken out on bail is a striking illustration of the weakness of the defense movement.

The Sacramento case calls for the cooperation of all forces in the advanced labor movement as the first necessary step toward the organization of a broad movement in the trade unions.

Next week we hope to have a detailed news story from Sacramento by our own correspondent.

CLEVELAND. — The American Newspaper Guild made another advance toward organization of newspaper editorial writers with the signing of a 1-year contract by the Cleveland News. A minimum of \$40 a week is set for editorial workers with four years' experience. A 5-day, 40-hour week is established.

Glass Faces Ten Years
On Syndicalist Charge

W. Va. Unemployed League Aid Defense

Stanley Glass, Socialist and active worker in the West Virginia Unemployed League, is facing a ten-year sentence for "conspiracy to overthrow the government" for daring to revive a strike against the Baldwin Shovel Plant, a subsidiary of the notorious Weirton Steel Co.

Last August at the request of the strikers Glass revived the strike at the Parkersburg plant after it seemed to have been broken; reorganized the picket lines; and held several successful meetings outside the plant. At one of these meetings on August 29 Glass was threatened by a scab armed with a pitchfork, who later appeared with a shotgun and fired ten times at the picket line, wounding five persons. Although brought to trial for this atrocity, the case against the scab was immediately dismissed.

At the instigation of the company, state troopers began a search for Glass with machine guns, and Mrs. Glass was told by troopers of their intention to murder Glass, whom they knew solely as a "red-headed agitator". Strikers concealed

ed Glass and he was not apprehended until October 25, on a warrant dated August 27—a day before the speech for which he was supposedly arrested.

Glass's room was searched and his wife's papers confiscated without a search warrant. He was secretly taken to Parkersburg, the scene of the strike, and brutally third-degreed for two days and nights by the police. Finally his friends learned of his whereabouts and secured his release on Nov. 3 in \$2,000 bail.

On January 4 the state will call for his indictment under the Redman Act, West Virginia's version of the criminal syndicalism law.

The West Virginia Unemployed League at its state convention held November 10-11 in Charleston adopted a resolution pledging solidarity to Glass. A local Glass Defense Committee has been organized at Charleston to take charge of the case. The Workers' Party calls upon its membership to support the activities of this committee. Contributions can be sent to J. Gordon, Chairman, 14 Capitol Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Hearst Red-Baiting in School System
Vehemently Protested by Educators

That noted scholar, William Randolph Hearst, who failed to obtain his degree when he was a student at Harvard, has recently been conducting an anti-red campaign directed at American schools and colleges. Mr. Hearst's only educational qualification is an honorary LL.B. from Oglethorpe, a jerkwater college in the south, a degree which he received in 1927 some thirty years after his unsuccessful career at Harvard had been forgotten.

When Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College in New York, received a badly written letter last week asking for "The inside stuff on Socialism, Capitalism, and Communism," he was forewarned. The same crude provocateur's trick had been employed by the Hearst press at Syracuse University. The author of the letter, a Hearst reporter, came into Professor Counts' office on his red-baiting mission to find a stenographer, ready to register every word of the interview.

Cooking Up a Red Scare
"Mr. Hearst," said the reporter after some prompting, "is at present engaged in conducting a 'red scare'. Personally I am not in sympathy with that sort of thing, in fact, quite the opposite. But Mr. Hearst wants material along this line."

Asked if he was ashamed of himself the reporter said, "Not of myself, but of the situation that makes it necessary for me to do this to keep alive."

A stenographic report of the whole interview was forwarded to the Dickstein Committee on Un-American activities, together with a petition signed by twenty-two New York professors, members of the National Educational Association, that Mr. Hearst be investigated.

Said Professor Counts:
"If W. R. Hearst succeeds in his efforts American schools and universities will be reduced to the ignominious condition of Germany."

Brownsville Mass Meeting
The Message of the Workers Party
and the Russian Events

A.J. Muste

PREMIER PALACE

FRIDAY, JAN. 4 -- 8:30 P.M.

SPEAKERS

J.P. Cannon

505 SUTTER

Resolution
Adopted by
N.Y. Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

in the "democratic" United States, will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter-revolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union.

"Since the revolutionary workers of the world must know the facts about white guards and foreign agents who may threaten the Soviet state in order to be adequately prepared for its own defense, we protest against the secrecy and mystery in which the Soviet Government has shrouded recent happenings in the 'democratic' United States, will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter-revolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union. Imperialists and their diplomats work in the dark. Not so the toiling masses; they need to see and know where they are going, especially in this crisis when the threat of war hangs like a sword over the workers of all lands.

"We earnestly protest, furthermore, against sowing confusion and division at this time in the minds of workers everywhere, as the Soviet Government does when it lumps together as counter-revolutionists, White Guards, Japanese imperialists, German Fascist butchers, and revolutionists who are party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government. We declare that only distrust can arise from laying the charge of conspiring to assassinate Kirov against revolutionists who, as Marxists, have always bitterly opposed individual terrorism.

"We demand, therefore, that persecution of party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government cease immediately; that the Soviet Government desist from attempts to link proletarian opponents of the present Soviet regime, who stand on the principle of the proletarian dictatorship, with White Guards or with the agents of capitalist governments; and that open trials be held for all charged with conspiracy against the Soviet Union and the widest publicity given to these trials in order that the advanced workers of the world may be armed with the truth about the dangers which threaten the Soviet Union and the machinations of capitalist governments."

W. Norris Joins
Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

Oppositionist reaction is now clearly on the offensive in the party, and gaining ground. The reactionary Right wing, led by the New York "Old Guard"—in reality a conservative gang which has nothing in common with the ideas and spirit of socialism—pushes forward. The weak-kneed and unprincipled "Militants" retreat before them all along the line.

As for the Revolutionary Policy Committee, it has forfeited the possibility of playing a serious role by allowing itself to be converted into an agency of the Lovestone faction and consequently, of degenerate and discredited Stalinism.

I know the history and background of the two organizations which came together to found the Workers Party of the U. S. I have read the Declaration of Principles very carefully and fully agree with it. I am convinced that the future belongs to this party. In my opinion, every sincere revolutionary socialist will have to make the same decision.

Fraternally yours,
W. W. NORRIS.

Anti-Fascist United Front

In Yorkville

FRIDAY, JAN. 4, 8 P.M.

Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St.

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, Proletarische Gemeinschaft, Young People's Socialist League.

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

nist and Socialist Parties, are among its charter members. The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the workers in the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian revolution of 1917. Proceeding from these principles the Workers Party of the U. S. utilizes the revolutionary possibilities of American tradition and history, including the militant strike tradition of the American workers, and adapts its tactics to the concrete realities and needs of the American masses today.

The revolutionary movement is necessarily international in outlook and character. The establishment of the new revolutionary party in the U. S. therefore means for us that we stand ready to cooperate with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the new, Fourth, International.

The formation of the Workers Party is a great step forward. After more than a decade of splits and dis-

integration in the revolutionary labor movement, an example of unity has been given. A center has been built to which the now unattached working class fighters as well as the fighting elements in other parties and groups may rally. A party has been formed which is revolutionary, international, and at the same time rooted in the American working class and adapted to the conditions existing in the U. S. today!

THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE

The road ahead for the new year must be the road of determined and militant struggle. This is the New Year's message of the Workers Party. Though plenty is today within our reach, every struggle of the workers against wage cuts or reductions in relief is met with bitter resistance by employers and government. Every attempt of the workers to organize in order that they may have power to enforce their demands is likewise violently opposed. Why? Because in this period of the decline of capitalism every gain made by the workers and farmers is at the expense of capitalist profits. By the same token, the workers must fight against every cut in wages or relief, must fight for a higher standard with every means and weapon

at their disposal. To yield an inch now, to give up the fight for a single moment means to give the capitalists a chance to rally their forces for a new onslaught, to be pushed nearer to the starvation level, nearer to the smashing of all the workers' organizations, nearer to the horrors of Fascism and War.

For the workers of the U. S. in 1935, therefore, the slogans are—
Organize — build the Unions and Unemployed Leagues!

Fight out the battle for union recognition in steel, automobiles, rubber, public utilities, all the basic industries. Fight it out on the picket line. Union recognition cannot be won in capitalist legislatures or courts. Strike! Strike militantly!

Organize the left-progressive wing, the honest fighting elements, in all the unions and on a national scale. Wrest the leadership of the unions from those who preach and practice cooperation with the bosses or the capitalist politicians. Put the leadership into the hands of those who preach and practice irreconcilable struggle against the bosses and their government.

Clean out the corruption, racketeering, gangsterism and autocracy which prevent the growth of militant unionism!

Demand insurance against unemployment, accident, sickness, old age—at the cost of capitalist profits.

Unite regardless of racial, religious, political or any other differences in order to resist all attacks upon the civil and political rights of workers and farmers. Oppose all preparations for capitalist wars!

Combat all capitalist attacks on the workers regime in the Soviet Union!

Fight every form of discrimination against the Negroes.

Remember that today the struggle for bread, for security, for a free and decent life, is the struggle to overthrow capitalism, that the only "way out" for the workers is the revolutionary way.

Organize and prepare, therefore, to establish the rule of the workers!

Plenty, security, leisure, freedom, peace for ourselves and our children, are within our reach. A crumbling, insane, unjust economic order stands in the way. We will sweep it aside. Reactionary forces will try to oppose and divide us. We must tear them down.

American capitalists and profiteers would lead the world to degradation, war, chaos. American workers will join the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics.

For Working Class Unity!

For A Workers World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

VOLUME 14 NO. 4

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Wall Street Cracks Whip on Congress

Efforts to Save Capitalism to Continue-New Deal
In 1934 Raised Prices, Profits-Put New
Millions on Relief

By GEO. CLARKE

Flushed with its recent electoral victory the Democratic Congress opens in Washington once again to do the bidding of the master. The master is not Roosevelt or the so-called sovereign people. The guiding spirits of the nation sit not in Washington but many miles to the north, in the man-made canyons of New York. It is the interests of Wall Street the legislators will serve.

The entire history of the New Deal is alive with instances proving the old maxim that the government is but the "executive committee of the ruling class". Roosevelt and a willing Congress took hold of the political reins of American capitalism, just as it was being steered into the ditch, and brought it back onto a safe highway. An unofficial spokesman for the administration, Raymond Moley, says flat-footedly: "Basically the New Deal was an effort to save capitalism."

Ungrateful Wall Street

Big Business may appear ungrateful to Roosevelt for the helping hand he gave it when in need. But if Wall Street has been grudging in its compliments, this is no indication that Roosevelt and his congressional majority have stinted in their grants. The actions of the President when the banks were on the verge of collapse and the six billion dollar blood injection into the prostrate financial and industrial institutions of American capitalism speak louder than compliments.

Capitalism has reaped a lucrative harvest under the benign administration of Mr. Roosevelt. The Journal of Commerce reports that over six billion dollars in the form of corporate interests and dividends have flowed into its coffers for the year 1934.

These fabulous profits have not been gained in an era of well being and prosperity for all. The economy of scarcity amid abundance is as striking a fact under Roosevelt as under Hoover.

Promises

The promises of Roosevelt to the stricken working class groaning under the full weight of the mounting years of economic crisis have been remarkably prolific. But even as these promises gained in ozone volume they receded in real substance. The talk of recovery has yielded little to the workers. Unemployment, according to the notoriously conservative A. F. of L. figures, shows an increase of 550,000 from October 1933 when the number of jobless stood at the figure of 10,122,000 to October 1934 when it has risen to 10,672,000. The past year has seen an increase of over one million families on relief. Richberg himself estimates that by February 1935 more than 5,000,000 families or over 22,000,000 persons will live on relief pittance.

"No one shall starve," said Roosevelt, and his Democratic Congress cheered him to the echo. The meaning of that promise is now clear. It has meant that death from starvation should be avoided to avert an explosion of discontent stored up for more than five years. Its corollary, however, has been that wages and relief levels must keep the masses on the border of starvation. The recent decree of relief administrator, Harry Hopkins, slashing work relief wages from 40 to 30 cents an hour is a veritable dynamite cure for those suffering from New Deal promises.

Employed Workers

Employed workers have fared no better than those on relief doles. The process of leveling the wages of skilled workers has been a high point of accomplishment under Rooseveltian codes. Its counterpart has been a standard of minimum wages slightly above the government handouts. And these standards have rarely been enforced. How significant is the fact that thousands of Detroit automobile workers, ostensibly living under a paradise of capitalist paternalism, would rather depend on relief checks than on the abominable wage of General Motors or Henry Ford!

On the other hand food prices have risen 28 percent over the figure for April 28, 1933. But payrolls have actually dropped 5.2 percent for the third quarter of 1934. When the working class tried to bridge this yawning gap, the New Deal has thrust its elbow in the way. Strikes have either been prevented or, once under way, pulverized by a multitude of arbitration boards. And now, the crowning stroke, is the so-called true proclaimed by Roosevelt with the direct collusion of William Green and the manufacturers. With the help of its Judas leaders labor has been crucified on the cross of the

(Continued on Page 4)

Auto Body Told System Is Doomed

Workers Shun Hearing
Held to Stabilize
Industry

TOLEDO, Ohio.—"The workers no longer trust the Government. That is why more workers have not come to testify at this hearing."

The NRA committee investigating labor conditions in the automobile industry heard this from Art Preis, speaking for the Workers Party of the United States. The committee, which has been gathering data in Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Toledo and other auto centers, was unable to understand why more workers did not come forward.

"Testimony has been taken secretly and good union men are afraid to expose themselves at this hearing," Preis told the committee. "This fact speaks eloquently of labor's position in this country. The workers know that the Government is in the hands of the industrialists. If they victimize themselves here, the Government will not protect them."

Whispered Testimony

Preis's statement came as a climax to many hours of whispered testimony by members of the Federal Auto Workers Union in which they told of acts of discrimination against militant workers, speed-up, sordid working conditions, irregular employment and low wages. "The hearing was largely a farce. Workers were not permitted to express opinions on the National Auto Labor Board, or on Section 7a of the NRA. Data on how to stabilize the auto industry under the profit system was what the committee wanted."

Preis Produces Facts

Refusing to speak from this basis, the Workers Party representative launched into a documented report on developments in the auto industry, showing the increasing rationalization and monopoly control under the NRA. Competition between the remaining major auto corporations is becoming sharper, he said. Facts and figures on unemployment, wages and hours were submitted to show that conditions in the industry would continue to become worse.

"This committee wants to know how to stabilize the industry," Preis continued. "The truth is, as members of the committee well know, the automobile industry cannot be stabilized. The economic system has to be stabilized. And capitalism cannot be stabilized. The profit system is undoubtedly doomed. We must look to a system

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Robber Baron Goes Free



The Insull brothers are free again. The above picture shows Martin Insull being escorted by police after his acquittal on a \$350,000 embezzlement charge. The Insull public utilities companies have taken millions from investors.

Another story on this page tells about 18 workers in California who face long prison sentences on charges of attempting to overthrow the government. Their actual crime is that they had the guts and decency to organize agricultural workers to fight against starvation wages.

Yet there are some workers who believe there are no classes in America! Who believe that the rich are treated the same as the poor!

Huey Long Is Tammany Hall Rising in South

A Clever Politician, Accustomed to Corruption, Graft

(This is the first of a series of articles on the would-be fascist leaders in the United States.)

By DAN EASTMAN

Part I

Huey Long is no depression baby; unlike Upton Sinclair, Dr. Townsend, and Father Coughlin, he has been in politics for many years. In 1920 he started his career as a member of the Louisiana Public Service Commission. In 1924 he ran up an astonishing vote for governor, and in 1928, at the very height of prosperity, he was elected.

Long is no kind-hearted socialist muckraker, no misguided visionary doctor, nor fulminating Catholic, but a clever and experienced politician accustomed to the ruthless corruption of capitalist politics. He is Tammany Hall brought up to date.

It is a mistake to underestimate the Louisiana Kingfish. If there had been no depression his antics would be confined to the always poverty stricken state of Louisiana. But with the whole country plunged into poverty and insecurity, the political measures that broke the government of Louisiana are now potentially effective throughout the nation.

Long's Following

On September 1 of this year, Huey Long was able to claim, if not prove, some 1,400,000 members of his Share the Wealth Clubs throughout America. In New York City alone, if we are to believe his

supporters, there are already 200 Share the Wealth Clubs ready to follow Huey wherever he may lead.

The stronghold of Longism is, of course, Louisiana, where there are literally thousands of Share the Wealth Clubs, and where Huey has a deadlock on every apparatus of government. He controls the executive directly through his stooge, Governor O. K. Allen. He has such influence in the legislature that, in the last session, it passed some forty-four bills so rapidly that none of the members ever found out what they were voting. And with so little formality, that it was months before the exact nature of the bills passed was known either to the legislature or to the people.

He controls the judiciary; after some fancy political maneuvering he succeeded in getting five of the eight members of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Huey himself is one of the senators from the state, and the other, Senator Overton, is a Long man. Two of the representatives to the lower house are Long men.

In Arkansas, which ranks second in the number of Share the Wealth Clubs, Long is reported to have assisted and influenced the election of Senator Hattie Caraway, widow of the late lamented Senator Caraway.

In Mississippi, third in the number of Share the Wealth Clubs, Long is reported to have assisted and influenced the election of Senator Bilbo.

(Continued on Page 4)

STEEL ELECTION CALLED

Carnegie Corporation Will
Rely on Government
And Courts

By ARNE SWABECK

The National Steel Labor Relations Board has ordered—"reluctantly and after long hesitation"—that an election be held in the plants of the Carnegie Steel Company, subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Almost a year ago such an election was ordered by the National Labor Board in the Weirton steel mills, but the Weirton magnates snapped their fingers at this decision. They had previously held an election in their own way—making sure in advance that the returns would show an overwhelming indorsement for the company union.

Of course, the Weirton steel workers, who had amply proven by their strike in September 1933 that they were in favor of a union of their own and ready to fight for it, got nothing out of the sham maneuvers between the labor boards and the owners of the industry. It is reported that the workers in the Carnegie mills had asked the Wagner National Labor Board last February for an election and on May 2 it was ruled that such an election should be held. Nothing happened.

It is reported also that the Carnegie Corporation had expressed a willingness to bargain with the steel workers union as a concession to them but remained adamant in its demand to negotiate similarly with other groups, meaning the company union through which it feels sure of its powers of coercion and intimidation to control the men in the mills.

It has already been strongly intimated that the corporation will refuse to furnish its payroll for the elections ordered and carry the case up to the United States Supreme Court. A fight in this manner is a fight on the corporation's own front. It knows how to deal with the courts and how to make the influence of its money powers bear fruit. The steel corporation does not mind spending a little time with the courts for it knows it can rely on any branch of the capitalist government to carry out its wishes. In this sense it relies on its own powers, a lesson that the steel workers union has not yet learned.

These are so far the results of the demoralizing practices instituted by the proposals of William Green and Mike Tighe at the steel workers union convention in Pittsburgh last June when it faced the momentous question of striking the mills to compel recognition of the union.

Green asked for the creation of the National Steel Labor Relations Board and got it. The workers paid the price of the resulting disintegrating influence just at a time when an aggressive policy of organization and action was required. Green and Tighe on the other hand are pursuing their victory and forging ahead for an industrial truce of no strikes with monopoly capital.

To challenge the steel corporation to a plant election to determine the sentiment of the workers may have had its time. Now that is not the issue and in view of the special powers of coercion in the hands of the corporation in such a procedure it will result only in disorganization of the workers' ranks. Actual union organization means to fight it out.

Prospects for organization were excellent last summer. The Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel Workers, a pseudopatriotic pseudounion, was the only organization to

(Continued on Page 4)

Eighteen on Trial Need Labor Defense

California Fruit Growers Push Prosecution of
Union Leaders in Red Drive-Workers
Move to Obtain Bail

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Confronted by a proposal originating with the California growers' associations that District Attorney McAllister, who was defeated in the last election and goes out of office January 5, be hired at a fat fee as special prosecutor in the pending criminal syndicalism cases, the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors is showing signs of fright.

Despite the lack of a serious organized defense movement of the 18 workers shortly to be tried for the crime of organizing to win decent wages, the Board hesitates to hire McAllister. At a special meeting Monday morning, several members expressed doubts of their authority "to spend the taxpayers' money" on a special prosecutor. Underneath a flood of legalistic jabber was this consciousness:

Imperialists Enter New Naval Phase

Japan Ends Treaty -- U.S.
Fleet to Mass
In Pacific

The Japanese denunciation of the Washington Naval Treaty at the close of 1934 was a bold stroke to overcome the obstacles placed in her way by American and British imperialism. The struggle for the markets and raw materials of the Orient, especially China, is of primary importance to these three powers. At the present juncture this struggle revolves around the question of the naval strength of the Big Three. With the rejection of the 5-5-3 ratio a new naval race begins. It will go a long way in determining who is to control the gateway to the Chinese waters.

If Japan succeeds with her naval policy a gigantic step forward in the further penetration of China is assured. But the United States will not concede (nor will Britain. Already we hear that the President plans to recommend increased naval and military appropriations. At the same time a big Pacific maneuver of the entire navy, the largest ever assembled, is planned with a gigantic squad of airships.

Japan's aim is naval supremacy in the eastern area.

To accomplish this it was necessary to reject the renewal of the 5-5-3 ratio and instead demand parity. Japan, however, does not want parity at a 5-5-5 ratio. Japan is in no financial condition to build such a navy. The United States is the only nation that could weather such financial hardships. But even if Japan could allot funds for this purpose, such a large navy ratio would strengthen the Anglo-American imperialists and defeat the aims of Japan. Japan demands "disarmament"—that all "offensive" ships (battleships, airships, submarines) shall be discarded and a new ratio of 3-3-3.

The purpose of Japan is to eliminate ships with a long cruising range. If the Anglo-American capitalists are to protect their Pounds and Dollars in the Orient they must have all types of ships that can travel long distances for combat and return to fueling bases. If these are eliminated the Japanese imperialists can easily master the Asiatic area against either of the two main contenders, and possibly both if necessary.

A new armament race has begun another step toward war has been taken. Let the workers of the world be on guard for their own interests.

(Continued on Page 4)

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT!

1934 - Labor's Story - Hope, Trust, Betrayal, Militancy - 1935

American labor starts 1935 in a militant mood. A year ago workers put their trust in Roosevelt and the New Deal. That trust betrayed by one event after another during 1934, they enter 1935 aware that they must fight if they are to win.

The blood of 52 workers killed in strikes, many shot in the back, stains the old year's record. During the first nine months of 1934, incomplete returns show 1,104 strikes—more than in any year since 1921—involving 1,500,000 workers.

Unemployed Help

Significant was the increasing cooperation between employed and unemployed workers in strikes.

Toledo set the pace last spring.

In the Auto-Lite strike. Barricades were erected in the streets. Two workers were killed by National Guardsmen.

The strikers, with the Unemployed League giving leadership, won a 5 per cent increase and union recognition.

The Minneapolis teamsters' strike was marked by the intelligent way in which it was organized, the strikers' refusal to accept less than victory, and the fact that farmers supplied food to the strikers.

After settlement of the strike in May, it flared again in summer when the bosses broke the agreement. In the bosses' effort to break the strike two workers were killed, and 60 were wounded. The workers won a guaranteed wage scale, the right to represent inside as well

as outside workers.

For 16 Workers—Death

The largest strike occurred in September, when 600,000 textile workers walked out. Sixteen workers gave their lives as 40,000 troops were called out to break the strike.

With the strikers still fighting, the leaders of the United Textile Workers "sold" the strike for a Roosevelt promise—investigation of the stretchout and other evils. The workers are still waiting for better conditions.

On the west coast, the year's most spectacular strike tied up every port as longshoremen walked out. The strike reached its climax in San Francisco, in a three-day general strike. Police killed two workers. In Seattle Mayor Smith

led mounted police into the strikers' ranks.

The National Longshoremen's Board was set up. Arbitration gave the strikers a 30-hour week, 96 cents an hour, partial control of hiring halls. In San Francisco the Market Street Railway Company, Tom Mooney's old enemy, was unionized.

This strike was used as the excuse for the "red" baiting and union smashing campaign in California.

Victory—For Bosses

Two of the basic industries, steel and automobiles, called off threatened strikes when President Roosevelt "arbitrated". The settlements included recognition of Company unions, in automobiles the retention of the infamous

merit clause". As the new year starts, auto workers are again getting ready to fight.

America's first newspaper strike came in Newark, N. J., where 40 out of 52 editorial room workers of the Newark Leader walked out in November for union recognition. They are still out, helped by the Young American Newspaper Guild.

Strikes by relief workers and workers on government projects marked the year, as did walkouts by store clerks and white collar workers.

Agricultural strikes occurred all over the country. Like the industrial strikes, they were significant for their growing militancy and the help given by the unemployed.

Millions of workers start the new year with their eyes opened.

The defendants, who include leaders both of the Communist Party and of the union, are not yet getting the broad organized backing to which they are entitled. Should such a movement get on foot within the next week or so, to include large sections of the trade union movement, McAllister may yet be driven out of the case and the whole frame-up smashed. An important aspect is that the defendants be bailed out so that they may move about freely and rally support for the fight. The court has its ear to the ground, and if the defendants get going in time, the 18 defendants will be saved and the growers' associations will take a licking.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE
NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Clothing Workers Fight Suspension

Eight members of Local 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have been given a suspended sentence on charges of belonging to an opposition group in the local. Expulsion is threatened if they take further part in the activities of this group. Some members of the group declared themselves to be members of the Rank and File Committee which is not confined to Local 4 but is a general left wing organization working for a left wing progressive program throughout the entire Amalgamated Union. Only in this one local, Cutters Local No. 4 of New York has the right of members to belong to any group been challenged. The A. C. W., which was founded in a struggle against a bureaucratic machine has prided itself on its democratic and progressive policies and procedure. Nevertheless, this Local administration takes upon itself to discipline members for exercising a right long recognized and practiced in all progressive or democratic unions, that is the right of members to organize groups around such policies as they consider fitted for their union.

We wish to publicly protest against the following violation of elementary democratic rights of union members within their own organization. (1) The suspended sentences and threats of expulsion for belonging to the Rank and File Committee and the barring of members from belonging to organized groups within the union, who loyally support the union and whose aim is to make it a more effective instrument for their struggles. (2) The violation of the constitutional rights of the eight members who were never given copies of the charges against them and who were also refused the constitutional rights of being represented by any

member designated by them at the trial. At a time like this when organized labor, both in this and other countries, is battling for the right to organize into unions of their own choice, etc., it should be the bounden duty of all organized workers to see to it that the widest democracy prevails in their own and other unions.

We hope that this protest of a group of members of a trade union, which has always paraded as a progressive and democratic union, will draw the attention of all honest and truly progressive workers and secure their sympathy and support in our struggle against the violation of elementary democratic rights and against the intimidation of a suspended sentence and the threat of expulsion that hangs over the heads of our eight members.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 4.
(Signed)

Allard Elected

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 19.—Gerry Allard, member of the Workers Party, was overwhelmingly elected to the pit committee of his local union in recent elections held in the Progressive Miners of America. Fred Schmidt and Walter Repasky, young militant coal diggers, were elected as co-members of the committee. The local union has 437 members. It is a working local with job control under the jurisdiction of the new Illinois miners union.

Officers elected for the incoming year are: James Peyton, president; Cap Hollensack, vice-president; Fred Farrand, recording secretary; John Beamer, financial secretary; Chas. Peyton, treasurer; Louis Cooke, door keeper; Mike Mayerhoffer, Jim Burgess and Ed Donaldson, sick committee; Gerry Allard, Fred Schmidt and Walter Repasky, pit committee.

Relief Head Aids Cops, League Finds

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Dec. 31.—The grievance committee of the Lehigh County Unemployed League recently disclosed that relief officials were working hand in hand with the Allentown Police Department. The facts are as follows:

M. Harisko, father of a 16 year old boy wanted as the alleged murderer of a night watchman, was cut from his job on a relief project shortly after the shooting occurred on Nov. 15. The son has successfully eluded the police since.

Although Harisko has a family dependent upon him, all relief was stopped and he received neither food, clothing nor coal. Reduced to extreme destitution and misery he applied time and again in vain to various relief officials. After a month of suffering, Harisko was approached by the police with the infamous proposition that if he would turn the son over to them he would be given immediately the relief due him.

Appeals to League

Angered, Harisko brought the case to the attention of the Unemployed League. When it was presented to Mrs. Maomi Sheema, local supervisor of relief, she vehemently denied collaboration with the police. However, when she opened the folder containing the records of the Harisko case, what should appear but numerous clippings and a police photograph of the boy.

The committee demanded to know the meaning of this and Mrs. Sheema blushing replied: "As social workers we are interested in the welfare of the boy. We want to see that no harm befalls him."

Due to the efforts of the League the family is again receiving relief. The police department and relief officials are in an embarrassing predicament.

United Fronting In Pittsburgh

PENNSYLVANIA LEAGUES TRY AGAIN

But Councils and S. P. Group Forget to Tell The Rank and File What It's All About

By E. R. McKINNEY

PITTSBURGH.—Once again the Communist Party and its Unemployed Councils have demonstrated themselves to be ineffectual instruments for promoting the united front with other unemployed organizations. For different reasons the same criticism can be directed against the Socialist Party and the Unemployed Citizens League in Pittsburgh.

The story begins about two months ago when the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board decided to set up a central complaint bureau to be called the "Public Relations Office" (P.R.O.). The A.C.E.R.B. ruled that relations of the unemployed organizations should be with the P.R.O. only and that in the future no unemployed committees would be admitted to the relief stations.

Before the Public Relations Office had been publicly announced, the Relief Board called for a meeting of the unemployed organizations. The Pennsylvania Unemployed League (P.U.L.) in Pittsburgh, had information that this meeting was called for the purpose of telling the unemployed leagues of the board's intention to establish the P.R.O. The P.U.L. immediately sent a letter to the Unemployed Citizens League (U.C.L.) which is led by the Socialist Party, suggesting that the U.C.L. and the P.U.L. get together before the meeting with the board and lay plans for meeting with the P.R.O. The U.C.L. did not reply to this letter and each unemployed organization went individually into the meeting with the A.C.E.R.B. At a subsequent meeting the P.U.L. presented a counter-plan to the P.R.O. and was the only organization to make definite and concrete counter-proposals.

About one week after the first meeting with the board Robert Lieberman, S. P. leader of the U.C.L., sent out a letter to all unemployed organizations suggesting a meeting at U.C.L. headquarters to organize a united front against the P.R.O. When Lieberman was asked why he had not replied to the P.U.L. letter his reply was to ask: "How did you know what was going to be discussed at the Board meeting?"

On the Line

The P.U.L. decided to go into the united front called by Lieberman and the U.C.L., along with the Unemployed Councils, and the Rank and File Veterans. We insisted that our united action must not be directed against the P.R.O. as such but must be a demand for the admission of unemployed league committees to the relief units.

The P.U.L. began to picket relief stations in support of this demand. At the East Liberty relief station the pickets were arrested. The police contended that there could be no strike of the unemployed and that therefore they had no right

to picket. Furthermore, the police took the position that the picket line of about fifteen was a "parade" for which a permit was necessary.

Not a Parade

Despite the arrests the picketing was kept up. At the time the hearing for those arrested was in progress the picket line was still on duty. At the hearing, despite urging from the police, the magistrate decided that a picket line was not a "parade" and that the unemployed could not be stopped from using this form of protest and demonstration. Thus the P.U.L. established the right of its members to be on the sidewalk in front of a relief station.

While the P.U.L. was leading this militant action the Unemployed Councils in the united front committee were advocating a county-wide demonstration to be conducted both inside and outside the relief stations. Some of the unemployed were to demonstrate outside while others were to lay siege to the inside. Out of its experience the P.U.L. knew that such methods would prove futile and defeatist on a county-wide scale. We had tried them and knew that other tactics were more effective. The U. C., the U.C.L. and the Rank and File Veterans voted to ignore this experience. The P.U.L. decided not to participate in the demonstration.

And It Failed

The demonstration was called and was a failure. At only two stations was there any action worth while. There are 10 stations inside the city. At the South Side station about 200 workers turned out but no leader or speaker either from the U.C. or the U.C.L. showed up. At the time these South Side workers—most of whom belonged to the Unemployed Councils—were looking around the relief station waiting for the "speakers" to come, the two Unemployed Council leaders who had advocated laying siege to the relief stations, were busy resting in the headquarters of the U.C.L. over one mile away.

Forgot Rank and File

At a meeting of the Unemployed Council the next day, one leader made the statement that the demonstration was a failure because the P.U.L. had refused to participate.

After a five week's effort the P.U.L. discovered that the rank and file of the U.C.L. and the U.C. had never been informed what the united front was all about.

What Councils Wanted

There was plenty of evidence for the conclusion that the U. C. was only interested in putting Lieberman "on the spot" and to push their everlasting schemes for forcing merger on the other organizations.

The P.U.L. decided to discontinue participation in such tomfoolery and sent a committee to notify the next united front meeting. In this meeting the P.U.L. delegates were surprised to discover that rank and file members of the U.C.L. and U.C. also had come to the conclusion that it was not a genuine united front. Speaker after speaker from the U. C. charged that the rank and file did not know what was going on, that their leaders had given no information or directions to the membership and that they were finding it very difficult to get the members to demonstrate. Collins, the best militant in the U.C.L., charged that the U.C. leaders only showed up on Sunday at the committee meeting.

After these speeches E. R. McKinney delivered the decision of the P.U.L. When he had finished a U.C. member made a motion that a leaflet be distributed exposing him before the workers.

U. C. Hatchet Men

Then one of the U. C. hatchetmen took the floor and made a provocative speech in which McKinney was called a "scab" and likened to a "strike-breaker". This speaker contended that the P.U.L. was composed of "honest workers" and that they must be taken away from the P.U.L. leaders.

After this speech the Unemployed Council speakers who had severely criticized their leaders and called the united front a "fake" decided that not only were their leaders OK but that the failure of the united front could be laid solely at the door of the P.U.L. Not the "honest workers" in the P.U.L., of course, but their leaders.

The P.U.L. is going ahead with the work of organizing and fighting for relief. They are catching up on ground lost while the united front was being attempted. Three concentration points in the city have been established in which large and strong locals are being built.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Local 802 A.F.M.

One of the most encouraging features of the growth of trade unionism in the last year and a half has been the development of organization spirit among the white collar and professional groups. The existing unions in the field—the teachers, office workers, etc.—have made gains while in various cities throughout the country librarians, artists, auto salesmen, drug clerks and innumerable other similar groups have become part of the labor movement.

There are those who look to this development to cure many of the evils of racketeering and gangsterism that exist in the unions at present. The ladies and gentlemen of the white collar class, so the argument runs, won't put up with the things that the overall stiff is too dumb to kick against. They may be an influence in that direction. But glance for a moment at a few pages from the history of the American Federation of Musicians which tell of the fight of Local 802 in New York for the right of self government.

13 Years Hard Luck

The A. F. of M. and its president Joseph Weber have always been notorious in the labor movement for the hard boiled bureaucracy which they exercised over the membership. It was one of the first unions to go in for union reformation in a big way. Locals were summarily suspended and all their functions placed in the hands of a Weber appointee. In 1921 the rights of the 15,000 members of the New York local were thus taken away. One flare of revolt after the other has taken place in those thirteen years of dictator rule but it is only recently that the membership has begun to win back its rights. Early in 1934 the membership took up the fight again. The local was being milked of \$250,000 a year in dues and fines without even a hint as to its use. Financial reports were never made. Thugs were used against them. Seven Weber appointees sat on the local government board of 13 while the membership was graciously permitted to elect the remaining minority. Edward Canavan, president of 802 was paid \$10,000 a year for ruling a membership who had him crammed down their throats. Weber himself as the big chief, rakes in a salary of \$25,000 per annum plus \$3,000 for personal expenses, \$5 for every day he spends out of New York and additional "general expenses".

3,728 to 127

A membership vote taken in the local last March approved by 3,728 to 127 the demand for self government and the establishment of such rights as other locals of the Musicians Union enjoy under the constitution. The practically unanimous opposition of his N. Y. membership had its effect even on the rhinoceros hide of Brother Weber. At the union convention held a few months later, a decision handed down by the National Executive Board granted self government in all particulars with one exception—Canavan was to remain local president for the next two years at his regular ten thousand a year salary.

But the fight was not over. Fifteen of the active oppositionists were tried by the governing board of the local, found guilty and fined \$300 each. On their refusal to pay they were expelled from the organization.

Labor In Court

It is bad for labor progressives to fight their union officialdom in the courts. The cards are generally stacked against them by the alliances that so often exist between the district attorney and the union leadership. More important, however, is the need to settle the problems of labor within the movement and without recourse to the courts of capitalism. But there are times when it cannot be avoided. This was one of them and by legal injunction the ousted members were reinstated in the union ranks.

Administration Out

In the elections held in local 802 a few weeks ago the administration got a licking. A clean sweep eliminated every old official with the exception of Canavan who has his two years to go by special dispensation.

While New York thus makes progress, the situation of the national organization is not a happy one. Its total membership is 101,115 musicians, a loss of 45,215 within five years. A resolution introduced at the June convention calling for the reduction of initiation fees (\$50 at present) in order to make it possible to carry on organization work was turned down cold.

To get back to my original point: the fight for democracy is just as sharp and severe within the unions of the white collar groups as in the organizations of coal miners and longshoremen. They are not immune from the evils which plague the movement generally.

Building Trades

Some weeks ago in this column I discussed the scrap in the building trades and the dilemma of the executive board of the American Federation of Labor in handling the serious split that has developed in the Building Trades Department. Latest news indicates that the differences are growing worse with no settlement in sight. The effort to get the books of the department away from the officials of the "out-law" group has not succeeded but the insurgents have been evicted from their offices in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington and have set up shop across the street. And the combatants on both sides, we regret to note, are not behaving with anything like the dignity and the restraint we have a right to expect from the responsible leaders of the very respectable American Federation of Labor.

Nevertheless, it is still very doubtful whether a final showdown will see either group withdrawing from the Federation fold. The consequences in the way of jurisdictional fights would be too horrible to even consider. It is significant that the fight has not yet been brought into the local and state building trades councils but is restricted for the present to the highest body. A complete breakdown of all negotiations between the warring groups would mean the dismemberment of every subordinate council in the country.

AGED MAN JAILED FOR SNARING RABBITS

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Dec. 31.—Following a four day (day and night) vigil by game wardens, John Hontz, age 76, resident of an improvised shack of pasteboard and scrap tin, was arrested when he came to remove a rabbit from a snare. Hontz, who is not on relief but makes a living the best he can doing odd jobs, was committed to the Lehigh County Jail on the charge of "illegal trapping".

Contract for Paterson ---- What a Contract!

Silk Workers Must Tear It Up and Fling It at the Bosses

By FELIX GIORDANO

After some six weeks of negotiations, between the Paterson District of the American Federation of Silk Workers and the Silk Manufacturers Association of Paterson, the terms of the proposed contract for the plain goods department have finally been made public.

Since the end of the national textile strike last September the silk workers of Paterson have been working under conditions which were becoming daily more intolerable. The bosses declared the old contract no longer in effect and proceeded without any action on the part of the union to chisel and slash wages, discriminate against militants, and all that goes with the dear old racket.

The union officialdom, meanwhile was busy... watching and waiting. This policy has now brought its ripe fruit: A CONTRACT. And what a contract!

"No More Strikes"

The Paterson News summarized its essence in a front page cartoon which portrayed the silk worker shaking hands with the boss under the title of "NO MORE STRIKES FOR TWO YEARS". On this point the contract is specific.

Wages are left for arbitration. "Grievances" are left to an "Impartial" Grievance Board. Ample provision is made for any and all decisions, and recommendations, and rulings by any and all government boards, "official or agency on the subject of MACHINE OR WORK-LOAD PER WORKER TOGETHER WITH CHANGES IN RATES OF PAY when the machine load is changed, whether the said decision, ruling or recommendation is made to apply generally to the industry at large or to individual cases". But not the question of strikes. Strikes are out!

Are the workers to have any say on the subject of work-load, or "changes" in pay? Not on your life! Not while this contract can keep them down! The bosses have appointed the National Textile Relations Board, the Work Assignments Board and so forth and so on for this very purpose. All that is left for the workers is to accept the contract that binds them hand and foot to accept all decisions of all bosses' boards for the next two years.

Perpetuates 40-Hour Week

The Paterson yellow press and the bosses can very well rub their hands and chuckle, for the workers will be bound for two years to the same and worse conditions in their industry. The contract perpetuates the 40-hour week; it binds them to accept as conclusive any decision on wages and work load that the bosses' boards may hand them.

There are 29 articles in the contract, each article a link in the chain that binds the workers and the union to the wheels of the government arbitration machinery. The only article without a joker in the contract is article 24 which

reads: "This agreement is intended to comply in all respects with Section 7a of the National Recovery Act and with the interpretations and construction thereof."

You bet! Here is collective bargaining in all its glory. It's the bosses' bargain, with the bosses collecting the profits and the workers collectively getting it in the neck.

But, if they have any grievances, they can bring them to the Grievance Committee. The contract provides for everything. Even the bosses relatives, who shall be entitled to be employed at all times, whether they were previously employed or not. There are plenty of scab agencies to provide the bosses with all the second cousins, uncles and other relatives the bosses may need to add to their family tree. "In other respects, members of the union will be given preference in retaining their jobs." (1)

"Trial Period" Joker

To make assurance doubly sure, Art. 20 sets a trial period, averaging 4 weeks, in which time the worker is no regular employee and is not "governed by this agreement." In other words for a full month the bosses have ample opportunity to discover whether or not he can cut undercover, chisel and bamboozle to his heart's desire. And if he can't get his way as in the past he can fire, or hire a new hatch, or call upon the family tree.

Such is the contract which the official organ of the silk and dye workers hails as "THE END OF STRIFE". The December 21 issue of the Silk & Dye Worker, official organ of the A.P.S.W., has the gall to state that this contract is based upon the contract recently won by the dyers, in which the dyers gained not only a substantial wage increase but also the 36-hour week. The only comparison between the two contracts is that the worst features are in both, but none of the gains won by militant struggle are contained in the contract arrived at through "peaceful negotiations and collaboration". Worse yet, the leading article of this official organ boasts that "the union maintains its right to strike"

"The Right Strike"

This right to strike is very well taken care of with a few big IF's. Here they are:

IF the workers have a grievance or a dispute, they must submit it to the Grievance Committee. The Committee has five days in which to rule. IF the Committee rules that this grievance or dispute is a violation of the agreement, and IF it passes a decision which the bosses or the workers do not comply with, THEN the Relations Board has two days in which to rule that "the decision has not or is not being complied with". IF and WHEN the Relations Board does so rule, THEN "and thereafter

the LOCKOUT or strike may be resorted to for purposes of discipline in the mill in question."

There is this boasted "right to strike", such as it actually is in the contract.

To be sure, this agreement can be modified if notice in writing is served in 30 days. But one thing cannot be modified, and it is exactly the "right to strike". "Paragraph 17 of this agreement may not... be modified or altered in any respect."

There are no two ways open for the silk workers of Paterson, as regards the proposed contract: tear it up and fling it in the faces of the bosses. The militant traditions of Paterson, the long years of struggle of the silk workers, the splendid record of the recent dyers' strike have been flouted by the very proposal of such a contract. The shameful contract must be rejected.

Richberg Smokes Peace Pipe As He Exonerates the Poor

WASHINGTON. — Donald R. Richberg was furious when he learned that General Hugh S. Johnson, retired, had written a series of articles in which he, Richberg himself, was "exposed". Lolling in his easy-chair, his bald forehead glistening, his broad nose twitching, his heavy underlip between his teeth, lawyer Richberg wrote a letter threatening "legal action"

Said the General, "The ants of conscience are crawling in Richberg's pants!"

Thanks to friends, the day has been saved. Christmas found the NRA moguls, past and present, smoking the pipe of peace, and there will be no "exposures". Good old Santa Claus.

Richberg has undergone a strange liberal sea-change since coming to Washington.

When President Roosevelt elevated him from a big Chicago labor lawyer to Position Number 1 in the Washington regime, liberals hailed him as a Godsend, a wonderful man, in fact a liberal. But when the Chamber of Commerce people clapped hands and took him in tow the liberals slunk away, looking sheepish.

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First National League Convention Stormy Test of 'American Approach'

This is the second of a series of articles on the history of the National Unemployed League.

By LOUIS BREIER

The convention that founded the National Unemployed League is worth considering in some detail not only because its results were far-reaching and lasting, but also because its stormy and colorful sessions revealed the dangers threatening the movement then, as they do now. Fascism, totalitarianism, jingoism and a horde of crack-pot political schemes, any one of which was sufficient to wreck the convention and the movement itself, combined into a desperate onslaught against the building of a militant, nation-wide organization of the unemployed.

Backgrounds

The beginnings of the widely discussed and much more widely slandered "American Approach" are probably to be found in the C.P.A. conception of unemployed activity. It represented a definite and realistic manner of directing and participating in the work of the leagues, of carrying on the day by day struggles, of raising the political level of the workers and of building a solid and progressive basis for the ultimate conflict—against unemployment and all other problems confronting the working masses. It was this which distinguished C.P.A. practice and insured the steady growth of the Leagues.

How Others Work

Some mention has already been made of the methods favored by the Communist and Socialist parties. In their direction of the Unemployed Councils the C. P. made few concessions to the regular "party line." Mechanical control of the organizations and wholesale indoctrination of the members while they "stick" is characteristic

PERKINS' DAUGHTER ENTERS SOCIETY

Miss Susanna Wilson made her debut to society the other day, at the Hotel Pierre, one of New York's swankiest hotels, where thousands of dollars are spent to launch a girl into society.

What of it? Only this: Susanna Wilson is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Caldwell Wilson. And Mrs. Paul Caldwell Wilson is Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who feels so sorry for the workers, in public.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

The Party Fund

THE campaign for the Party Fund is now under way. Returns are beginning to come in though not yet as fast or as numerous as they should. Reports from the branches are still slow, but indications are that the membership is getting behind this drive wholeheartedly. Los Angeles branch writes "We are sure the Fund will go over big here." A definite pledge of \$26 was made and more to come from absent members. Allentown members pledged \$88. Boston has already met more than half of its quota. The New York District which received a quota of \$1,500 is hard at work meeting it and Philadelphia has pledged \$75 thus far.

THE CHALLENGE

As reported in the last issue of the New Militant, Mrs. M. of New York pledged to contribute \$200 for every \$200 we collect from other friends. R. S. was the first to send a \$200 check which was promptly met by Mrs. M. Today R. S. sent another \$100.

RECEIPTS

Previously reported:
From Branches \$316.20
From Individuals 319.00
R. S. and Mrs. M. 400.00
New Receipts:
Los Angeles Branch \$11.25
New York District 50.00
M. McL., Iowa Falls, Ia. 2.00
A. Friend, Youngstown, O. 10.00
R. S., New York City 100.00

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For publicity use the name

of their work in this field as among the trade unions.

The tactics of the Socialists differ from those of the Communist Party only by the addition of their usual smugness and the myth of their superior regard for "Democracy." Because of this, mechanical control as practiced by the S. P. exceeds anything that even Amter or Benjamin ever hoped to get away with.

Appearing before the executive committee of the NUL last August to present the case for a "new national organization" David Lasser, president of the Socialist-controlled Workers Unemployed Union, stated frankly that he does not believe in rank and file conventions even for the purpose of resolving so important a problem as the formation of a new national unemployed organization, but prefers conferences of the top leadership because "they get more work done with less fuss."

The "American Approach"

Although their tactics placed them in the position of an artist attempting to portray the moon with a pipe, the C. P. conception of the purpose of work among the unemployed on the part of a revolutionary party was always sound. It is the business of the class-conscious, revolutionary elements in these organizations to make them militant, effective instruments for struggle against all forms of immediate repression, and to turn the faces of the unemployed toward the larger battle. This was always the philosophy underlying the work of the C.P.A.

But philosophy as such never meant anything to the C.P.A. Philosophy had to be confirmed in action and there had to be mass organizations before there could be any action.

In a series of articles written for Labor Age in 1931 Louis Budenz, who popularized the term "American Approach," laid down the program for unemployed organization. Leagues, he said, must be mass organizations in the fullest sense of the term. C.P.A. elements in these organizations must not repeat the doctrinaire and factional mistakes of the C.P.—and the S.P. They were to work to increase the effectiveness of the Leagues in their daily battles for immediate demands and, on the strength of their superior leadership and political realism, raise the political level of the masses, reveal the class-struggle, and lay a firm basis for their participation in the coming struggle for a workers' world. During the first national conven-

tion of the Leagues, when Fascist elements seemed to have gained complete control and it was necessary to pronounce the name of Marx in very soft tones and with a great deal of head pivoting, several of the leaders of the Unemployed Councils who were present blamed the "American Approach" for it. The C.P.A., they said, had substituted flag-waving for Marxism and those roaring patriots in the convention were only a natural consequence of social-fascism.

But these derisives of the true faith were wide of the mark. It was not the "American Approach" that was at fault; it was America. As we have shown, the unemployed leagues were all-inclusive. The only restrictions on membership were against old party politicians and bosses of any category. These restrictions, however, could not exclude stool pigeons, provocateurs,

A Farewell to Bureaucracy

By JOSEPH ZACK

In the previous article I spoke about the system of falsification and trickery used by the Stalin faction in the ideological struggle against the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party. This system naturally expressed itself also in the field of party organization. The false line could be put through only by crushing out party democracy and setting up the uncontrolled rule of a bureaucratic clique. This was done in the Russian party, and then the completed system was mechanically imposed on all the parties of the Communist International.

We in the American movement had to pay for the defeat of Leninist principles and methods in the Russian party. The degeneration of the American C. P. can never be understood until it is traced to this source. The internal regime of the C. P. in this country is only an expression of the Stalinist system which has become universal in the C. I.

Suppressing the Opposition

They began in Russia by suppressing the platform of the Opposition instead of abiding by party statutes and allowing its publication as a document for discussion. Next, they expelled the 14 members of the minority to the Central Committee before the party congress! Meanwhile all their followers were expelled from the party.

The result was that when the party congress finally convened it was a mere assemblage of Stalin's caucus. Later on, all those adhering to the Opposition were arrested and exiled to Siberia or imprisoned. Thus the Opposition was "disposed of." Thereafter anyone voicing its ideas was dealt with as a "counter-revolutionist," picked up at night by the G.P.U. and shipped somewhere—sometimes, as in the case of Blumkin, even executed. Now it appears this sort of thing is to be carried out on a wholesale scale.

This is the background of the present terror regime in the Soviet party and the parties in capitalist countries, including the U. S. This regime constitutes a fundamental departure from Lenin's conception of the party and its functions; it is a basically new system that has nothing to do with Leninism. It is of course foolish to think, and I was such a fool, that by complaining about it or appealing against one or another bad spot or ulcer in this system to the E.C.C.I., a sub-committee of Stalin, any remedy can be obtained.

The Stalin Regime

The party regime introduced by Stalin throughout the Communist International is as follows:

1. Centralism, minus inner democracy.
2. Hierarchical method of selecting the leading personnel from the top down.
The method of putting this across with a semblance of "democracy" and greasing the workings of it is: a) To permit discussion of the execution of the general line set from the top; b) a system of "ratification" from below to confirm the selection from the top.
Since those who might have any principled objection to this system as a whole are either eliminated or drop out of the movement beforehand, there is very little or no trouble in getting things "ratified" or "approved" in that form.

The theory to justify the whole system and make it appealing is: (1) Solid iron Bolshevik unity of our party; (2) we are a party that thinks and acts alike; (3) only a monolithic party can be mobile, ready to act at a moment's notice, etc.

As good as this sounds, it is all false, because the democratic processes essential to arrive at such results are eliminated. Once the basic principal line of a revolutionary party—dictatorship of the proletariat, overthrow of capitalism versus social democratic peaceful, gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism—is set, many opinions of major importance may arise from time to time as to how to achieve it. There cannot be such a thing as "people that think alike" on

spies, fascist agents, etc. They came in and did their work among the members until they were exposed or until the growing political consciousness of members themselves made them impervious to this poison.

It was the latter condition for which the C.P.A. worked. In the leagues, as in the general American scene, the effectiveness of a revolutionary organization is based on its ability to win the confidence and leadership of the masses as against the misleadership of the demagogues and fascists. The C.P.A. was not afraid to face this fact. It did not want another radical tea club. It wanted a mass organization. And it was willing to stake everything on the correctness of its tactics and its ability to lead the workers. The national convention was the test, not only of the courage and integrity of the C.P.A. but also on a minor scale of the ability and promise of the new party which has emerged from the combined experiences of the C.P.A. and the Communist League.

Next week we will see what happened at the first national convention of the Leagues.

March of Events

Naval Race Forebodes War of the Pacific

By JACK WEBER

The first international imperialist struggle in the building of naval armaments has come to its predestined end. Theoretically it will remain in force till 1936; practically the powers are already at work to start off anew in the race for capitalist domination of the world. Lasting for a decade, the Washington Naval Pact, affording a breathing spell to the nations just emerged from war into a critical economic and political period that necessitated the most far-reaching changes and adjustments among the imperialist robber nations. In the war Europe, victors and vanquished alike, had lost, America had won. Germany was badly shaken and her world position so much weakened that

she could no longer demand and enforce by might of arms complete supremacy on the seas. America had captured the world's trade, had become a creditor nation on a par with the foremost foreign investor, England. This victory, American capitalism meant not only to retain but to extend at the expense of all other capitalist rivals until it would command that imperialist hegemony of the world that it felt essential to give full and proper play to its advanced technique. To signalize its newly gained strength, America started afresh, on the very eve of the peace conference, a naval plan that "stunned the world!"

The Imperialist Naval Race

It was the "peace" President Wilson, who proposed the 1916 naval plan that was to give America the largest fleet in the world. He proposed to construct in three years the most powerful dreadnoughts afloat, that would render obsolete all the navies in the world. This program was interrupted by the entrance of the U. S. into the war but at its conclusion, just before Wilson sailed for Paris, he said to Congress: "I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war."

In the new 1919 program it was then proposed that in three years America should build sixteen capital ships, besides a large number of cruisers and destroyers. Although England then possessed a bigger navy than all the rest of the world combined, this ambitious program would have placed the U. S. in first place on account of the size of post-Jutland super-dreadnoughts to be built, their weight of armor and guns. The armament race was on!

The new war was to be a decisive battle for supremacy in the Pacific, a conflict for the complete control of the only market still undivided among the imperialist free-booters—China. Primarily this meant a ruthless struggle between America and Japan. Hence Japanese imperialism, despite its relative poverty in money and resources, was forced as a matter of its national capitalist life to respond by starting the construction of even bigger ships with heavier armament and guns than those proposed by America. Nor was England to be outdone, for she too began the laying down of vessels to be the largest in the world.

...

How The Middle Class Led "Freed" Negroes After Civil War "The Republican Party Is the Ship and All Else Is the Sea," Leader Told Them

This is the second of a series of articles on Negro Labor in the United States.

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

It was but natural that the Negro middle class should become the first spokesman and leader of the newly "freed" Negroes during the early post-Civil War period. It represented whatever culture and influence the race then possessed. It was cognizant of this fact and was not long in taking advantage of its new opportunity.

Even during the antebellum days this middle class was composed of servants and freedmen. The freedmen had either bought their freedom or won it through some act of benevolence to their masters and in some instances they were the proud owners of Negro slaves. The servants and this class were artisans who had been given long periods of apprenticeship under master craftsmen. They were the craftsmen of their masters. This class represented, then, the most militant spirits of the Negro slaves, and they despised the poor whites since many of the latter had been employed as overseers and, moreover, it was they who were used to catch runaway slaves. The white master class, even then, was shrewd enough to play one against the other.

Frederick Douglass

Shortly after the emancipation of the American Negroes from chattel slavery Frederick Douglass, the most outstanding Negro in the abolitionist movement and the most towering figure that black America has yet produced—the last of his type that the Negro bourgeoisie will ever produce—discovered that the white ruling class kept both white and black in subjection by playing one against the other. In an interview, heading a committee of Negroes, with president Andrew Johnson, who arrogated to himself the leadership of the poor whites, seeking equal citizenship for the blacks, he is recorded as having said to Johnson:

"The hostility between whites and blacks is easily explained. It has its root and sap in the relation of slavery and was incited on both sides by the cunning slave masters. Those masters

secured their ascendancy over the poor whites and the blacks by putting enmity between them."

"They divided both and conquered each," continued Douglass. "There was no earthly reason why the blacks should not hate and dread the poor whites when in a state of slavery. It was from this class that their masters recruited their slave catchers, slave drivers and overseers."

Although no one knew better than Douglass that whites and blacks were played against each other by the opulent whites, he joined the latter and proclaimed upon the platform, "The Republican Party is the ship and all else is the sea." Other lights of the Negro middle class of that period followed the example shown by Frederick Douglass and entered politics on the side of the exploiting class for self gain. They, like the white bourgeoisie, only on a smaller scale, are the enemies and exploiters of black labor. They would exploit white labor if permitted by their white capitalist ally.

The delegation of Negroes that appeared at the convention of the National Labor union in 1869 had as its most able Negro representatives John M. Langston, lawyer and later congressman from Virginia, and P. B. S. Pinchback, lieutenant-governor of Louisiana. Both men were members of the Republican Party, which the union considered as a land monopoly, and were not in the least concerned about the precarious conditions of Negro workers.

Next week we shall deal with the Knights of labor and the Negro workers.

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Eyes on Sacramento

CALIFORNIA, which has given the world such a clear and striking picture of capitalist class justice in the case of Mooney and Billings, is again striving for leadership in the new campaign against workers' organizations and workers' rights. The trial of the 18 workers on the charge of "Criminal Syndicalism," now in process at Sacramento, involves fundamental issues of great concern to all sections of the labor movement. With the charge of "criminal syndicalism" as a club the overlords of California are undertaking to penalize those who have taken active part in the organization of workers. At the same time they aim to intimidate others from taking the same course. A victory of the prosecution in this case would stimulate the search for more victims. It is high time for the workers throughout the country to awaken to the significance of the Sacramento trial and come to the aid of the defendants. Self preservation, as well as the spirit of labor solidarity which ought to be an attribute of every enlightened worker, calls for this action.

In the Sacramento trial the effort is being made to revive the system of bounding and persecuting the militant workers which characterized the highly praised American "democracy" in the war and post-war periods. The chief instrument then, and now again, is the notorious "criminal syndicalism" law. Such laws, directly contravening the civil rights supposedly guaranteed by the U. S. constitution, were passed by most of the States, especially those which had been the scene of industrial conflicts. The purpose was to curb "radicalism," which was broadly interpreted to mean any kind of aggressive and militant struggle for the rights and material interests of the workers.

The victims ran into the hundreds. In California alone close to a hundred prisoners, members of the I.W.O., were confined in prison after conviction of "criminal syndicalism." The infamous statute has lain dormant, with exceptions here and there, for about ten years. The attempt to revive it now is a stern warning to all the advanced workers of the crucial importance of united counter-action. The focal point for such a movement at the present time is the Sacramento trial.

As is usually the case with all manifestations of the system that is founded on deceit, the labor persecution inaugurated at Sacramento under the "criminal syndicalism" law is disguised and concealed behind the mask of the "Red Scare." The aim of the holy prosecutors, they say, is to defend civilization and the American home and to prevent the nationalization of women by the red barbarians. What they really mean is—they want to discourage the idea of workers organizing unions and fighting for a decent standard of living and then later, perhaps, getting bigger ideas in their heads.

The defendants at Sacramento were the organizers and leaders of the Agricultural and Canery Workers Union, an organization that led some memorable battles of the most terribly exploited sections of the California working class. This fact speaks volumes as to the real motive behind the prosecution. It is also a clear indication to all workers who stand for unionism, to say nothing of those who go farther in their aspirations and ideals, as to what their duty is in regard to Sacramento.

The Sacramento case cries aloud for united action. A national campaign is needed to put the case on the map before the trial is finished and the defendants are quietly shuffled off to San Quentin for long terms. Real efforts are required to secure the release of the prisoners on bail so that they can be useful in the agitation and publicity work. Agitation is needed—not a whisper but a mighty working class shout that will be heard in the court room at Sacramento. Every organization and every individual in the advanced labor movement ought to feel morally bound to lend aid to such a defense movement, and to do it now without further delay.

The American working class stands before a new

epoch of mass struggles and conflicts which will put all previous labor revolts in the shade. The masters of America, especially during the past year, have shown that they will yield absolutely nothing without a bitter struggle. The workers on their part have shown in the same time that they do not shrink from conflict. The exploiters will seek to victimize the leaders and active spirits as they have always done.

We must learn at the beginning to stand together in the face of such attacks. We need to establish the principle at the very start that an injury to one is the concern of all. This grand old motto of the Knights of Labor ought to be inscribed on the banner of the rising labor movement. Its application in labor defense cases should be automatic. We need to establish the principle, and carry it out in practice, that an attack on one organization of workers will promptly call the others to its aid, regardless of the differences between them. Against the attacks of the class enemy we must all stand united.

The Workers Party stands for this policy in regard to Sacramento. The issue is concretized on this case at the present moment. A practical agreement for a united campaign in behalf of the Sacramento defendants right now is worth a ton of abstract theses on the "united front." The Sacramento case is a test.

Hope for the Steel Workers

RECENTLY the attempt of the top officials of the A. F. of L. and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the steel barons and the Roosevelt administration to work out a truce for the steel industry broke down. The trade union officials promptly predicted that there would probably be a battle—"in the courts." Arguing about Section 7a in the courts or licking the boots of congressmen and senators for a revision of the NRA is the only kind of fighting these supposed leaders of the working class know.

From Pittsburgh comes the announcement that some of the younger members of the A. A. are calling a national convention of "rank and file" the first week in February to discuss "ways and means" of "forcing union recognition from the steel companies." That suggests the possibility of fighting it out on the picket lines and is much better.

However, some of the same men backing this insurgent movement, now talked mighty big to Hugh Johnson and even to Roosevelt himself last spring and then permitted Bill Green and Mike Tighe to out-manuever them and prevent a steel strike. What is going to happen this time? The personality of this leader or that is not a sound foundation for a movement of steel workers. A fake Communist party "united front" or "rank and file" movement even if dressed up very prettily is not a sound basis for a movement of the steel workers.

The progressive, fighting, genuine rank and file elements among the steel workers must get together regardless of personalities or political differences on the basis of a program and loyal determination to put the program into action. The first and chief plank in that program will be: Fight out the battle for union recognition in the steel industry! Fight it out now! Fight it out on the picket line!

Churchified Fascists

"A ROSE by any other name would smell as sweet." Conversely, a stink bomb by any other name would smell as ill. We make this observation apropos of what looks more and more like a world-wide movement to build a churchified Fascism—a Fascist regime which meets the approval of the Roman Catholic Church.

Several weeks ago a conference was held in Europe of Fascist organizations from various countries. It was announced, however, that Hitler's representatives were excluded. They did not belong in good Fascist company. Further examination of the participants indicated that they came from those countries where Fascism and the Roman Catholic Church had come to an understanding.

More recently the Pope announced that the Roman Catholic Church would observe "strict neutrality" in the Saar where a popular vote as to whether the region is to go back to Germany or remain under the supervision of the League of Nations takes place on January 13. The other day, however, all the leading Bishops in the Saar read statements from their pulpits, doubtless with the knowledge and approval of the Pope, urging their congregations to vote for returning to Germany. Apparently the Church and Adolf had also come to an understanding.

In the United States Father Coughlin is busily forming his mysteriously financed organization for social justice!

Whatever disguise it may wear and by whomever it may be blessed, the masses will rally for an irreconcilable fight against Fascism which smashes the unions, destroys all the democratic rights of the workers and enslaves them to black reaction.

ROOSEVELT and CONGRESS

Sections from an article by John West to appear in the January issue of the New Internationalist

What, then, may be expected from the new Congress? First, the relation of Roosevelt to his new Congress is almost the reverse of his relation to his first Congress. Then, at the beginning of his Administration, by a sweeping popular overthrow, he had been placed in power on the crest of rising mass sentiment. He was the Great Leader whose duty it was to guide a timid Congress into the untrodden country of the New Deal—New at least in the real sense of being a new step in the advance of United States capitalism to its final collapse.

Now, however, Roosevelt is two years removed from direct contact with mass sentiment. Moreover, his unfulfilled promises are drifting back home to roost—in the end, citizens take jobs, security, protection seriously. It is the members of Congress who, just assembling from the tribulations of November's elections, reflect more directly the mass sentiment. They come from localities demanding additional public works expenditures, more relief, bonus payments, changed labor legislation, mortgage moratoriums, inflation, or what not.

Therefore Roosevelt, from having played the Great Leader, must now play the Great Brake; he must calm the wilder members of Congress, shunt aside and compromise "radical" demands, and in general make sure that no accidentally passed "left" legislation hinder the fundamental "right" direction. His task is difficult, for he must do this all the while appearing in the official publicity as the champion of the common man against the Tories.

Second, certain industrial and banking corporations have achieved a temporary relative stability during Roosevelt's first two years, with a reasonable level of profits rolling in. These are consequently anxious to go back to the pre-1929 days, and to take their chances in rugged competition unconfused by the complex intricacies of the New Deal. Their wishes cannot be granted. The pre-1929 days have gone not to return. Individual capitalists have got to be taught that they must occasionally give up a few sweetmeats as individuals to preserve the basic interests of their class as a whole, and its position. And the state—in the days of monopoly capitalism most directly representative of the class as a whole—will be their teacher.

However, their reactionary opposition is a useful weapon for Roosevelt both against difficult groups in Congress, and to build up favorable popular sentiment. As against them, Roosevelt can be very left indeed, and can point to them as the bogeyman who will gobble up Congress and the masses if they don't toe the line.

In general, then, we may be sure that, while the underlying socio-economic drift continues toward a right solidification, the legislation actually passed by the new Congress will be on no basic question unambiguously one thing or the other. It cannot be openly reactionary without antagonizing the public in a manner for which Roosevelt is not prepared; it cannot be in reality left without injuring seriously the position of the bourgeoisie, which position demands now the steady movement to the right.

Mass Action Policy Of National League

By ARNOLD JOHNSON
Secretary of National Unemployed League

Facing the sixth winter of mass suffering, the unemployed of this country are looking with suspicion and scepticism at Washington today. The national Congress opens and will very likely try to feed the unemployed on words and promises. It may even pass some fake unemployment insurance bill which will cut wages, divide workers and starve the unemployed, then go home feeling the unemployed are taken care of.

Another assemblage at Washington which deserves only suspicion from the unemployed is the so-called Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance which is in reality a masquerade preliminary to the second annual convention of the discredited Unemployment Councils of the Communist Party.

Used as Bait

Using the sentiment of the unemployed for the Lundeen Bill as a bait to get delegates to attend the convention of the National Unemployment Councils, the Communist Party and Unemployment Council leaders have again demonstrated their shady methods and false tactics for building an unemployed organization.

This time, they have even gone further than usual. They got a lot of individuals to act as "sponsors" of the Unemployment Insurance Congress. These individuals represent nobody but themselves and are not responsible to the unemployed. The C. P. and Unemployment Councils are responsible for this tactics and demonstrate that they are kidding the unemployed as well as the list of individuals. Furthermore, they have degraded the fight of the unemployed to the parliamentary sphere. They have also divided the demands of the unemployed and thereby the ranks of the unemployed and workers by making only one demand—the Lundeen Bill—the single issue.

The National Unemployed League is not attending the Washington convention of the Unemployed Councils disguised as a congress on unemployment insurance. We stand on a program of demands worked out by our state and national conventions and fight for them by the method of mass action.

Unemployment insurance at the expense of capitalist profits has been and will continue to be a demand in our demonstrations. At the same time we fight for adequate cash relief now for all of the unemployed.

We fight for a program of real jobs at real wages. We demand the universal 30-hour week in industry with no reduction in pay, from this point of view—as a means of creating more jobs. We demand a complete program of public works with 30 hours and \$30 minimum per week. A \$5,000,000,000 loan to the Soviet Union so it can purchase goods manufactured in this country will make jobs in industry.

A real struggle for the unemployed must put these demands in the foreground.

Need Organization
Moreover, a real program of the unemployed needs a real organization. That organization cannot come out of the National Unemployment Council convention or its curtail-raiser, the so-called congress sponsored by individuals. The attempt to substitute such carnivals for bona fide organizations of the unemployed masses can only injure the movement, insofar as it has any effect at all.

Masquerade conferences, which sidetrack the movement to the narrow channel of parliamentarism, cannot advance the real movement of the unemployed. The struggle of the unemployed requires mass organization. It must be organized on the sound basis of a rounded program and the method of mass action. This is the policy of the National Unemployed League.

Huey Long Is Tammany Rising in the South

(Continued from Page 1)
The Chicago Federation of Labor has endorsed Huey Long for president.

Huey Long, despite the tendency to consider him a joke, has a dictatorship in Louisiana, has gained some national influence, and has already captured important political posts outside his state.

In order to understand Huey it is necessary to know something about his native state, and something about his personal history.

Little Industry

Louisiana is not an industrial state. There is only one city of any size, New Orleans, with 450,000. Shreveport is next with 80,000, and Baton Rouge, the capitol, is third with only 30,000. Altogether there are only eight cities of more than fourteen thousand. Thus the urban population is about seven hundred thousand, while the total population of the state is two million two hundred thousand.

Even in the cities there is little large scale industry. New Orleans is primarily a commercial port. In the north there is some oil industry, and scattered through the state are various sugar and cotton mills and textile plants. The pre-

dominant classes outside the cities are the fishermen of the South, mostly of French stock, the small farmers, and the shopkeepers.

A Venture in Oil

Huey Long was born in the town of Winnfield, in the north, of poor parents. He put himself through school by traveling the country districts as a salesman of knock-knives. It was this experience that later enabled him to appeal so effectively to the rural vote.

He went to Law School at Tulane, failed to get a degree, but was admitted to the Louisiana Bar. His first political post was on the board of the Public Service Commission. It was there that he attracted attention by conducting a fight against the Standard Oil Co. Huey owned an interest in several wild-cat oil wells. When oil was struck he believed himself on the way to wealth. The Standard Oil Co., however, had a monopoly of the pipe lines, and proceeded to squeeze Long's independent enterprise. Huey put up a fight; he used his post on the Public Service Commission to break the monopoly. Standard Oil managed to have an impeachment proceeding started against him in 1921. The impeachment was later dropped, and Huey gained his point.

Whether he made money on this venture is not known, although he is reputed worth well over a million today. However, his war against the large Standard Corporation did give him material for a political campaign among the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie. He started out as champion of the "people" against the wiles of trustified business and monopoly.

Captured Rural Vote

He ran for governor in 1924 and polled 70,000 votes in the Democratic primaries. (The Democratic primary is the real election in Louisiana, as a Republican has no more chance in the Deep South than the man on the moon.) Huey's vote came, as it still comes, largely from the rural districts. And in 1928 when his opponents split and threw away their majority, this same rural vote made Long governor, the first man to break the machine in decades.

His election in 1928 marked the real beginning of his career. He was only thirty-five years old. Up to that time he had been a backwoods Jackson democrat, who defended the "tenant farmers, small storekeepers, filling station owners and Bayou fishermen." In 1928 he promised the voters nothing more than free textbooks, better roads, and lower power rates.

From 1928 his rise was rapid until this year he launched his nation-wide Share the Wealth Clubs, made his plans on the presidency, was endorsed by such a staid organization as the Chicago Federation of Labor, and promised to "Make every man a king" on one thousand dollars a year.

(To Be Continued)

Wall Street Cracks Whip On Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

National Rank Around.
According to many noted Tories in banking and industrial circles the measures taken by Roosevelt and his Congress have been the very essence of Bolshevism. Now however, they are rubbing their hands with satisfaction. Roosevelt, they say, is moving to the right.

If what they mean is that left implies more promises and right fewer promises there is probably little truth in what they say. For this is no time for Roosevelt to cease his promises. Especially when Virgil Jordan, economist for the National Industrial Conference Board declares to a gathering of business men that "We are little, if any, nearer recovery than we were two years ago..."

The speeches of Roosevelt and the willingness of his last Congress have been a bone in the throat of the working class and a boon in the pockets of the plutocrats. The Congress soon to open bodes nothing better and probably much worse. The big planks in the new "new deal" program are widely advertised as a comprehensive "Social Security" program. But the recent social security conference was hardly under way when it received a warning from Roosevelt that he would tolerate no "wild" ideas. The "bright" feathers in this plan are loans to home owners, public works and unemployment. Gems of deception.

It is sufficient merely to review the previous history of this plan to understand who profits by Roosevelt's altruism. Of the \$200,000,000 expended by the Home Owners Loan Corporation more than 80 percent has gone to banks, insurance companies and realty agencies. The ballyhoo about clearing out slums and building homes for the poor has become in reality a building program for people with means. The poor cannot afford the rents demanded by government housing.

Public Works

All this is intimately associated with the famous public works program which it is reputed Roosevelt, with the certain consent of his Congress plans to extend. The past speaks eloquently on this matter. Of the \$2,711,000,000 in PWA allotments almost two hundred million dollars went in subsidies to railroad companies. Large dips in this pork barrel were taken by the army, the navy and the air force. Relatively few men were given jobs through this method. Some time ago the Nation reported that only a few thousand men were employed on such an enormous project as the N. Y. Triborough Bridge which called for millions in expenditure. The one way public works can start employment even on a modest scale is by entering into competition with private industry. And the very idea of such a thing is sacrilege to Roosevelt and company.

The last and probably most important measure, which seems assured of adoption in the new Congress is some form of unemployment insurance. Relief has proved to be very costly. Bankers and manufacturers have been howling for as speedy an end of it as possible.

But since unemployment shows no real signs of decreasing and since a permanent jobless army reaching well over the seven million figure is here to stay, some permanent and less expensive method of keeping Potters Field from filling up too quickly must be found. Roosevelt no doubt has a solution in an unemployment insurance scheme where the largest part of the receipts will come from the miserably paid workers and where the unemployed will receive this insurance for a few weeks of the year on the condition that they accept any sort of job, at any wages offered, even a strike-breaking job.

Congress opens with the New Year prepared to repeat its services of the last year—not for labor, which it can never serve—but for capital which it must serve. Its legislation will remain two-sided—new deal and raw deal, with the workers on the short end of the stick.

JOSEPH ZACK
Former member Central Executive Committee of Communist Party

will speak on
WHY I JOINED THE WORKERS PARTY

FRIDAY, JAN. 11th, 8:30 P.M.
1176 Pitkin Ave. near Stone St
Brooklyn

Auspices: Workers Party, Branch 6

"WILL HITLER SEIZE THE SAAR?"

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, JAN. 6th, 8 P.M.
Irving Plaza, 15th St. & Irving Pl.
Admission 15c
Auspices: New York District, W.P.

Preis Exposes Auto Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

of production for use and not for profit; that will solve the problem. The workers must have control."

Outstanding testimony as to the conditions of workers in the local plants of the Chevrolet Corp. and the Electric Auto-Lite Co. was given by Jim Kolland, and executive member of the union and of the Lucas County Unemployed League. Sam Pollock of the Workers Party and the Unemployed League was requested by the new progressive union leaders to speak before the committee in the name of the union, which he did.

Willis-Overland Co.

Preis introduced his testimony by an exposure of the operations of the Willis-Overland Co. He pointed out that in 1928 this company employed 25,000 workers. Today it has about 1,000. Most of these workers had been imported from

distant sections of the country. After three months of speed-up they were fired. Today, Toledo has 23,000 families on the relief roll, one third of the population, and it was the breakdown of the Willis-Overland Co. which largely contributed to this, Preis said.

Remove Modern Machinery

Although the newspapers have been ballyhooing the reopening of large-scale production in the Willis-Overland plant, Preis told the committee that the plant has dismantled its modern machinery.

"The modern machinery has been stripped from the production buildings and sold. The Willis-Overland plant will never operate again," Preis declared. "The 24,000 people who lost their jobs will remain unemployed, with but few exceptions. And not merely unemployed, but disemployed. It is not folly, but cruelty, to consider the stabilization of the automobile industry without also considering how to give these workers their jobs again. And that is a futile task under the profit system."

Zack Meeting Draws Crowd

Two or three hundred people

were turned away at the door. Victoria Hall at Irving Plaza was packed and people were standing against the walls. The occasion was the speech of Joseph Zack on the reasons why he quit the Communist Party after a membership of 15 years and joined the Workers Party. The revolutionary workers stormed the hall to hear what Zack had to say. And they heard plenty.

The speaker painted a devastating picture of the internal life of the Communist Party and, point by point, exploded the whole policy of Stalinism and contrasted it with the Marxist position of the Workers Party. For two hours the audience listened with the closest attention, and at the conclusion of his speech a storm of applause registered agreement with his remarks.

Last Sunday night's meeting was another of the successful chain of meetings which are establishing the party as the concentration point of the revolutionary workers in New York. In response to demands of many comrades the district organization is planning a series of Zack meetings in the different boroughs of greater New York and a national tour is being mapped out by the national office.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Steel Hearing Is Called

(Continued from Page 1)

revival despite the sabotage of its reactionary officials. The steel workers genuinely hated the company union and they still do. New progressive elements came forward in the union but they could not stand up against the reactionary barrage. However, an opportunity does not wait forever.

It is reported that the progressives are planning a rank and file convention to be held in Pittsburgh the first week of February to consider "ways and means of forcing union recognition from the steel companies." The call was issued at a meeting of 500 representatives from ten districts of the union at which speakers said that

"strike is our only weapon left now." Of course, this convention has already been declared outlawed by the Tighe administration.

Unquestionably the rank and file discontent with the reactionary union administration is deep seated and its demand for action widespread. Its real need is progressive leadership that will stand up and make the fight; but to provide that the progressives themselves need organization and a clear cut policy of action. In this respect the steel workers union is no exception from many others and this is only one more reason for the necessity and speedy realization of a new national progressive movement in the trade unions.

Anniversary Dinner

for
A. J. MUSTE

Celebrating his 50th birthday and his more than 15 years of activity in the labor movement. To be held at

IRVING PLAZA, 15th Street & Irving Place

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9th 7 P.M.

75c per Plate

General Admission at 9 P.M. 15c.

For reservations: Write Lucile Kohn, Treasurer, Dinner Committee, Room 702, 112 E. 10th St., N. Y. C., or Telephone ALgonquin 4-9058.

ALARM SIGNALS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Speakers:

A. J. Muste J. P. Cannon

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10th, 8 P. M.

HOLLYWOOD GARDENS

Prospect Ave. & 163rd St., Bronx

Questions

Admission 15 Cents

Discussion

NEW MILITANT

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Roosevelt's Speech Goes On Forever

Has Made It Many Times and Conditions Go from Bad to Worse

By DAN DIAMAT

The President's speech to Congress was his Christmas gift to the American workers. Like a good many Christmas gifts the President feels that he has done his duty for the year, and can afford to forget the workers until the next Christmas comes around.

"We assert," he said, "that the ambition to attain proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living is an ambition to be preferred to great wealth and power."

Like most politicians, it finally appears, President Roosevelt has exactly one speech to make; he made it at his inauguration, he made it over the radio, he made it last Christmas, he repeated it through 1934, and now he takes it out of the closet, dusts it off, and makes it for 1935.

From Bad to Worse
The depression goes from bad to worse. Unemployment increases, wages fall, the cost of living increases, unionism staggers, while great fortunes grow. Capitalism develops along its ruthless course. But one thing remains true and firm—no matter how awful the chaos, President Roosevelt goes on, smiling complacently, and delivering that speech, the same soft soap he has been handing out for two years.

"The ambition to obtain proper security" remains no more than an ambition. The government does the absolute minimum by providing relief. With the New Year the President, doubtless wishing to increase security, shifts some 16,000,000 from home to work relief "at low wages," and condemns some 4,000,000 more to the "security" of state and private charity.

That Reasonable Leisure
"A reasonable leisure" encompasses the same 16,000,000 unemployed on forced leisure, and the other thirty-five million wage earners who are driven half insane by stretchouts, overtime, and inefficiency methods. Ask the textile workers running extra looms, the steel workers on double shifts, or the auto workers on the assembly line, about "reasonable leisure."

A decent living, says the President, is a noble ambition. During the last year, while the "living" of corporations increased a very decent amount, the wages of workers increased a measly few per cent. (At that, not a real increase for the workers, when the rise in prices, which enabled the corporations to make their profit, is discounted against wages.)

Better Than Wealth
These ambitions, says the President, are to be preferred to "great wealth and great power."

The President's preference finds expression in the 26 new million dollar a year incomes under the New Deal, and in the increasing power of corporations, which have been unified and strengthened in NRA associations until they become monopolies.

"There is no ground," says our great orator, "for apprehension that our relations with any nation will be otherwise than peaceful."

Three days later, on January 7, we read in the World Telegram: "President Roosevelt today presented to Congress one of the largest peace time national defense budget estimates in history, about one billion dollars. Estimates for next year (1935) represent an increase of \$179,888,500 over last year (1934)."

Farmers Not Forgotten
The President goes on, "We have already begun to feel the bracing effect upon our economic system of a restored agriculture."

In 1928, an average year, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture reported 10,289 million dollars as the gross income of farmers. In 1933 the figure was 4,808 million, less than half the prosperity level. In 1934, the Department estimates a gross income of 5,950 million, an estimate which includes 500 millions of direct benefit payments from the government.

"Where is this 'restored agriculture'?" Can it be just another Christmas story?

We look forward with dismay to hearing this speech delivered several times this year over the radio, in those intimate fireside chats with the President that turn the stomach, several more times on momentous occasions such as the opening of new Civilian Concentration Camp systems, and finally we are dully sure to hear it again only slightly altered, on January 4, 1936.

Times may come and times may go, but that speech goes on forever.

Warnick Is Released on \$3,200 Bail

Sacramento Labor Prisoners Helped by Non-Partisan Labor Defense

(NPLD Press Service)

SACRAMENTO, Jan. 9.—Jack Warnick, one of the leaders of the agricultural workers of the Sacramento and Imperial valleys, on trial with eighteen others here under the anti-labor Criminal Syndicalism Act, was today released on \$3,200 bail provided by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. The trial has been postponed until January 16. The jury has already been selected.

"I expect to prosecute the Communists vigorously," said the committee. With this proclamation, Otis D. Babcock, newly-elected District Attorney of Sacramento County, yesterday took over the task set by the California capitalist class of railroad to San Quentin 18 workers "guilty" of the crime of organizing the exploited agricultural workers of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys into a union to defend their elementary economic interests. During the election campaign Babcock repeatedly criticized the then District Attorney, McAllister, as an enemy of labor, but is now proceeding with the prosecutions which McAllister began.

Albert Goldman Enters Case
A feature of yesterday's brief court session was the entrance into the case of Albert Goldman, noted labor attorney and Socialist Party member, retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The little courtroom was jammed, many workers being present. Newspapermen from San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York crowded the press table. Camera men shot magnanimous flares to picture the participants in the country's greatest political prosecution since the famous Bridgman cases. Everybody was keyed for the calling of the first witness when the District Attorney arose to ask for a week's adjournment.

Over the objections of Leo Gallagher, I.L.D. attorney representing ten of the defendants, Judge Dal M. Lemmon granted the District Attorney the delay "to acquaint himself with the evidence." The judge denied the defense counsel's motion that the jury be dismissed and a new panel called, and also denied a motion to examine the jurors as to whether they are acquainted with the new District Attorney. The jury had been chosen under McAllister.

Various complaints were laid before the judge by the prisoners, who complained about food and medical conditions in the jail. The judge washed his hands of the problem.

Defendants Hold Conference
Immediately after adjournment, a conference was held by the defendants, their attorneys and advisers. Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the Communist Party, to which a number of defendants belong, and Barney Moss, representing the Workers Party of the U. S., of which one defendant is a member, participated. Also present was Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which has charge

(Continued on Page 4)

A. J. MUSTE

JAMES P. CANNON



Workers Party Leaders Off on Speaking Tour

The first national tour of the Workers Party which opens January 13 in Buffalo will take the party leaders, A. J. Muste, national secretary, and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, to 21 cities and industrial centers. The circuit swings north by way of Chicago, as far west as Davenport, Iowa, south to Charleston, W. Va., and back to New York on Feb. 10.

(See schedule of dates and cities where the speakers will appear, together with the subjects they will discuss elsewhere in this issue.)

The tour was mapped at the merger convention of the former American Workers Party and the Communist League of America who joined forces early in December in launching the Workers Party. Since the launching of the new party communications from many sections of the country to the National Office have requested speakers.

AFSW Plans Constitution PMA Election

By FELIX GIORDANO

PATERSON, N. J.—On Saturday, January 12, the first Constitution Convention of the American Federation of Silk Workers, Paterson District, will be held in order to go over the proposed draft submitted by a subcommittee of the Joint Board.

The proposed draft is far from satisfactory, containing provision after provision intended to strip the membership of its democratic rights. The power it intends to delegate to the Joint Board makes the latter a body with final authority. The Joint Board, which this proposed draft would have elected on the basis of "equal representation" would not only be non-representative of the entire membership, but also would have the power to veto any and all decisions of the District Convention.

Moreover, the "equal representation" on the Joint Board is in reality an unequal representation, since a Department of some 300 (like the Ribbon & Hatband) would have the same representation as the Plain Goods Department, numbering some 7,000. Such "equality" is obviously a blow aimed at the largest section of our union. The Joint Board must be elected on the basis of proportional representation. Equally objectionable is the pro-

(Continued on Page 4)

Strike Shuts Garages in Twin Cities

2,000 Mechanics Out; Get Help from Drivers Union 574

(By Special Correspondent)

MINNEAPOLIS.—With strike headquarters in both cities functioning like clockwork, with commissaries set up and serving hot food, with mobile picket lines cruising the streets in good old style reminiscent of General Drivers Union Local 574's last summer, the striking workers in Garage Mechanics Unions No. 382 in Minneapolis and No. 459 in St. Paul have got the Twin City garages tied up tight. Today (Tuesday) the first strike bulletin will make its appearance on the streets of the two cities. If events demand it, the bulletin will appear daily until the struggle is terminated.

Heaten back in their attempt to take on a big league union like the General Drivers Local 574, the Citizens Alliance is now going to try its luck in the minor leagues. The General Mechanics Unions in Minneapolis and St. Paul have in their ranks about two thousand workers, with scores more flocking in daily from adjacent territory. These two unions, now functioning under a Twin City Joint Advisory Board, were forced out on strike last Thursday, January 3 at midnight. Their demands include:

Union recognition; a minimum of 30 hours work a week; a minimum of 90 cents an hour for mechanics and 65 cents for greasers and washers; seniority listing; and no discrimination for union activity.

Bosses Stall

On November 15 an election was held to determine the right of the two above-named Mechanics and Mechanics Lodges to represent the auto workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul. In the face of an attempted frame-up on Herman Hustman, business agent of the Minneapolis Lodge by the Citizens Alliance, the garage employees voted to have the union represent them.

After weeks of the old stalling tactics, the employers finally met with the union representatives—this only after the threat of an earlier strike. Several conferences resulted, but the bosses sabotaged any collective bargaining proposal. Finally, a few weeks ago, the bosses stated: "The sole point at issue now appears to be the question of union recognition."

But this question was supposed to have been settled weeks ago by the Labor Board elections. Such insincerity was too much for the patient and long-suffering garage workers.

V. R. Dunne on Job

At a mass meeting in St. Paul that night, General Drivers No. 574, through Bill Brown and Farrell Dobbs, offered to place several experienced leaders and picketers at the disposal of the strikers. 574's offer was enthusiastically accepted, and V. R. Dunne was delegated to assist the St. Paul workers.

Under F. Lutz, business agent of Local 459, Dunne has been directing the strike activities from the St. Paul strike headquarters. Other active leaders in that city are Jack Niles and Falke Lindholm. Since the beginning of the strike, St. Paul garages have been sewed up tight.

FDR Advocates Low Wage, Protects Private Industry, In Dealing with Unemployed

150 League Men Storm Town Hall in Michigan

Federal Relief Must Stop He Tells Congress—What Does It Mean?

TEMPERANCE, Mich.—One hundred jobless workers under the banner of the newly organized Monroe County Unemployed League stormed the town hall in Bedford Township and forced the relief authorities to grant immediate coal, clothing, bedding, and increased food orders to the unemployed of Bedford and Erie Townships.

When Dusseau, the case worker in Bedford Township, refused to grant a coal order to Homer Allen, member of the Temperance League, and told him openly that if he wanted coal he should go out and steal it, the U. L. committee of 11, headed by Jack Miller of the Erie U. L., proceeded to put Dusseau on the spot.

The doors of the townhall were closed, and Dusseau was informed that he would have to stay in the hall until the demands of the unemployed were met. He tried a number of tricks to get out of the hall, but to no avail.

After a two hour dead-lock, Russell Clark, the new county relief head, made his appearance on the scene with the county sheriff, deputies and state police. The unemployed refused to budge, and finally compelled the relief head to make out immediate orders.

Clark was even compelled to call up the J. C. Penny Co. in Monroe, and have them remain open for a half hour after their closing time in order to outfit one particularly destitute family with clothing.

Lay Plans for Akron Strike

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 9.—Aroused to a fever pitch by the lay-off of 325 union members from the Firestone battery plant, nucleus and backbone of the union, a rank and file union leadership is breaking through the shackles of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy and meeting this week to secretly plan a long overdue and expected strike which will send 7,000 Firestone workers on the picket line.

Failure of the Cleveland Regional Labor Board to reinstate the workers following a hearing last week climaxed the bitter resentment rubberworkers have against the tactics of the rubber baron, H. S. Firestone Sr., and sent strike feeling sky high.

A special meeting of the executive council of the Firestone Local was to be held Wednesday night to determine the course of strategy and action. The United Rubberworkers council, ruling power over all rubber unions, has called a meeting for Saturday to pledge aid and support to any action the local takes.

The refusal of the company to permit a National Labor Board election ordered recently to take place and the throwing of it into a federal court for an anti-election injunction indicate the weakness of the company union and the weakness of labor into realizing that NRA boards etc. were not on their side.

Labor's Share Less in 1935, While Profits Rose, NRA Figures Show

Just before the close of the old year, the capitalist papers started up a loud jabbering about increased production, higher earnings, greater consumption of all goods, the putting to work of unemployed, and so on. But at the end of one of these stories an index was attached—figures computed by the NRA—which show the following:

Employment declined from 78.8 in May of 1934, to 75.9 in August, and to 75.1 in October (latest figures given). The level of October, 1934 was therefore 75.1 as compared with 76.1 in October, 1933. Wages dropped from 61.5 in May, 1934 to 57 in August and then to 55.8 in October. As against a one point rise in wages between October 1933 and October 1934, the cost of living increased 3.1 points.

The index of production dropped from 64.7 in October 1933 to 61.4 in October 1934, and the latter figure also represents a drop of 14 points below production levels of the Spring.

This same release from the NRA reveals that the profits of industrial corporations for the first 9 months of 1934 show an increase

of 75.1 percent over the total for the first 9 months of 1933, and also states that the "annual rate of return on net worth has increased from 2.3 percent to 5.1 percent."

While the value of retail sales increased in 1934 by four and a half billion over 1933, due to increased prices, reports from the Kresge stores, the market of the poor, indicate that there was a drop of 4 percent in the volume of goods sold during the first 10 months of last year as compared with 1933, and similarly the amount of goods handled by Woolworth dropped 6 percent.

As we progress further along the report, we find that the Christmas season was the only factor that saved the year of 1934 from being a complete disaster. All these figures quoted by the publicity offices of the NRA show a decided slump as they affect labor in the year and a half since the inception of the NRA.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

"The Federal Government," said President Roosevelt in his speech to Congress, "must and shall quit this business of relief." This remark is in direct response, not to the needs of the jobless, but to the demands for a balanced budget and no dole by the conference of manufacturers and bankers at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. about a month ago.

What to do with the unemployed, of whom Roosevelt admits there are still "five million on the relief rolls"? First he arbitrarily rules out 1,500,000 as "unemployables" and turns them over to the tender mercies of local relief agencies. The other 3,500,000 are to be put to labor at public works projects.

The Real Questions
Above all else the unemployed want work. Roosevelt knows this and is playing upon this sentiment. But the real questions are: How many will get jobs? For how long? At what wages? On what projects?

The answer to these questions is already given. In his budgetary message Roosevelt requests an appropriation of a lump sum of \$4,000,000,000 for relief purposes to cover the needs of the fiscal year 1935. It looks big, doesn't it? But don't be deceived.

Is Four Billion Enough?
According to the computations of Professor J. M. Clark of Columbia University it requires a \$3,000 expenditure for each man directly employed for one year at public works.

The Congress outlay for public works will undoubtedly be what Roosevelt asks for—four billion dollars. This would mean that out of the administration's estimate of 3,500,000 unemployed only 1,333,333 (approximately one-third) would get jobs for an entire year. The entire number would get jobs lasting but four months. How will they keep the wolf from the door the remaining eight months of the year?

Once having been employed on public works they will be unable to return to local relief rolls as "unemployables." No provision is made for this eventually.

What About Wages?
And the wages? The amount of compensation, says Roosevelt, should be larger than the amount now received on the relief dole.

The average cost of direct relief per month for an unemployed family was recently estimated at \$25 a month or about \$6 a week. The unemployed would certainly welcome an increase over this miserable handout. How high shall the wages be? "... not so large" continues Roosevelt, "as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment to engage in government work."

In other words wages must be lower than the \$12 minimum provided in the President's blanket code. Moreover they must be lower than the wages paid by the tens of thousands of bosses chiseling under this minimum. Public Works wages must be less than the \$10 code minimum in the rubber tire industry, less than \$6.50 for the textile bag industry and less than \$5.60 paid for 40 hours work in the laundry code in the South—they must be lower if the unemployed are not "to reject private employment... to engage in government work."

Roosevelt's "American Plan" Thus, with one blow Roosevelt slams three and one half million jobless workers below the border line of mere subsistence and provides the bosses with a mighty budgeton to keep the wages of those in their employ at rock-bottom levels. This, boasts Mr. Roosevelt, "constitutes an American plan for the American people."

The wages may be low and the work may last only a few months of the year but perhaps homes will be built for the destitute and slum-labouring working class. Let's see.

"The projects undertaken," warns the President, "should be selected and planned so as to compete as little as possible with private enterprise."

In fact, everything militates against a real housing program under the Roosevelt plan. First the fear to compete with the realty operators. Second the record. The NRA has cooperated in increasing the price of building materials some 23 percent, and, on the other hand, the government has been charging municipalities 4 per cent on the housing loans it has made. Out of \$3,700,000,000 allotted to the

(Continued on Page 4)

One World at a Time League Paper Tells Unemployed Readers

From "Voice of the Workers", organ of the Lehigh County Unemployed League:

The poor go to church more than the rich. Churches are emptier than they used to be, but the poor still attend in vast numbers.

In a few words this is the meat of a recent study made by the Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University. Evidently this group of professors on the council spent a lot of time and money finding these things out, and a lot of long words in making their reports. Any class-conscious worker, however, could have told these professors why the poor are the principal warmers of church benches, and thus could have saved these professors all their hard study. Furthermore, any class-conscious worker could have told them why the poor worker continues to swallow religious dope, an important matter that for some reason or other the professors did not include in their report.

The fact is that the lives of poor workers are so full of hardship and trouble that they are but too ready to believe priests and ministers who tell them that if they

are only good, and come to church, and turn the left side of their heads to be clubbed by the police after they have had the right side of their head clubbed, they will inherit the kingdom of heaven when they starve to death, and everything that they did not have in this world will be added unto them in the next.

When life hurts too much, many poor workers try to kill the pain by taking religion. It is cheap and easy dope. It usually makes workers harmless, and for that reason the bosses see to it that there are plenty of ministers and that the churches are lighted and heated and kept in repair.

There is so much to do to make this a decent world, a world in which workers can live full, rich, happy lives, that workers have no time to trouble themselves much about another life that may just possibly exist beyond the grave. No matter what heavenly rewards there may or may not be, there is a job in this world that the workers must do here and now. Let nothing distract their attention or divert their efforts. One world at a time!

FROM THE FIRING LINE

League in Airport Strike Bares Huge Graft; Hits at Forced Labor

WOOD COUNTY, Ohio.—Attempts to work scabs on the Wood County airport project, where for the past three weeks, members of the Wood County Unemployed League have been striking, were crushed by a militant mass picket line which was formed on the morning of January 2 in zero weather by members of the Rossford, East Rossford, Lake Township and Perrysburg Unemployed Leagues.

The strike was called when it was learned that the airport on which federal funds and relief labor were being used is the private property of a corporation, the Trans-American Airway Corp.

As a result of an Unemployed League investigation, it was discovered that in December 1933, E. B. Richardson, receiver for this corporation, had leased the property to the city of Toledo for \$1,000, the lease to extend from that date until November 30, 1935. In the same transaction, also for a consideration of \$1,000, the city of Toledo appointed and designated Richardson as sole operator, with the proceeds from the airport to go to the operator and his company.

Even prior to the time of this transaction, former mayor Thutcher of Toledo had permitted the use of Community Welfare House inmates as laborers on the private property of this corporation without pay.

PMA "Wild Cat" In Springfield

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Springfield miners have a contract with coal operators, but that doesn't stop them from using direct action when they need it as a weapon to gain immediate demands. The members of the Progressive Miners Union at Jefferson mine here struck last week against the Brewerton Coal Co.

Pickets were on hand Friday and the mine closed tight. The miners charged that they were being compelled to accept pay by buying coal from the company at fabulous prices.

The Brewerton Coal Co., notorious for its robberies, functions under the camouflage of a Federal receivership. For many years one couldn't even whisper condemnation of the company for fear of being brought before the court for contempt. Now, however, the miners have taken the only logical action—strike.

The Party at Work

RAPID GROWTH IN NEW YORK

New members are being assigned to the various New York City branches at the rate of ten to twelve a week. One of the significant features of this drift towards the new party is that most of the new members are former members of political parties, such as the Communist Party, the Industrial Union Party, the I.W.O., the Workers group, and so on. No systematic membership drive has been started yet, but plans are now being laid for an intensive propaganda campaign on a city wide scale.

The attendance at the Sunday night forums has far exceeded all expectations, and more than doubled the attendances at the former C.L.A. and A.W.P. forums. Preparations are now under way for a joint meeting of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League to commemorate the death of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Bobbin, to be held on Sunday evening, Jan. 13, at Irving Plaza. Another event for which preparations are being made is the Lenin Memorial meeting to be held on Wednesday evening, Jan. 23, at the Irving Plaza. The Cultural Committee has arranged an interesting program of dances and music.

The Cultural Committee is a newly formed group organized to bring color and drama into the movement and to form a nucleus of dance groups, dramatic groups and musical groups. This committee meets every Friday evening at 7 P.M. at 144 Second Ave. All friends and sympathizers who are capable of contributing to this work are urged to be present at these meetings.

ALLENTOWN MAPS ACTIVITY

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The Allentown Branch at its last meeting elected an executive committee consisting of Lester Heckman, Ed Moser, John Gardner, Bill Reich and Frank Collins. Other officers of the branch are Ed Moser, secretary; Frank Collins, treasurer; John Beisel, literature agent; Grant Minn, branch organizer; Bill Reich, industrial organizer. The following fraction chairmen have been elected: Unemployed Leagues: Andy Budhas; Silk, Corn-

TWO MONTH ACTION PROGRAM OF YOUNGSTOWN BRANCH

1. Double membership of Branch by March 1, 1935.
2. Forty dollars from Youngstown for Party Foundation Fund.
3. Fifteen new subscribers to the New Militant and a weekly bundle sale of 25 copies by March 1.
4. Ten new subscribers for the New International and a monthly bundle sale of 25 copies by March 1.
5. Distribute 1,000 leaflets, sell 100 tickets before meeting, and advertise with announcement on auto in order to get attendance of at least 150 for Cannon's meeting here.
6. Organize trade union contacts as basis for local section of Progressive Trade Union movement.
7. Organize an advanced study class by February 1 in addition to regular classes in fundamentals of Marxism.
8. Sell at least 300 copies of the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Workers Party by March 1.
9. Help local Spartacus Youth League to organize one additional branch by March 1.
10. Lay basis in unemployed movement for state organizer to come in and organize local Unemployed Leagues with help of branch by March 1.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

country relief czar, but the unemployed will be "permitted" to work out their budgetary relief allowance for the equivalent in cash, which makes no allowance for transportation to the job, protective clothing, rent, coal, etc. Those assigned to these projects under the new "plan" were sent "yellow-dog" cards which they were supposed to sign, designating whether they accepted the offer—and if they did not accept, informing them that they would be cut off the relief rolls.

The locals of the Wood County Unemployed Union have already adopted resolutions charging the new relief program as constituting a cut in relief and forced labor, and demanding a minimum of \$15 per week for work to be increased proportionally with price rises, which the resolutions add should not be considered as in any way altering the demand of the National Unemployed Union for \$30 per week and a 30-hour week.

A huge mass meeting has been called for Bowling Green, and the Wood County Unemployed League is planning to extend the airport strike to a county-wide strike against the entire new forced labor program.

Meeting on Work Projects Called by Allentown League

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Jan. 7.—Step by step, by committee action and mass demonstrations, the Unemployed Leagues of Area 6, comprising Lehigh, Northampton and Carbon Counties, have forced relief officials to grant additional necessities to the unemployed. First food, then clothing, then fuel, then rent. Electric light bills have now been added to the list. Pressure became so strong that Weston Kelsey, Relief Director of Area 6, took a committee consisting of Lester Heckman of the Lehigh County Unemployed League and Russell Shuey of the Northampton County Unemployed League to Harrisburg to present the case for the payment of light bills before Alvin Gaylor, Field Director. The conference resulted in specific plans being drawn up for the payment of these bills. The committee was also instrumental in forcing the distribution of additional surplus commodities.

In spite of these gains relief remains woefully inadequate and the unemployed are milking as never before in order to force additional demands and to protest the forced labor scheme which is now being foisted on them.

"Budgetary Deficiency" A new uniform state plan is being entered for distributing relief.

Under this plan a maximum budget is drawn up for each family. The budget provides for food, clothing, rent, fuel, light and gas. From the budget is subtracted any income the family might have; the remainder is called the "budgetary deficiency." One individual from each family is given work at the rate of 50c an hour to earn the amount of the budgetary deficiency. The main objections to this plan are:

Budgets are set too low for human decency; no provision is made for medical and dental care or for paying insurance and debts; skilled workers are forced to work at rates for unskilled labor; since only one member of a family can be given a job, many able bodied men and women are excluded from work; political preference is being shown in allotting foremen, timekeepers and supervisors jobs.

A mass meeting for all unemployed and employed workers will be held at the Harrison-Morton High School Auditorium on Friday, Jan. 11. At this meeting relief grievances will be aired and plans for forming committees on every project will be presented. This will be the first of a series of monthly mass rallies held by the Lehigh County Unemployed League. Workers songs and dramatics will form an integral part of each meeting.

1. The Goal of the Workers Party.
2. Trade Union Tactics and Strategy.
3. Unemployment.
4. The Recent Events in the Soviet Union.
5. Short History of the Internationals.
6. The Workers Party and its Program.

Subscription for the six pamphlets, which will be published at the rate of one a month, are now being accepted. The price for the series is 50c, and may be secured by writing to the Pioneer Publishers, 102 West 11th Street, New York City. All friends and sympathizers are urged to subscribe immediately as this is the only method of financing the publication program.

Injunction Seen As Lewis Move

(Special to the New Militant) SPRINGFIELD, Ill. Dec. 24.—Federal Judge Wham of the East St. Louis district court, denied the United Electric Coal Co. an injunction to prevent mass picketing by the members of the Progressive Miners of America. The Red Bird mine, operated at Freeburg in the Belleville coal field, has been shut down since April 1, 1934, excepting for a few days when the miners permitted operation under tentative plans.

The efforts to get the injunction were avowedly the plans of John L. Lewis, tyrant of the United Mine Workers, who is attempting to break the Progressive Union in the Belleville territory.

YOU SAID IT, FRANKLIN! In spite of our efforts and in spite of our talk we have not weeded out the overprivileged and we have not effectively lifted up the underprivileged.—F. Roosevelt in his message to congress Jan. 4.

Gotham's 1,200,000 Unemployed Face '35

CITY JUGGLES WITH RELIEF

Councils Dormant - Socialist Unions With Cap In Hand - Attitude of Jobless Changing

By AL DASCH

The beginning of the New Year finds the unemployed in New York City in a more precarious position than at any time in the past five years. The city flop houses are filled to capacity with homeless men and women; and if the lengthy breadlines no longer arouse comment, it is only because the sight has become an all too common occurrence. 1,200,000 people in the city are totally unemployed, while more than 300,000 families depend for existence on the starvation budgets allotted to them by the Emergency Relief Administration. Due to the lack of organization on the part of the jobless, the city administration has been able to direct a whole series of attacks against the unemployed in the past few weeks.

Over six thousand families were dropped completely from the relief rolls lately. The favorite excuse was that a close relative (who in many cases had a family of his own and did not even live together with those on relief) had an income exceeding the budget of the relief bureau for that number in a family. At present no more applications of single workers are being accepted. All existing vouchers have been stopped. This leaves the unemployed without even a minimum of clothing with which to face the winter.

Waiting for Snow

Some time ago the city realized that the budget of the Emergency Relief Administration could not take care of all the needs of its "clients." An elaborate snow removal plan was worked out by which 23,000 heads of families would receive work at fifty cents per hour. The Department of Public Welfare stated that the money made on this job would go fully to supplement the relief the men received and nothing would be deducted from their monthly vouchers.

Last week the Department of Public Welfare sent out letters to the men enrolled informing them that half of what they made would have to be deducted from their budget. In view of the fact that it advised them that every twenty-five cents made on the job would be wisely invested if clothes were purchased with it.

Another trick is to transfer those on CWA projects who have no children to home relief, where the amount received by a family of two is less than the small wages paid on work relief. This works both ways, as now only the heads of large families are being placed on work projects. Those placed as laborers received \$48 a month for two weeks work. This is less than many of them received before and in that case their "earnings" are supposed to be supplemented by a check from the home relief bureau making up the difference. Most of the men however are unaware of this and do not apply for the additional amount. The result is their families have to get along as best they can on the miserable wages they make.

Work Relief

Since the mass lay-offs last summer for "loafing" the men are, as they put it, "leery." A host of Fusion and Tammany favorites in the positions of foremen harass the men with the threat of "knocking them off." The result is that those on work relief are driven to work extremely hard for what amounts to \$12 a week. The speed-up plus the small wages have caused a great deal of dissatisfaction. The work bureau, however, has hit upon a happy scheme with which to elude protest. Together with the threat of being fired for freshness a constant rumor is circulated that with the beginning of the new year those employed are going to receive steady work at the rate of five dollars a day.

Lack of Organization

The only reason that one blow after another can be aimed at the unemployed of New York City without resistance on their part is the lack of an unemployed organization capable of championing the jobless. While cities throughout the country have had their unemployed band together and force concessions from the relief administrations, New York has never done this.

ATTENTION!

Newark Workers

The Workers Party of the U. S. will open its new headquarters at 85 Springfield Avenue, on FRIDAY, JAN. 18, at 8 P.M.

Max Shachtman

will speak on "ALARM SIGNALS IN THE SOVIET UNION"

Admission 10 Cents

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Saving John L. Lewis

Stern on the Horizon

Hot Oil

Compulsory Arbitration

The National Industrial Recovery Act saved the skin of John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. He had worn the once-powerful union to a frazzle, had expelled the militant elements who opposed his corrupt and bureaucratic rule and did nothing to halt the steady disintegration of the organization.

NRA changed all that. John L. saw his opportunity, worked himself rapidly into the highest councils of the administration and sent his organizers into the coal fields with the story that he, Lewis, had breakfast every morning with the President and that F.D.R. had asked him to organize the coal miners. In less than a year the U.M.W. of A. had practically swept the field.

Oil Unionism

The International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers was in somewhat the same fix. No conventions had been held since 1926 because of the steady decrease in membership. It took a new lease on life and a membership of 75,000—an increase of 25 percent—was reported to the 1934 gathering. The steady growth has continued since then. Some 15,000 workers are covered by an agreement negotiated by the union with the large Sinclair Oil Company. A few strikes were called against small companies, a number of Labor Board elections resulted in decisive victories for the International as against company unions and special organizing drives enrolled thousands of new recruits.

Thunder Ahead.

In both of these great fuel extraction industries therefore, almost entire dependence was placed on NRA maneuvering. National headquarters of the U.M.W. were moved from Indianapolis to Washington while Harvey Freming, president of the I.O.P., was in the White House.

WHAT TO ATTEND

(The New Militant will be glad to publish all notices of lectures, mass meetings or social events if sent in by Branches and District Offices, sufficiently in advance and marked, "Attention, What to Attend (column).")

In Allentown, Pa. Jan. 22—Card Party benefit for Party Foundation Fund.

In Buffalo Jan. 14, Monday, 8 P.M.—Star Hall, cor. Broadway and Pratt. Subject: The Workers Party of the United States. Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

In Youngstown, Ohio Jan. 15, Tuesday, 8 P.M.—Central Auditorium, 225 Boardman St. Subject: The Workers Party of the U. S. Speaker: James P. Cannon.

In Cleveland, Ohio Jan. 16—Painters' Hall, 2030 Euclid Ave. Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon. Subject: Does America Need a Revolutionary Party?

In Detroit Jan. 18, Friday, 8 P.M.—Jericho Temple, 2705 Joy Road. Admission Free. Subject: The Workers Party and the 4th International. Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon.

In Waukegan, Ill. January 22, Tuesday evening—Speaker: James P. Cannon.

In Minneapolis, Minn. Jan. 23, Wednesday evening—Pythian Hall 434 S. 4th St. Subject: "Program of the Workers Party of the U. S." Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

In Kansas City, Mo. Jan. 20, Tuesday evening—Workers' Library. Speaker: James P. Cannon. Subject: Workers Party of U. S.—Its Program and Purposes.

In St. Louis Jan. 31, Thursday, 8 P.M.—Hibernian Hall, 3619 Finney Avenue. Subject: The Message of the Workers Party—Its Program and Purpose. Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

In New York City Jan. 13, Sunday evening—Liebknecht-Luxemburg Meeting, Irving Plaza.

Jan. 23, Wednesday eve.—Lenin Memorial Meeting, Irving Plaza.

Weekly Friday Night Forums at all the following Branches: Branch No. 1—144 Second Ave. Branch No. 2—Grand Palace, 90 Clinton Street, corner Delancey.

Branch No. 4—143 East 103rd St. Branch No. 5—Bronx Branch—A Forum with Comrade Zack as speaker is being arranged.

Branch No. 8—1776 Pitkin Ave. near Stone Ave., Brooklyn.

Branch No. 7—1281 49th Street, Brooklyn.

Jan. 18, Wednesday, 8 P.M.—Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave., Brooklyn. Joseph Zack on "Why I Resigned from the Communist Party"

Feb. 7, Thursday evening—Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaro" Frances Drake Chairwoman.

WASHINGTON.—Extension of the federal employers' 5 percent wage cut for another six months was called for by Pres. Roosevelt in an executive order signed Jan. 4, as bills sponsored by the unions were being introduced in Congress demanding immediate restoration of the cut.

Charges that the government "encouraged general wage-cutting" and set "the worst possible example to private employers" are made in a memorial for repeal of salary reduction addressed to members of the House and Senate by the National Association of Letter Carriers.

WASHINGTON.—Railroads have received more than half a billion dollars in R.F.C. loans, according to the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

ident of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, deserted his old offices in Fort Worth, Texas for the superior attractions of the nation's capitol. The increased distance from the coal tipples and oil derricks was more than compensated for by the proximity of code authorities. It is true that Freming threatened general strike action in his industry in March and again in August 1934, but no one ever took it seriously.

Speaking relatively, therefore, everything has been smooth sailing. No real crisis arose to disturb the tranquillity of the union chiefs, such as faced the officialdom of the textile, steel and auto unions. But the events of the past week show that the day of reckoning is approaching and that the coming months are almost certain to produce serious and unavoidable issues in coal and oil.

Price Control

The stumbling block in both industries is the breakdown of the price control system set up to end suicidal competition. Lewis has recently complained that bituminous coal mine operators, after more than a year of successful operation under fair trade provisions of the NRA code have, within the last ten days, started "cutting each others' throats again." The entire minimum price structure of the coal code is threatened with collapse. This must lead to wage cuts as the old competitive fight begins all over again. In a letter to the NRA Lewis hinted at a nation-wide walkout of coal diggers to check that tendency. An even graver situation has been created by the recent decision of the Supreme Court which declared the production and price control features of the oil code unconstitutional. The flood of "hot oil" especially from the East Texas fields in defiance of NRA provisions had already nullified any benefits which the oil workers might have gained from the code for their industry. Now that all the bars are down, price cutting will go on at an ever increasing rate. And the brunt of the battle will, of course, be born by the workers. What this will mean in some sections where even today a state of virtual peonage exists, may be imagined.

The union is trying to get revisions of the code to provide for a 30-hour week and wage increases. Freming stated at a hearing recently that the "reabsorption of unemployed by the industry has been practically nil and its increased wage bill has been a sad disappointment."

Fight—The Only Way One after the other the unions are finding out that the old rules still apply. Labor must fight for what it gets. In certain industries special circumstances may delay the final showdown. That has been the case in coal and oil. But increasingly the workers in these two industries will have to face the cruel facts. To prepare the organizations of labor for the fight, to sweep aside those who sabotage or who preach the identity of the interests of the exploited and the exploiter—that is the job for the progressive unionists of America.

Arbitration It is certain that efforts will be made at this session of Congress to put over a bill for the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. It is an open secret that certain government officials in high places favor such legislation. Every reactionary interest in the country is busily pushing the idea.

And why not? If organized labor can subscribe to the following paragraph from the American Federationist, organ of the A. F. of L., what serious objection can it have to forced arbitration?

"We hold," says this editorial, "that Labor and employers are properly partners in industry, with separate functions but with interdependent interests which can best be furthered by genuine cooperation or production and for that control of industry that will bring balance in distribution of income and stability in production."

Compulsory arbitration goes as logically with that kind of bunk as ham with eggs.

LETTER CARRIERS PROTEST EXTENSION OF WAGE CUT

WASHINGTON.—Extension of the federal employers' 5 percent wage cut for another six months was called for by Pres. Roosevelt in an executive order signed Jan. 4, as bills sponsored by the unions were being introduced in Congress demanding immediate restoration of the cut.

Charges that the government "encouraged general wage-cutting" and set "the worst possible example to private employers" are made in a memorial for repeal of salary reduction addressed to members of the House and Senate by the National Association of Letter Carriers.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

State of the Union
No More Cash Relief
Imperialism and the Farmer

Roosevelt has sent his message to Congress on the state of the union. And a sad state it is. Had there been in the past year a sharp upturn, a rapid rise in production, reemployment of many more millions of workers, Roosevelt would have taken credit for all this as the result of the New Deal. As it turns out all the hollowness of the demagoguery and ballyhoo of the NRA stand nakedly revealed. True, there has been some recovery of business; employment is above the lowest levels of the crisis; but the illusions created in the minds of many workers that the government would see to the return of prosperity and send them back to the factories in short order have evaporated into thin air. It must be clear to all by now that Roosevelt gained on the ending of the depression and on the recovery of business in the normal course of things, and that his whole "program" so far as the working class was concerned, was intended to lull the masses into passivity during the worst phase of the crisis.

In his message of last year Roosevelt expressed the hope that the budget could be balanced in the next fiscal year—the year beginning in June 1935. That hope, too, goes by the board with the indication that a deficit of four billions of dollars will be piled up in the coming year, thereby bringing the total federal debt to a record high. With the failure of business to pick up sufficiently to permit balancing of the budget, with the government embarking on a new program of public spending to be financed by government borrowing, further inflation looms in the future as almost a certainty. Of course it is not Roosevelt's real intention to spend the entire appropriations supposedly made for relief through public works. But if he follows along the course outlined in his message, the treasury will be forced by the need for refunding previous loans (for example, the Liberty Loans that fall due), and the demands for new funds for public works and other "emergency" measures, to borrow some eleven and a half billions of dollars. Such huge government borrowings will exert the most disturbing influence on the entire financial structure of the nation. That is why the government may be compelled to take over greater and greater control of the banking and credit system.

What is of the utmost importance to both the employed and the unemployed alike, is that part of Roosevelt's message dealing with relief. He intends to drop as much as possible cash relief and substitute what comes close to being

forced labor at low wages, lower than for similar work in private employment. And this is to be applied particularly in the field of construction. Thus the pre-arranged propaganda extending back for months now, blaming the failure of recovery in the building trades and the field of heavy construction on the refusal of the skilled workers to give up the wage levels and the conditions to which they were heretofore accustomed, is now bearing fruit. The government is stepping in to help beat down the standards of living of the building trades workers. Recovery of heavy industry is to take place by loading all the sacrifices on the backs of the working class. It can be said in advance that the workers will not submit to this program without the sharpest struggles and resistance. The government will find it necessary to use the methods of repression more and more.

Secretary Wallace Gives the Key

To understand the real meaning of the moves being made by the government one must see them in their entirety as in accord with the historic aims and needs of the American finance capitalists. Such a view is given most clearly in the apparently "liberal" writings of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. To him it is perfectly clear that America cannot turn to any scheme of autarchy, of a self-enclosed economy. Rather it must rearrange its entire internal economy so as to enable the closest economic ties to be made with the backward agricultural countries of South America and Asia. America, in short, must become more and more imperialistic. It must capture the major world markets for manufactured goods by its mass production methods in the factories. Competition with the other imperialists requires that the costs of production must be extremely low. Hence the drive on workers' living standards. At the same time, if these other countries are to be put in "our" market, they must be permitted to sell their agricultural products. Hence the program of crop control here, to eliminate those American farmers in competition with the potential buyers. Naturally with this vast program of imperialism goes a complete revision of the tariff system.

BIG PROFITS IN TEXTILES

WASHINGTON—Big profits were made by the textile industry from Jan. 1, 1933, to Aug. 31, 1934, according to the first installment of the Federal Trade Commission's reports. Altogether the 765 companies studied made nearly \$100,000,000 profits in the whole period, so that the claimed loss of the companies of \$4,667,578 for the 2-month period just before the great textile strike had been well covered by the tremendous gains.

The Party Fund

A circular letter, addressed to all our readers, friends and sympathizers, and containing the PROGRAM OF ACTION, is going into the mails today.

This Program consists of eleven definite tasks the Workers Party set itself for immediate achievement. Six of these points are already in process of fulfillment.

To start work AT ONCE on the remaining points in the Program of Action and to successfully accomplish it in full, FUNDS ARE URGENT.

For this purpose, the PARTY FOUNDATION CAMPAIGN was initiated by our National Committee.

SEND YOUR PROMPT ANSWER TO THIS CALL. GIVE YOUR CONTRIBUTION. COLLECT FROM FRIENDS AND SHOPMATES. PAY YOUR MEMBERSHIP TAX. DON'T DELAY!

Forward to a powerful mass Workers Party of the U. S.

BRANCH REPORTS

New York City: Hard at work fulfilling the \$1,500 quota. Planning a special city-wide affair, the proceeds of which will go for the Foundation Fund.

Waukegan, Ill.: "There is no doubt we shall be able to meet our quota."

Youngstown, Ohio: "The national office notified us that our quota for the PARTY FOUNDATION FUND was \$25. We have pledged \$40 and will make it easily. Every member is digging deep into his pocket and out visiting friends in order to get contributions."

"The pledges of the employed members of the branch are as follows: Cheloff, \$5; Slavin, \$4; Conrad, \$5.50; London, \$3 or more. At least 50 percent of these pledges will be paid by February 1 and the balance by March 1. All unemployed members have pledged to meet their 25c assessment quickly."

RECEIPTS

Previously reported	\$896.45
Branches	
New York District	26.00
Los Angeles, Calif.	10.25
Boston, Mass.	6.00
St. Louis, Mo.	15.00
Columbus, Ohio:	
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SOME RECENT IMPORTATIONS

ASPECTS OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM—a symposium by H. Levy, Joan Macmurray, Ralph Fox, E. F. Carr, etc. THE OUTLOOK OF SCIENCE, by R. L. Worrall.

Reviewed in the December issue of the New Internationalist. CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN 1844, by F. Engels. SELECTED ESSAYS, by Karl Marx.

On the Jewish Question; a criticism of Hegelian philosophy, etc.

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Dew of Death Rained From Sky
Capitalist Weapon for Next War

By RUTH WILSON

In Japan school children are taught to use gas masks. In Paris, bomb-proof cellars are built for the civilian population. In Italy, boys of eight are given military training.

In the United States, the government talks of taking the "excess" profits out of war—and continues to build battle ships and to carry on secret experiments with poison gases.

All over the world, the next war is in preparation. For the time being American capitalists, like the English, and all others for that matter, are talking peace—and preparing for the inevitable war.

Chemical warfare is a thing of such horror that the mind reels at the thought of it. Propagandists, lulling us into a feeling of safety, declare that no country would dare use the chemicals and gases they have prepared in their laboratories, because of the fear of reprisals by its enemy.

No Limits

Let us forget gas warfare was "outlawed" before the World War; but both sides used it just the same. In the next war, with a pre-knowledge of the possibilities of demoralizing civilian populations by a quick paralyzing stroke, and with the new horrors made available by the laboratories of the world since the World War, there will and can be no rules and no limits.

What are these horrors of chemical warfare? We don't hear much about them, mostly rumors. There is good reason for that: If the workers of the world could learn what is actually being prepared for them by the governments of Europe and America, then they might rise in protest.

A little book, prepared by the Chemical Workers' Union of England, gives some idea of what the next war will mean. These chemists know what they are talking about.

Mustard Gas

They tell of Mustard Gas, whose victims in the World War suffered and died for years after 1918. This gas, which can be prepared more easily now than at the time of the last war, vaporizes slowly at ordinary temperatures. Thus it may be carried on clothing into a warm room, where it becomes effective. It contaminates anything with which it comes in contact—food, clothing, ground. It has the added horror that it takes some time for it to show its results, so that the victim may not know he has been affected until hours later.

Then, with increasing intensity, the gas causes smarting of the eyes, nausea and vomiting, a rash that develops into blisters and festering sores, and blindness. This agony may last for several days, ending in death.

Those who have seen gas victims of the last war know that even a non-fatal "dose" of Mustard Gas leaves the victim weakened for life.

Perhaps most potent of all gases is Lewisite—discovered by the United States Chemical Warfare Service. To this gas is given the poetic name of "Dew of Death," and it has an odor not unlike that of geraniums. It is one of the most deadly gases ever discovered.

There are many others—Chlorine, which causes death by water-logging the lungs; Phosgene, which kills 81 percent of its victims within 24 hours, after the most horrible agony; and the "irritants," which are not fatal in themselves but are designed to cause their victims to tear off their gas masks and thus expose themselves to the deadlier gases.

"Civilized" Weapons

These are a few of the weapons that experts are preparing for the next war. And not only the experts of Europe. The English Chemical Workers' booklet tells of a huge poison gas plant at "Edgewood" in the United States, built at a cost of \$45,000,000, with 218 manufacturing buildings, 1,400 tons of poison gases in stock, and a plant capacity said to be 800 tons of poison gas per day. This would mean that in two months this plant could produce more poison gas than the Germans used throughout the last war.

There is no adequate defense against chemical warfare—the experts agree to that. It would take years to make enough gas masks to protect civilians—even if little children and old people could be trained to keep on these uncomfortable masks. Shelters deep underground may be built to comfort people and prepare them for the idea of war; but to build enough shelters for even one large city—even if they could be built deep enough to keep the gases from seeping down—is a virtual impossibility.

Soothing Syrup

The governments know this. So they devote their propaganda to soothing the people. Sir Samuel Hoare, in a speech in the British Parliament, discussed the possibility of a pre-war treaty under which the centers of cities would not be bombed until the workers had gone home!

But workers, knowing that to paralyze industry will be one of the chief points of attack in the next war, will remember that 31 nations signed the Geneva Protocol forbidding the use of poison gas in the World War—and will not put their faith in the politeness of nations at all.

And the "Abundant Life" Is
Poverty! Poverty! Poverty!

By TESS HUFF

Said the New York Post in an editorial in November:

"If a bear, kept in a cage for years, is released, he will pace up and down in an area no bigger than that to which he is accustomed."

"The iron bars are down. But the psychological bars stay up long after there is any basis for them in reality."

"Human beings suffer from the same mental inertia."

"No wonder it seems difficult to grasp the idea that for the future there is enough to satisfy the needs of everyone."

Indeed, it seems difficult. The masses in the United States, first under Hoover, then under Roosevelt, have been like the chicken who starved to death on a sack of grain. But since 1929 there has been a growing conviction that poverty and "bread lines knee-deep in wheat" are there only because they are tolerated.

To put the time had come to have two chickens in every pot and two cars in every garage. And why not? No other nation possesses so much wealth, skilled manpower and machinery.

The government began making surveys. Committees turned in reports and fact-finding bodies filled volumes with facts and figures. Nevertheless, no improvements were visible. In fact conditions got worse. People ate less, poverty increased, debts piled up and more millions joined the unemployed.

Hoover did the best he could. No capitalist could have done better. But the masses were dissatisfied and angry. They made the mistake, so usual in America, of regarding the president as a man, as an abstract man without class alignments and interests. They got angry at Hoover and not at what he stood for. They did not see in him the spokesman for capitalism.

Then came the new savior, Franklin Roosevelt.

When Roosevelt took power the banks were failing and the profit system was in a bad way. Roosevelt saved the banks, and looked

at the masses. In a kindly voice, Roosevelt spoke to the nation. The time has come, he said, to have a New Deal and to end this shameful condition; we will drive the money-changers from the temple and lift up the underprivileged to an abundant life.

The government began new surveys. Committees and fact-finding bodies produced new volumes of facts and figures. And the facts and figures added to the already voluminous evidence that every man, woman and child could have plenty of all the necessary things of life—food, clothes, homes, a high standard of living.

But again the months passed and there was no visible improvement. In 1933 there was a brief upturn and then conditions got worse than ever. The President continued to speak of the "abundant life."

But facts and figures are hard with-ness. Less food was sold in 1934 than in 1933. New homes are still out of the question; there is none; and the old ones do not improve with age. It is true that new millions in profits were reported by the corporations and banks in 1934, but the government has just reported an all time high of 19,000,000 people on the relief rolls. The living standard instead of being doubled is sinking lower.

In his message to Congress, which has just opened, Roosevelt admitted that "despite all our talk" the New Deal has failed to lift the underprivileged. But in the same breath he defended the "profit motive," said the government "must and will quit this relief business" and recommended that 3,500,000 of the jobless be put to work on government projects "which do not conflict with private business" at low wages.

The working masses do not yet realize who Roosevelt is. That he is a member of the capitalist class, trying to apply a capitalist remedy, is not generally known. But little by little the idea that WE COULD HAVE PLenty is growing. And this is the dynamite that will blast capitalist poverty and the whole capitalist "profit motive" system away high.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

WORLD IN REVIEW

Letter From Spain

New International
Cuban Volcano

SPANISH SOCIALIST YOUTH

CALLS FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL

(Ed. Note: An expression of the tremendous ferment in the ranks of the Young Socialists of Europe is to be seen in the call issued by the Socialist Youth of Spain for unity with the Young Communist League and the Communist Left Youth ("Trotskyites") and the formation of a new revolutionary youth International and be "return to Marx and Lenin". The call issued by the Spanish Socialist Youth is reprinted herewith.)

Call of Spanish Socialist Youth To the Socialist and Communist Youth:

To the working Youth:

Comrades: Following the revolutionary movement and because of the need for strengthening the proletarian defense against the fascist offensive the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth considers that

the unity of the youth forces can no longer be postponed. The proletarian youth is faced with the problem of organic unity. Realizing this to be so, we have addressed the following proposal to the Y.C.L., the Communist Left Youth (International Communists) and the youth organizations of the Iberian Party (Maurin group):

"The Socialist Youth of Spain feel the unpostponable need of achieving the organic unity of the revolutionary proletarian youth which has already been united in struggle. During the October revolution we have struggled together against fascism in a single block and for a common purpose. Why should this not continue to be so? Why continue separately if our line is the same? The Socialist Youth have broken definitely with the Social-Democratic Reformism and intend, together with the Socialist Youth of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, England, and Austria, to initiate the reconstruction of the youth movement on the purest basis of revolutionary Marxism. The international leadership necessary to reach victory is non-existent. The Second and Third Internationalisms have lost this leading position. Following Hitler's victory, a new movement has gotten under way. We believe it necessary, urgent, to push this movement to its destination."

"Let us return to Marx and Lenin. Let us unite the proletarian youth in an international that has broken with the errors of the past. Therefore, we invite the Y.C.L., the Communist Left Youth, and the Youth of the Iberian Communist Party, to enter, as such, en masse into the Socialist Youth of Spain. We invite the revolutionary proletarian youth to rally under our banner for the reconstruction of the international proletarian movement."

"For the organic unity of the proletarian youth! For a Marxist International! For the banner of Marx and Lenin!"

Concerning this proposal, discussions have been held with the Y.C.L. which has refused our proposal in a sectarian manner. We have not, however, lost confidence.

Young Communists: bring pressure on your leadership to achieve organic unity.

Young workers: The Socialist Youth of Spain calls on you to unite.

Long live the October revolution! Long live organic unity! —Socialist Youth of Spain.

Situation Tense In Cuba

Once again, Cuba finds itself on the brink of a volcano. The fate of the Mendieta-Batista regime, puppet of American imperialism, hangs in the balance. Opposition groups of both the right and the left are organizing the struggle for its overthrow.

The mass base of the present government has been progressively shrinking for many months to the point where it now rests almost entirely on the army with the support of Wall Street interests. The development of the strike movement and the tremendous wave of terrorism—bombings and assassinations—have shown the impotence of the government to dominate the situation. Serious disaffection is evident in the army, a number of officers having been detained for subversive activities, and numerous arrests of Communists, ABC members, and alleged terrorists, have been made in the last few days.

There can be no doubt that the Cuban revolution is entering a new phase. Both of the working class parties — Bolshevik-Leninist and Stalinist, all of the petty bourgeois revolutionary groups—Cuban Revolutionary Party, Young Cuba, National Agrarian Party—as well as the would-be Fascist ABC, openly proclaim the renewal of hostilities. Upon the events of the next few weeks may depend the future of the Cuban revolution for many years to come. Organized labor of the United States should be prepared to forcefully demand that American imperialists keep their hands off of Cuba in the struggles that are approaching.

7,400,000 CHILDREN

WASHINGTON—Some 7,400,000 children under 16 are on the country's relief rolls, says Assistant Administrator Aubrey Williams of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

shook the walls. The N.U.L. was launched. The spies and fascists were decisively beaten—how decisively was apparent at the meetings following the convention and at the second national convention which showed clearly the tremendous progress in political understanding and class-consciousness that these workers, who only a year before waved the flag and dangled the club, had made under the tutelage and leadership of the C.P.L.A. Ramaglia and Johnson, elected president and secretary without opposition, could prepare their plan for extended organization.

(To be continued)

Huey Is Tammany Hall Rising From the South

Second Installment on Life of Louisiana Kingfish

(Continued from last issue)
By DAN EASTMAN

Huey's career from 1928 to the present day is a history of complicated political maneuvering, whereby he worked himself up from an ordinary governor to monarch of Louisiana.

Huey Long is absolute dictator; not only does he control the legislature, the governor, and the supreme court; but also the Commissioner of Taxes, Allice Gros Jean (one time Secretary of State in La.) who holds a bluegeon of taxes over business; the Commissioner of Levees, Abe Shusan, who raised a \$377,000 campaign fund by an extra legal tax on state employees; the Commissioner of Forests, Seymour Weiss, who has favors for steamship companies; the Commissioner of Conservation, Bob Maestri, who has jobs to hand out.

Long even has the power of approving the appointment of lawyers to the bar; and in many cities of appointing police, fire chiefs, sewer and water commissioners, etc. Since the last primary, Long has captured the New Orleans municipal government.

Controls 13,500 Jobs
Politicians calculate five votes for every job. Huey controls some 13,500 jobs, and so he can be sure of 87,000 votes out of 300,000 no matter which way the wind blows.

In the end, however, his real strength lies in his ability to get the support of the masses. Huey Long has actually accomplished reforms, by pulling up a tremendous debt which will ultimately have to be paid by the workers.

The fulcrum of Long's political lever is the state highway system. He has built hundreds of miles of fine concrete, bringing tourists and trade to the impoverished countryside. His highway system, however, is a patchwork. Only the Parishes, or counties, that vote for Long get roads; so that one may travel fifty miles of fine concrete to cross in a moment into a mire of ruts, an anti-Long county.

Rich Get Richer
His reforms are attractive, make a fine show, and satisfy some of the smaller needs of the voters. But the rich are still rich and the poor get poorer in Louisiana, no matter how Huey may talk.

Huey knows that he can't go on forever in his home state. His reforms, small as they are, have been accomplished at an expense which is almost prohibitive. In the year 1928 the bonded indebtedness of Louisiana was \$11,000,000. In 1934, after six years of Huey Long, it was \$140,000,000, 41 percent as large as the debt of New York, the richest and most populous state in the union.

Huey and the Banks
Huey will soon reach a critical point in his career. He must have money to go on with his "popular" government. He can't get money from the poor voters who elect him. There is only one source large enough for the sort of campaign Huey conducts, that is the banks. If money continues to flow in Louisiana, or in Long's national campaign, it can only be by virtue of a behind-the-scenes agreement between Huey and the very big business he flays.

Huey and the Government
The most pressing of Long's opponents is the federal government. Through relief agencies, through the PWA, through the FERA, through all the federal activities the government controls a great many jobs in Louisiana, and these jobs, at the rate of five votes to the job, are going to anti-Long men. Further, the government can withhold PWA funds, as it is threatening, and thus bring Long to his knees.

At present the government is engaged in an investigation of the incomes of Long's followers. Several of his right hand men have already been caught in the net; indeed so close a companion as Abe Shusan, the Commissioner of Levees, is being investigated for the \$377,000 he raised for Long's political campaigns.

Huey's Program
Before we try to predict anything of Long's future, let us look at the

Bill White Dead

William J. White, a member of the C. P. O. (Lovelace group), and a fighter in the trades union and political movement since 1889, died in New York, Jan. 7. He had been ailing for some months but carried on as a field organizer in Port Wayne, Ind. and Ohio. A few weeks ago he returned to New York. Comrade White was born in Pennsylvania in 1871, of Irish parentage. At an early age he went to work in the steel mills, joining the S.L.P. and the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers at the age of 18. From then on to his death, Bill was engaged in every political or industrial struggle that took place in the steel towns of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

NEW MILITANT

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a bad thing. It makes for efficiency and cheapness of production.

It is the ownership of capital, in the form of factories, by private persons that is the real difficulty. The factories become continually more and more efficient, but at the same time, by the very concentration of ownership by one person, the efficiency is obtained, it is continually less and less profitable for the owners to operate them. Thus we arrive at the stage where the most efficient and progressive industrial nation in the world is forced to leave millions unemployed, to operate its factories at one quarter capacity, to deprive and starve one half the population, and drive the other half to death.

Solution in Ownership
This state of affairs is not the result of the efficiency of our industry, but of the ownership. The solution lies not in subdividing industry and going back to the U. S. Steel corporation to the blacksmith shop, but in taking the ownership away from the U. S. Steel and giving it to the workers.

Huey Long's program contemplates the subdivision of capital by limiting fortunes to some reasonable figure such as \$500,000,000. (It should be clear that fortunes are not in cash, that in fact, Henry Ford could never get all his wealth in cash, for there isn't that much currency in the country. Henry Ford's fortune consists in the ownership of factories, mines, offices, etc. Thus when Huey Long speaks of dividing up the wealth of the country he is only clowning.)

Huey Long may be clever enough to know that his plan is nonsense. Certainly he knows how to appeal to his voters. Huey's program reflects the emotional, unreasoned, desire of the small bourgeoisie, the owners of little, inefficient factories, the owners of small stores, the owners, in effect of blacksmith shops, the desire to go back. The desire, not to turn the great potential power of the U. S. Steel to the use of the workers, but the desire to destroy the U. S. Steel corporation, so that the workers may be exploited by outdated blacksmith shops once more.

(To be concluded in next issue)

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

NEW YORK CITY.—The third week of February will mark the opening of the first semester of the New York District Workers Party School, to be called the International Workers School. Final plans for its organization will be completed in the next few days.

Enthusiastic response is expected to the school arrangements. Overflow audiences at recent mass meetings and open forums of the Workers Party clearly indicate the great interest in the program and policies of the Workers Party. Both new and old members in the district organization have made requests for the early commencement of classes.

To satisfy these needs and desires, a list of competent instructors and lecturers has been compiled. They are being assigned to take charge of those courses in which they are most experienced. The policy of the school will be to concentrate on the more elementary subjects to educate the militant workers and train them for more effective participation in the class struggle. Only by sound theoretical understanding of the problems of the class struggle can the workers conduct intelligent and victorious action. Courses included are:

Workers Party fundamentals, Marxian Economics, History of the American Labor Movement, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, History of the Three Internationals, History and Problems of the Youth Movement. In addition there will be lecture courses on cultural problems.

As part of the School a library is to be organized. This will contain the Marxian classics and literature of the social sciences, as well as current periodicals. Readers of the New Militant are invited to contribute suitable books or pamphlets: Joseph Carter, Administrator, International Workers School, 112 East 19th Street, Room 702, New York City.

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REVA CRAINE Nat'l. Educational Dir. S.Y.L.
NATHAN GOULD National Secretary S.Y.L.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 13, 8 P.M.
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Auspices: Workers Party N. Y. District and Spartacus Youth League

Cult of Leadership, Zig-Zags And Turns Mark C.I. Policy

By JOSEPH ZACK

An analysis of the Comintern and its national sections would not be complete without mentioning the peculiar leadership cult introduced by Stalin. First it was, "Comrade Stalin, secretary of Central Committee." Then it became, "our Central Committee led by Comrade Stalin." Now already for some time it is, "the Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Stalin."

The same practice has been introduced in the other parties. In Germany it reads "the C. P. of Germany under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann." Perhaps it is better to say it that way, for the Central Committees have long ago been reduced to a consultative capacity; under Stalin's regime they become assistants to the secretary. This runs to such extremes that even when the bulk of the party is in jail in Germany the demand is made for "the release of Comrade Thaelmann" as if the others did not matter. Stalin's idea of centralism is the one man principle. The rest must be subordinated, chosen by The One under the camouflage of nominating committees and "ratified" by the body having formal jurisdiction. Each new leadership glorifies itself through articles, pictures, folders, anniversaries, etc. The whole system is so arranged that it is exceedingly difficult to have any of these people ever "promoted" out of office through pressure from below, let alone removed. Thus firm leadership is established in the Communist parties.

Naturally, such a leadership, freed from any control by the party masses, are at liberty to change the policy at will without consulting the membership. The policy swings from one extreme to another. The party membership learns about the latest "turn" after it is already in effect.

Right-Left Turns
Between 1923 and 1928, a period of high prosperity in this country, we had two basic changes in policy. First, in line with the Kuomintang experiment in China and similar policies in India, we in this country were organizing the Farmer-Labor Party and seeking alliance with LaFollette.

This opportunist policy outraged the Communists to the function of organizers of reformist parties. Lenin untiringly preached against such policies.

At the same time we echoed the theory of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats on the trade union field, namely, "No Dual Unionism." This slogan was originated by Samuel Gompers, late president of the A. F. of L. It meant that the workers had no right to organize outside the A. F. of L.

This opportunist policy created a sharp division into right and left in the Communist parties. The Comintern leadership (Stalin) got panicky, made a sudden, sharp turn to the left and got from under by unloading the whole thing on Bucharin and denouncing the Right as the main danger.

While "prosperity" was still at its height (1928) a totally new set of theories were promulgated without any connection with objective conditions. The new theories rested on the conception that everyone else except the followers of Stalinism are direct or potential enemies. These enemies were divided into categories such as "Social Fascists," or "Left Social Fascists." The panic found its most profound expression however in the excommunication of the genuine left wing of the Comintern as "counter-revolutionists." In this characterization

tion, incidentally, Stalin revealed the true character of his own policy and the tremendous falsification perpetrated by the pseudo-left policy of the "Third Period"

Naturally with such a policy there could be no united front, not only with other classes as before but not even with groupings and organizations of the working class. The workers were simply invited to support the C. P. and this was called "the united front from below." If, before that, the Communist Party was hidden under the bloc of classes, farmer-labor parties etc., now everything was to be subordinated to the C. P.

Red Unions Period
A corresponding change was effected on the trade union field. No more of Gompers' slogan of "No Dual Unionism." Now there was to be not only new unions everywhere, whether they had a base for existence or not, but they were to be "red" unions, unions that must acknowledge the C.P. as their official leader and endorse its program. As to the left and progressive minorities in the reformist unions, they were to be called upon to leave those unions double quick and go into "red" unions.

The evil fruits of the theory of "Social Fascism," "Red Unions," the "United Front from Below," and the rest of the "Third Period" program, are well known. Thanks to them, when the day came in Germany Hitler was able to shove aside the best organized working class and the strongest Communist Party in any capitalist country. Deceits and isolation everywhere resulted from the "Third Period" of "left" adventurism in the Comintern. A new "prescription" was needed. It came, eventually, in full force. Without any discussion of the past errors, to say nothing of a recognition of them, a new swing to the Right is now under way.

No more is heard of "Social Fascism." This theory is sunk with out a trace. The conflict with Social Democracy is now softened down to a dispute with "class brothers" and proposals are made to end the dispute altogether. The first step in the direction is the signing—or proposals to sign—"non-aggression pacts" Under these pacts the two parties—C.P. and S.P.—agree not to criticize each other inside or outside party meetings (France).

On the trade union field there are to be no more "Red" unions. More there are to be no new unions generally. Stachel, trade union expert of the C. P., now declares that "we never believed in dual unionism" (November issue of Communist). This new swing to the right is only in its inception. Resistance to it inside and outside the Soviet Union has retarded its rate of development, but the swing to opportunism is well under way. If Brandler and Lovestone have not yet returned to the fold it is not any more because of serious differences of policy but out of the difficulties of face-saving on both sides.

Why the Zig-Zags?
Thus we have seen three basic changes in policy back and forth within ten years. Did these swings have anything to do with the objective situation? Not at all! They were the results of defeat after defeat. What we strove to do one year we had to undo the next year. Did these policies have anything to do with Marxism or Leninism? Nothing whatever! Exactly the contrary, as Trotsky shows with crystal clearness in his numerous pamphlets. Did the movement grow stronger at each turn? Just the contrary. The desire to overthrow capitalism on the part of the workers is undoubtedly stronger than ever before, but Communism as an organized force was never as shattered as now.

Stalinism has not only disorganized the international movement of the workers' vanguard. It has also weakened and undermined the position of the Soviet Union. The task of the International proletariat now is to reorganize its ranks, prepare for revolutionary struggles and thereby, also, provide the necessary defense—the only real defense—of the Soviet Union. In order to accomplish this historic task the vanguard of the international proletariat must free itself from the blighting influence of Stalinism. The Workers' Party and the movement for the Fourth International are leading the way to the revival of the revolutionary movement on the basis of Marx and Lenin.

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Davenport, Ia., Jan. 28-29—Muste and Cannon.
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 30-31—Muste and Cannon.
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 31—Cannon.
Illinois Mine Fields: Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, etc. Feb. 1-2-3—Muste and Cannon.
Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 4-5—Muste and Cannon.
Charleston, W. Va., Feb. 6—Muste and Cannon.
Pittsburgh, Feb. 7-8—Muste and Cannon.
Pittsburgh, Feb. 7-8—Muste and Cannon.
New York City, Feb. 10—Muste and Cannon.

F. D. R. Deals With Relief

(Continued from Page 1)

PWA for the last eighteen months only \$146,000,000 has gone for housing, out of which only a few millions have been used. Almost three times the amount went to the army and navy to build its machine of destruction.

Now that we have seen what will happen to three and one-half million of the unemployed what about the other 1,500,000. These Roosevelt calls "unemployables." How he arrived at this figure is not disclosed but it looks very suspicious. It is more than one-fourth of the total under consideration, which means that in the eventuality that Roosevelt has underestimated the number of unemployed—and he certainly has—this one-fourth will be turned over to local relief.

And how will the cities carry on this relief when most of them are

that broke? New York City has a deficit of \$4,000,000. Chicago \$125,240,000. Philadelphia \$6,000,000. All these cities have cut the salaries of city employees during the last year. Some have restored cuts but most of them have not. Many of these cities have introduced sales taxes. Now consider the situation of the smaller cities, towns and counties if such a deplorable situation prevails in the metropolitan centers.

After a short burst of enthusiasm the local agencies will turn their backs on these 5,000,000 men, women and children and claim that they are financially unable to assist them. Furniture of evicted families will clutter the streets. The million bread line will return. Roosevelt's line instead of Hooverville will become standing institutions. Into this breach Roosevelt will step and through his "own personal efforts and the influence of the office" that he holds, the "unemployables" will be taken care of. Hoover did the identical thing. He made radio speeches and his heart beat for the destitute. Then the hat was passed. Result: starvation and suffering everywhere.

After laying out this black tomorrow Roosevelt turns to God: "In the face of these spiritual impulses," he prays in conclusion, "we are sensible of the Divine Providence to which nations turn now, as always, for guidance and fostering care."

Yes! Roosevelt may turn to God for consolation after damning the unemployed. But the jobless worker will have to take care of himself.

Limits Democratic Rights
The draft also makes inadequate provisions for trials and for nominations to office. It would leave trials entirely to the Branch Executive Boards and to the Joint Board; and gives nominating committees the final say on nominations. Both of these provisions limit the democratic rights of the members, who are entitled to be guaranteed the right of trial by jury, and the right of nominating by petition.

The proposed draft makes no provisions for special conventions. Such a provision is essential. Special conventions should be held upon the request of any one Department of the organization.

Finally, and by no means least important, is the fact that the proposed draft takes a step backward in respect to the industrial as against the craft form of organization.

Draft of AFSW No Good, Giordano Says

(Continued from Page 1)

vision in the draft which specifies that representation to the District Convention be "one to each 500 members . . . and no less than two delegates from each branch." The aim of this clause is all the more evident since representation to the National Convention is on the basis of one to 200. The only proper and democratic basis of representation to the District Convention is one delegate to each one hundred members.

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On behalf of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense all contributions for bail or incidental expenses should be sent at once to James Rorty, 1,200 Washington St., San Francisco, California.

Sacramento Case
(Continued from Page 1)
of Norman Min's case.

At this conference the prisoners unanimously adopted a resolution calling on all workers and sympathetic organizations to send deputation action for the defense of the gates to a conference to establish 18 prisoners and the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law. The prisoners emphasized their desire to see a serious, militant, broad movement on their behalf. They included in the resolution a general appeal for bail funds.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

"A More Abundant Life"

That's how Roosevelt speaks, but here is how the National Guard acted in Rossville, Ga. "In two rushes, National Guardsmen patrolling the Richmond Hosiery Mill, where a strike is in progress, today rounded up 33 persons, including five women . . . they will be placed in a military detention camp. . . . The walk-out came when the mill posted a notice of a 10 percent reduction in pay." (A. F. dispatch)

Democracy and Communist Party

"Communists are prepared to join the Labor Party movement." So Earl Browder announced at the Unemployment Insurance Conference in Washington, and that announcement was the first information given to the Communist Party members and supporters on such an important change in policy. Nodiscussion pro or con, just the payroll bill from Browder. Is there any wonder that the entire audience laughed loud and long when a C. P. member, speaking from the floor at the New York Zack meeting, said: "We have democracy in the C.P.?"

"The Slums We Give Them"

"The poor are always with us and the slums we give them (give them!) are usually better than the hovels they lived in on the other side. In many cases they are not Americanized enough to know what cleanliness means." So spoke Joseph P. Day, real estate magnate, before the National Housing Conference, and in so speaking, he voiced the real opinion of his class. The fear of the "dirty poor" keeps many from speaking so openly but every action taken by "the powers that be" to meet the unemployment crisis shows that they consider the working class to be dishonest, lazy, incompetent, dirty, and drunkards. Beef that is not considered good enough for the animals in the Zoo is canned and fed to the unemployed. "Made work" is prescribed for them. Snoopers are sent into their homes to make sure that they are not getting drunk on the miserable dole. A man whose ancestors may have come over with George Washington's father is looked on as an "alien" if unemployed. Joseph Day merely expresses the uncaring attitude of a parasitic ruling class to those who do the so-called dirty work.

Pastors, Preachers, Messiahs and Crooks

The Reverend Ethelbert Brown, Pastor of the Herbert Harrison Memorial Church, New York City, in a sermon last Sunday denounced "religious crooks who call themselves Messiahs and who sell charms to cure illness in Harlem." This attack, which apparently was directed against one of Earl Browder's favorite "united-fronters," is a dangerous thing for a preacher to start. Beginning with an attack on the "rank and file God" where is such a fight against "religious crooks" to end? A very important and respectable organization, the Holy Catholic Church, gets quite a bit of its income by selling passes through Purgatory, and where is the preacher who is not ready to raise his paws to Heaven in a prayer for the ailing—for a price? When "religious crooks" are to be attacked, all dope peddlers from Holy Jumpers to the Vicar of Christ should remember the old saying about those who live in glass houses.

"Free Workers" in Auto Paradise

The statement issued by Alfred Sloan, president of General Motors, in which he attacked the tyranny of "free workers", was further illuminated by the testimony given before the Joint Commission on Stabilization of Employment in the Auto Industry. This Commission got an earful on just what Sloan's "freedom" and "high wages" mean to auto workers. One witness said the workers were so speeded up that it was next to impossible to get away "even for a few moments for hygienic purposes." A thimble test would be fired if they appeared to testify. That in itself is a touching tribute to "the freedom of workers not under union domination"—Men working under bonus systems, so complicated that they never knew what they were supposed to get and had no way of checking up—wages so low that workers were better off under relief—guards to prevent workers from speaking to each other on the bridge entering into the Ford plant—these are a few of the benefits enjoyed by "free workers" in the auto paradise of Detroit, where there is no "union domination" . . .

Chicago Mass Meeting

Speakers:
A.J. Muste J. P. Cannon
on
"THE WORKERS PARTY, ITS PROGRAM AND AIMS"
SUNDAY, JAN. 20
8 P.M.
CAPITOL BUILDING
130 North State Street

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

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LENIN

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the death of Lenin. But even though great changes have come over the face of the world and the labor movement that Lenin knew, everything that has happened has served only to verify and strengthen the ideas and achievements with which the name of this greatest of modern revolutionary leaders is so inseparably connected.

Lenin's ideas are more potent and sure-footed today not because of the futile attempts to convert the dead leader into an infallible god who must be worshipped, whose words must be mechanically repeated in and out of season. Rather have they gained in influence because the events of the last decade, however they have brought advances or setbacks to the working class movement, have demonstrated with a growing force the truth that the exploited and oppressed masses of humanity are to be liberated from the social order that strangles them, only by following in Lenin's footsteps.

LENIN was primarily and above all a proletarian revolutionist. He was animated by a central idea and a single ideal—the liberation of the oppressed and exploited from the chains of slavery. In his youth he became imbued with an ineradicable hatred of czarism and capitalism. He set his life's course towards the goal of ridding the world of modern slavery, beginning with the overthrow of the czarist autocracy in the Russian empire. His principal instrument—the principal instrument of the working class as the only consistently progressive force in modern times—he conceived to be the revolutionary party, as had Marx and Engels before him.

To advocate stubbornly the idea that even in backward Russia the future of the masses lay in the hands of the working class, required that deep conviction of the correctness of Marxian theory and a power of penetration into the realities of social and economic development, that made Lenin outstanding even in the select ranks of the revolutionary movement. If that spirit of concrete realism, which is an essential part of Marxism, made it possible for Lenin to deal practically with every situation, to seek allies in every progressive force regardless of how short a distance they could march in common, it also made it the central part of his work to cement together an iron regiment of revolutionists into the Bolshevik party.

LENIN'S party stood aloof from no struggle, regardless of how little developed might be the masses who engaged in it, no matter how conservative might be the shell in which the struggle was first contained. Where the workers sought a wage increase of a few cents per hour, or an improvement in their conditions, Lenin and his party placed themselves automatically on their side—asking nobody's permission to cooperate and putting no conditions for the assistance they rendered. Where the workers chafed under the yoke of imperial despotism and sought a means whereby a more democratic regime might be established, Lenin's party stood in the forefront of the struggle. Where the peasants rebelled against the misery and poverty of their lives under the rule of the feudal lords, the Bolsheviks were by their side, explaining, in the course of the fight, the indispensable need of allying their efforts with those of the workers in a common struggle. Every event was utilized by the Bolsheviks to direct attention to the need of overthrowing the monarchy and making way for the final struggle of the masses against capitalism and for their own emancipation.

Lenin directed his blows not only against the enemy of the working class outside its ranks, but also against the foe, well-meaning or malign, on the inside. If the Bolshevik party was able, in 1914, to withstand the ravages of social chauvinism which swept the Second International into the trenches under the banner of imperialism, it was because it had been prepared in advance for its internationalist position by the struggle against the "Populists", the Mensheviks, and all other forms of reformism and compromise. If the Bolshevik party, further, was able in 1917 to lead the masses of Russian workers and peasants to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the first successful working class government, it was because it had been steered and tempered in a thousand preliminary battles against the ruling class and against conciliators in the labor movement.

LENIN is an immortal of the working class, therefore, not only because of his ideas, not only because he dug revolutionary Marxism out from under the refuse heap with which the bankrupt Second International had buried it, but because he succeeded in incorporating his ideas into the two great living realities of his time: the Russian workers' republic and the resurrected Revolutionary International.

The cruel death which snatched him prematurely from the ranks of the class to which he had devoted such a magnificent life, made it impossible for Lenin to complete his work. The wave of reaction which set in against his death brought to the surface, and then to the helm, elements in his whom he had contended all during his lifetime and especially during the latter part of his life. His greatest misfortune occurred not during his lifetime but after it. His ideas were distorted and then canonized into a contorted and lifeless dogma. In place of the working class democracy for which he had fought was placed a disintegrating bureaucracy. The internationalism with which his life's work was literally drenched was replaced by a narrow-minded nationalism. The Soviet republic which he led in founding and building up was weakened, seppled and thrown into a mortal danger by those who usurped his leadership. The Third International which he led in organizing and consolidating as the general staff of the world revolution, was undermined, dismembered, and eventually destroyed as a revolutionary organization.

Not discouraged by these events, but rather continuing to draw our inspiration from the tenacious and confident struggle he carried on for the ideal of the world socialist society, the revolutionists of today have once more raised his banner. We want to commemorate the anniversary of Lenin, not by fine speeches and articles, but by strengthening our determination and increasing our activity to accomplish in this country what Lenin achieved in Russia. The Workers Party, which stands on the foundations of Lenin's work and ideas, and adopts his methods, proudly proclaims its goal to be the working class struggle against the iniquities of capitalism, against exploitation and misery, against war and Fascist barbarism, the working class revolution to smash the cursed system of capitalism and replace it with the new order—world socialism!

In the spirit of Lenin, the thinker, the guide, the man of action, the proletarian revolutionist! For the working class—first, last, and always! For the Fourth International, the rightful heir of Lenin's work and aspirations! For the international socialist order!

W P Moves National Office Takes Floor at 2W. 15th St.

Comrades! Friends! Sympathizers! We have done our part; we have moved to the new headquarters—the entire third floor of 2 West 15th St., replete with spacious, well lit offices. Room for the National Headquarters, for the Workers School, for the District Office, for trade union and unemployed work, and for the new Pioneer Bookshop.

An expanding party must have large headquarters. But alas! Headquarters do not grow on trees. Now it is up to you. Come to our support; send us money—nickels, dimes, quarters, half dollars, dollars, five and tens. This is the critical moment, we must have funds.

In addition to the new office, we have the cost of moving, the necessity of expanding our printing plant, of obtaining a new press to take care of increased New Militant and New International circulation, the cost of our growing trade union and unemployed work, of the new school and the bookshop.

Shame us for having underestimated you; make the foundation fund go over the top. Pay your pledges, and pledge again. Don't miss this opportunity, abash us, baffle us, astonish us, overwhelm us—subscribe and over-subscribe. Make the foundation fund go over the top.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Trotsky Answers Indictment

The FEDERAL BUDGET

(From Washington Correspondent)
WASHINGTON.—Just what is it, when the capitalist state writes in the agencies of depression, which "unbalances" the Federal budget? If we listened to the President, we might get the idea that relief expenditures are to blame; whence, the conclusion is drawn, cut down on relief. Let us, instead, look at the record as displayed in the recent Treasury report and set forth in the President's budget message. During 1934, the Federal government paid out 7 billion dollars and took in 3 billion; for the difference, the public debt was augmented.

Billion for bondholders?
How was the money spent? Some 750 million went to meet interest on the public debt; 350 million more to retire part of the debt outstanding. In short, over a billion dollars was devoted to the support of bondholders.

War Expenditures
Pensions to World War veterans accounted for another 500 million. The Army and the Navy took between them another half billion dollars for the current needs of the military and naval establishment; so far, that is, as the direct data show. We really should add to this sum many hundreds of millions of dollars hidden away under the PWA appropriations and elsewhere. In sum, considerably more than 2 billion dollars was expended upon the luxuries of imperialist war, past, present, and future.

This is not the end of the story. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration expended almost 300 million as a reward to farmers for plowing under crops and taking toll out of cultivation. The Farm Credit Administration laid down \$150,000,000, not to rescue farmers, but to salvage the reconstruction of mortgages. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation chipped in at least 500 million to prop up the top-heavy and tottering structure of private debt. To preserve the institution of private banking, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation dug down into its purse for 150 million. And so it went.

In sum, considerably more than one billion dollars went to encourage wanton destruction of the means of livelihood, to maintain the solvency and income of mortgage holders, and to help keep the banks safe for private profit.

Recapitulating, the federal government spent a good deal more than 3 billion dollars on anti-social purposes. Hundreds of millions more should be added to allow for less readily ascertainable expenditures of the same type. Cut out these sums, and the budget would almost balance without taking a penny away from relief. Better

(Continued on Page 4)

Bosses Pay Prosecutor In Sacramento Red Trial

BULLETIN
The Independent Union of All Workers, with headquarters in Minnesota, has sent the following telegram to the Sacramento defense:

"UAW protests against prosecution of 18 cannery and agricultural industrial union members and use of action in attempt of Industrial Alliance and Growers' Association to smash unionism. View criminal syndicalism law as vicious. Favor its repeal. Organization represents over 5,000 workers in 13 cities or states."

SACRAMENTO, Jan. 18.—The trial of the eighteen workers indicted under the Criminal Syndicalism Act opened here this morning in a tense atmosphere hostile to the working class defendants.

League Men In Conference In N.W. Ohio

(Special to New Militant)
TOLEDO, Ohio.—Over 100 elected delegates, representing 25 locals of the Unemployed League in Northwest Ohio with over 5,000 members, met at the headquarters of the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo, January 13, for the first N.W. District Conference of the Ohio Unemployed League. Although the first League in this district is only a year and a half old, the delegates were already veterans of the class struggle, having participated in scores of strikes, marches, demonstrations in the past year. Sam Pollock, vice-president of the N.W. District of the Ohio Unemployed League, presided.

Delbate after delegate gave reports, showing the powerful growth of the Unemployed Leagues in this area under the leadership of members of the Workers Party. It was a remarkable and stirring account from the lips of the workers themselves of a constant and courageous struggle for better living conditions.

The delegates, in an enthusiastic and intelligent fashion, laid out their plans for their coming fight against the new national slave program advanced by Roosevelt, analyzed the militant mass action tactics to be used, and pledged themselves to a finish fight against all fascist cohorts including those of Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Alfrey Lawson and William Dudley Field.

The conference lasted from 2 in the afternoon until 9:30 in the evening. After a very busy and comprehensive day, the delegates were dismissed in terms of greater mass action.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Despite the fact that public sentiment last week had apparently succeeded in ousting former District Attorney McAllister from the trial—the trial was to have begun a week ago, but the newly elected District Attorney Otis D. Babcock asked for a week's delay in order to prepare himself for the case—McAllister appeared today as the prosecutor. McAllister was responsible for the original arrests and indictments and had been defeated for re-election. The local capitalist press and the business-men's associations had been demanding that special funds be authorized to retain McAllister, and they have now succeeded.

Leo Gallagher, attorney for the International Labor Defense, raised constitutional objections to McAllister, but the judge, Del M. Lemon, waved them aside. Albert Goldman, attorney for the Non-Partisan Defense, pointed out to the court the evidences of mob spirit, but the motion was denied.

Gallagher charged that McAllister's apparently small salary is being supplemented by funds raised by the local bankers among themselves.

Gallagher, for the International Labor Defense, and Goldman, for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, are cooperating in the courtroom, consulting together and dividing the work between themselves. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party have accepted proposals made by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for setting up a joint committee on which all the political and defense organizations will be represented and which will take over the conducting of the case. Final settlement of the character and scope of the joint committee will be made at a meeting on Saturday.

3,000 in N.Y. Biscuit Strike

Three thousand workers of the National Biscuit Company, New York branch of the Inside Bakery Workers Federal Union, are out on strike to break the union splitting tactics of the company. The strike was called in sympathy with the Philadelphia workers and now includes the York, Pa., the Atlanta, Ga., and Newark plants, some 7,000 workers in all.

Every Man Out
The New York strike is a fighting strike. Every man in the plant is out, including the truck drivers, whom the company unionized by its own cheating tactics. The workers are showing remarkable militancy for an eight months' old union. A strong picket line has the factory sewed up, picketing has been extended to stores throughout

(Continued on Page 4)

Links G.P.U. with Kirov Assassination

The following article by Leon Trotsky, dealing with the Kirov assassination and the infamous attempts of the Stalin regime to connect Trotsky with this assassination is of the utmost significance and should be carefully read and studied by all revolutionary workers. It throws the searchlight on the system responsible for the assassination of Kirov and the subsequent executions. The remarks made concerning the French Socialists and the Humanite can be applied with equal force to their American counterparts and the Daily Worker.—Ed.

By LEON TROTSKY
After the inevitable day's delay, I received a Paris newspaper of December 28, containing extracts from the indictment, with a commentary by one Duclos. As both the extracts and the commentary originate from the G.P.U. there is no need to enter into a discussion with hired lackeys. It will suffice for us to disclose the plans of their masters.

Just as one could have expected, the indictment doesn't mention the Zinoviev-Kamenyev group by so much as a word. In other words: the initial amalgam fell apart into dust.

However, concurrently it has fulfilled its task by psychologically preparing for another amalgam: in the indictment there emerges suddenly—suddenly, for naive people—the name of Trotsky. Nikolai, he murderer of Kirov, was—according to his confession—in contact with a consul of a foreign power. During one of Nikolai's visits to the consulate, the consul gave him 5,000 roubles for expenses. Nikolai adds, "He told me that he can establish contact with Trotsky, if I give him a letter to Trotsky from the group." And that is all. Period!

The indictment does not subsequently return to this episode. It must also be remarked that Nikolai made his first avowal concerning the foreign consul and his offer to transmit a letter to Trotsky only on the 20th day after his arrest. Manifestly, the examining magistrate was compelled to assist the terrorist's memory in the course of twenty days in order to extract from him such precious evidence!

But let us skip that. Let us allow that the evidence is authentic. Let us moreover allow that the consul in question does actually exist in the flesh. Let us allow that he established contact with a terrorist group (there have been such instances in history). But how and why does my name suddenly appear here?

Is it, perhaps, because the terrorist group was seeking contact with Trotsky? No, even the G.P.U. does not dare to assert this. Perhaps Trotsky was seeking contact with the terrorist group? No, the indictment does not dare say this either. The consul himself was the one to assume the initiative and while giving Nikolai 5,000 roubles on the eve of the terrorist act which was being prepared, he requested a letter addressed to Trotsky. This is the sole deposition—a truly astounding piece of evidence made by Nikolai.

The personality of the "consul" at once stands revealed in glaring light. The "consul" is wide-awake! The "consul" is at his post! The "consul" requires a tiny document, a letter from the terrorists financed by him to—Trotsky. Did the con-

spire these issues clearly and keep the workers from being misled by vague promises.

There is a splendid group of young comrades here. After our meeting, when we were having coffee and tea (yes, both!) in a restaurant, they sang labor and revolutionary songs. The branch has a chorus. New York and other districts take notice! That's an idea for us. And we should have a song book.

On for Hamilton!
HAMILTON, Ont.—This is the most highly industrialized town, in proportion to the population, in Canada. But the labor and radical movement is weak. The discontent of the workers expresses itself in voting for "friends of labor" of the A. F. of L. stripe.

Yet there is some radical activity. A small but lively branch of the W. P. of Canada vigorously pushes its propaganda.

Our meeting here was not large, but the workers showed by their 25 questions after our speeches how eager they are for help in forming a revolutionary program.

TONAWANDA, N. Y.—Back to the United States! In a rather bleak hall in this industrial center hangs a charter of an A. F. of L. central trades council, and around it half a dozen local charters—of

union locals long since defunct. Here an unemployed organization met last year, under the influence of a Democratic politician. A couple of our comrades were expelled, for being too radical. It, too, is now dead.

In this hall, on Sunday afternoon, we talked to a group of deeply interested workers about what might be in the U. S. and of labor's road to power.

When we had finished, one of these workers said, "Send a young comrade up here as an organizer, and I'll see that he gets a bed and three squares a day."

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

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Please save us the expense and bother of writing you especially about your expiration, and send us 50c or \$1.00 about an issue in advance.

—Business Manager

Muste, Cannon In Canada; Find Workers Party Active There

Making a couple of preliminary visits to Canada, A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party of the United States, and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, have launched their tour to present the W. P. program to the workers of the country.

First reports from Comrades Muste and Cannon tell of a growing militancy among Canadian workers, and of Tory Premier Bennett's "new deal" gestures to try to halt this ferment.

In Toronto the Workers Party of Canada, sister organization to the W. P. of the U.S., has an important and widening influence. In Hamilton, Ont., where labor has long been conservative, and in Tonawanda, N. Y., where as recently as last year a Democratic politician dominated the unemployed organization, workers listened eagerly to the message of the Workers Party.

From week to week the New Militant will follow Comrades Muste and Cannon in their tour across the country.

By A. J. MUSTE
TORONTO, Ont.—The first stop Comrade Cannon and I are making on our tour to present the Workers Party program to the workers of the United States is in Canada! This we may take as a symbol of

international working class solidarity and a prophecy of an international Workers' Republic.

Speak to 400
For our mass meeting here more than 400 workers crowded the Labor Room, notwithstanding the fact that the Communist party staged a rival meeting. The workers stayed until almost midnight, asking questions. They showed intense interest in recent events in the Soviet Union; Comrade Cannon's replies completely silenced the Communist party members of the audience.

The Canadian Worker admits that two Ukrainian workers who went to Russia, one deported from Canada for C. P. activities, were recently executed by the Communist party in the S.U.

The Workers Party of Canada has a flourishing branch here, another in nearby Hamilton, and in Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver, with contacts in other towns. Its Program of Action includes: 1) a \$1,500 fund to enable it to issue a weekly organ; 2) a tour by Secretary Jack MacDonald in the spring; 3) a national conference following the tour.

Here in Toronto, our W. P. comrades are the leading influence in a promising unemployed movement. At the office of Vapna Sans, a bi-weekly Finnish paper, we found

Comrade Hero Boman of New York translating the Declaration of Principles of the W.P.U.S., which is running in the paper.

Canada's "New Deal"
There is excitement here over radio broadcasts of the Tory premier, R. B. Bennett. This conservative politician is adopting "la-ssez-faire, old-style capitalism" is dead and advocating social insurance, "fairer distribution of income" (without very specific suggestions), control of stock speculation, etc. The fact that a Tory must come out for such a program is a measure of the revolt stirring among the masses.

In the United States we have seen what a "new deal" really means to workers. Here Bennett seems to be taking the wind out of the Liberal party sails on the eve of election. Even the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, social-democratic farmer-labor party, finds it hard to criticize Bennett's program; there is even talk of a "national" cabinet, with the possibility that the C.C.F. leader, J. S. Woodworth, and Bennett will yet do a Stanley Baldwin-Ramsay MacDonald brother act.

Opportunity for W. P.
All this means there is a real opportunity for the W. P. of Canada, as the Marxist party able to anal-

alyze these issues clearly and keep the workers from being misled by vague promises.

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—Business Manager

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Judge Wins Picket Trial

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Jan. 14.—R. W. Iobst, notorious anti-labor judge, upheld the police court conviction of four of the six workers arrested on Oct. 29 at the strike of the Frezzer Shirt Co. when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Unemployed League joined forces in mass picket lines to defy Mayor Fred Lewis' proclamation limiting picket lines to ten strikers.

Cases against Frank Kirsh and Bill Reich were dropped as the charges against them—"exceeding the number of pickets" and "organizing on the street"—were declared illegal when the similar case of Larry Heimbach was appealed to a higher court by the American Civil Liberties Union. The other men were charged with "disorderly conduct" and had been assessed fines of \$50 by the police court.

The case of John Beisel, Workers Party member, came up first. After hearing the evidence the judge asked:

"Are you the Beisel that makes trouble at evictions?"

"I was formerly chairman of the Lehigh County Unemployment League Eviction Committee," explained Beisel.

"Verdict upheld," ordered the judge.

The verdicts against James Muthard of the Unemployed League and Joe Munk and Frank Bennis of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were also upheld but the fines were reduced from \$50 to \$10.

Police charged the defendants with calling them "rum hounds," "flat feet" and other abusive names. At the police court hearing, witnesses testified that a cop who was obviously drunk started the fracas by deliberately insulting pickets and clubbing them when they protested. The wrist of a 17 year old

Stralinists On Firing - Line

NEW YORK.—Will you please print this as an item from the Firing Line.

The Communist Party made a dying start in its fight on capitalism in Harlem last Thursday, Jan. 10.

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Gonzalez was standing near Fifth Avenue and 115th Street passing out the handbills on an anti-war meeting to be held the following evening at 143 E. 103rd Street, under the auspices of the Harlem branch of the new Workers Party, when the two men approached him from the rear and knocked him down. The men ran and disappeared in the Astoria Workers Club near by, where the Communist Party was holding a meeting.

Unemployed workers here have had sad experience with the Unemployed Council in various false promises—first as the Unemployed Council, then as the Unemployed Council and now as the Unemployed Protective Association.

Interest outside the ranks of the unemployed has been quickened by the entrance of the League into New Haven. Students in economics at Yale University and a joint meeting of all classes in the New Haven Labor College heard Montross explain the purposes of the League and appeal for support by the organized employed in two meetings held on January 9. Trade union support was speeded when a representative of the Rubber Workers Federal Union in Akron told New Haven trade unionists of the unity of employed and unemployed achieved in Ohio.

Verdicts against James Muthard of the Unemployed League and Joe Munk and Frank Bennis of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were also upheld but the fines were reduced from \$50 to \$10.

Police charged the defendants with calling them "rum hounds," "flat feet" and other abusive names. At the police court hearing, witnesses testified that a cop who was obviously drunk started the fracas by deliberately insulting pickets and clubbing them when they protested. The wrist of a 17 year old

The Party at Work

BOSTON BRANCH TAKES LEAD IN GETTING NEW MEMBERS

Reports from branches indicate that point one on the party convention Program of Action to double the membership in the next six months will be more than fulfilled.

Boston in Lead

The Boston branch appears to be in the lead. It is already very close within the actual doubling of its membership. The branch has worked out a program of public meetings under party auspices and it is making arrangements also for speakers to appear at workers groups and student group meetings.

On January 25 Comrade Shachtman will speak at a Lenin memorial meeting. Sidney Ilook is tentatively scheduled to speak before a student group on February 8 with the expectation to remain in Boston and to address a general public meeting the following Sunday.

In the middle west the Minneapolis branch is again in the lead. We have not yet a full report of the number of new members admitted since our party convention, but a perusal of reports on hand show several new applicants accepted at each branch meeting. At a meeting on January 3, seven applications were received.

The branch is about to move into new headquarters and then to bring forward more effectively its program of public meetings and educational activities. It started off with a meeting addressed by Comrade Norris on the subject "Why I left the Socialist Party and joined the Workers Party."

Active in Strike

Most important, however, are the practical activities in the class struggle, a field in which the Minneapolis comrades have already attained a splendid record. All branch members were assigned duties in the present garage workers strike. Once again the labor movement of the city is animated by a strike militantly conducted and bitterly fought by the Citizens Alliance.

Once again our Minneapolis comrades are actively engaged, doing the part in the leadership of the strike and taking their posts on the picket line.

L. A. BRANCH INCREASES 30 PERCENT AT EACH MEETING

LOS ANGELES.—Enthusiasm is running high in the recently fused branches of the Workers Party of the U. S. with an approximate increase in membership of 30 per cent occurring at every meeting. A new branch, to be known as the Southside Branch, is in process of formation in the Goodyear section of the city. Payments on the Party Foundation Fund are coming in promptly from friends and sympathizers of the W. P. as well as from members.

Plan Mass Meeting

A huge mass meeting is being planned for Friday evening, Feb. 1, at Walker's Auditorium. There will be several speakers including Sam Meyers, Charley Curtis, and Dave Harris of the National Unemployed League. Among the subjects

to be discussed will be "The Message of the Workers Party," a report from the delegates to the National Unity Convention and an address on "The Only Way Out."

Evening classes are now under way at the Los Angeles headquarters, 1785 East 1st Street. They include classes on "Working Class Economics" given on Thursday evenings at 8 P.M. by E. Everett, and at 8 P.M. on the same evening a class on "Imperialism—America in the World Arena."

DISTRICT COMMITTEE STARTS TRADE UNION CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK.—The New York District Committee has undertaken a campaign to organize the trade union work of the Party in this district. The first step in this direction will be taken at a general membership meeting to be held Sunday, January 20, at 3 P.M. at the Irving Plaza Hall. At this meeting the trade union policies of the Party and the concrete tasks before the New York district will be the subject for discussion. Only members of the Party can attend this meeting.

This meeting is to be followed, according to the decision of the District Industrial Committee, by a week-end conference of all the Party members who are members of trade unions, and also close Party sympathizers.

This conference will be held the following week, that is, Saturday afternoon, January 26 and Sunday the 27. Sympathizers who wish to attend this conference are to apply to the District Office for permission. The problems of the various trades in which our Party members are involved will be discussed and concrete policies elaborated.

LOS ANGELES

Mass Meeting

"The Launching of the Workers Party of the United States"

The first move towards revolutionary working class unity in 13 years, bringing new hope and inspiration to the workers everywhere.

Speakers:

DAVE HARRIS SAM MEYERS

CHARLES CURTISS

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 8 P.M.

Walker's Auditorium

730 Grand Ave.

Should Communists Build A Labor Party?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27th, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza

15th St. & Irving Place

Stalinists On Firing - Line

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League Pickets 13 Townships

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio.—Flying squadrons formed by the Wood County Unemployed League early Thursday morning, January 10, struck every relief project in Wood County, Ohio. Hundreds of relief workers, members of the Ohio Unemployed League, named mass picket lines in thirteen townships of the county, in a demand for 15 dollars a week minimum wage on relief jobs, in the first drive against the new national forced labor program which is aimed at placing the unemployed to work for the equivalent or less of the present direct relief allowance.

Using the county house at Bowling Green as general strike headquarters, over 1,000 relief workers from all over the county met Thursday evening to lay the plans for the continuance of the strike and to arrange for mass demonstrations at the county relief offices to secure relief for the strikers. The meeting was addressed by Sam Pollock, vice president of the N.W.

Subway Men In Revolt Against Co. "Brotherhood"

What has happened to the subway workers who two years ago took a 10 percent wage cut without a squawk?

The company "Brotherhood" has turned out to be not so hot, after all!

The men on the subways of New York City are now engaged in organizing a union of their own, an independent union which will take in all who are employed in passenger transportation in the entire city.

From 1905 the subway men have tried many times to better working conditions and get more pay. Sometimes it was through company unions, sometimes through the A. F. of L., and at other times through no organization whatever. Several times they went out on strike, but without proper preparation or leadership. They were sold out by their leaders, Cochrane of the I.R.T. company union, who threw three or four hundred motor-men on the street to look for other jobs, and by Shea of the Amalgamated, who collected the dues and disappeared.

Company "Brotherhood"

Subway workers are forced to belong to company unions. On the I.R.T. this union is called the "Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Co. Employees." This organization never did anything for the men as a whole, but the delegates take up individual grievances. If a man is punished by suspension, the delegate of his local may try to get the time cut down. Or if a man is fired, he may get back to work in two or three weeks, or get transferred to a different department. But when the company wants to put over anything on the men, it is done through the same delegates.

One afternoon, in December 1932, the men were going to their lockers to wash up after work. They saw in the evening papers the announcement that they had voluntarily voted themselves a 10 percent cut in wages, (\$2,750,000 annually) and that the I.R.T. Company thanked them heartily. They had not heard anything about the cut. It was the trusty delegates who had done the dirty work.

Another Example

Another example was the famous, or rather infamous Pension Plan of July 1934.

It seems that there were and still are several hundred old employees and company officials who are getting from \$4,000 to \$50,000 and even \$60,000 per year each, and they were old enough, or almost old enough to be retired on a pension. These few hundred men, although forming a very small percentage of the total number of employees (14,500) take up an enormous percentage of the total payroll.

District of the Ohio Unemployed League. Ralph B. Kille, president of the Wood County Unemployed League, acted as chairman.

LEAGUE'S STRIKE IS FIRST ONE IN MONROE COUNTY

MONROE, Mich.—The first strike in the history of Monroe County was pulled early Monday morning, Jan. 14, when the Erie-Lesalle local of the newly organized Monroe County Unemployed League threw mass picket lines around two work relief projects in Erie Township and closed down the jobs 100 percent. From its very beginning the strike was marked by splendid militancy, women as well as men marching on the line and forcing the few scabs to lay down their tools. One woman was injured while trying to take a shovel away from a scab.

At two meetings held the previous night, which were addressed by Ted Selander and Art Preis, members of the Workers Party, the new League members voted 100 percent to close down the jobs, in a demand for a 20 percent increase in wages and the firing of Ray Gonyer, foreman on the Yeller Drain Project, who has appeared on the job on several occasions with a concealed revolver.

Freight car loadings the first quarter of 1935 will amount to just about the four and a half million cars loaded the first quarter of 1934, according to railroad authorities.

Does Industrial Food Union Support Dutch Shultz Gang?

By JOSEPH ZACK

The situation that prevails inside the Communist Party is reflected in the unions it controls. The workers believe that the party fraction in the unions discusses their problems and then brings recommendations to them for approval.

In reality that is not what happens. The leader of the party fraction lays down the law, then there is more or less latitude in discussion—less in the need trades and more in the foodworkers' unions.

Authority to decide policy is thus so concentrated that what results is a one-man union. Those who object are either "tamed" or eventually eliminated.

The only thing that Rubin, Gold, Potasch, etc., really have to worry

National Progressive Movement In Trade Union Is Party Task

By ARNE SWABECK

Trade Union Secretary of W.P.

Definite trends in a progressive direction are apparent in a number of trade unions, and especially in the unions in the basic and in the mass production industries. In practically every instance determined support from the rank and file membership has followed spontaneously. But so far it is possible to speak only of trends, here and there taking on an organized form. The specific features that will give to these trends the character of a movement are still lacking. Unified plans and clear perspectives have not yet been brought forward. It is in view of these conditions that the Workers Party convention in its Program of Action laid special emphasis on the creation of a national progressive movement in the trade unions.

Progressives In Steel

In the steel workers union the progressive group which came forward last summer is now renewing its activities and it is now also enriched by one more valuable experience. The group is demanding that the union president, Mike Tighe, reconvene the convention adjourned last summer to force action on a number of grievances dating back to the Weirton case. Of

course, the essential issue is still union recognition; but the prospects that Tighe will agree to reconvene the convention are exceedingly slim. Apparently the progressive group understands this and it has therefore called its own progressive conference to be held during the first week of February. Reports indicate that the progressives feel that now is the time for action in view of the present upturn in the industry due largely to the heavy orders from the automobile manufacturers.

Auto Workers

From the automobile workers' federal unions, which have suffered a serious setback since the sell-out agreement was concluded last summer, comes word also of incipient revolts. Recently a number of Detroit federal locals decided, in face of an edict by William Green to the contrary, to get together in a conference and discuss their problems of organization. In other cities federal local unions have begun to make demands for the creation of city central councils of federal unions. Thus the direction of these trends is unmistakable. They tend in a progressive direction although still on a very elementary level. Clarity of perspectives has not yet been arrived at. But this is usually the way that progressive movements begin, centering at their inception around the most elementary issues of organization. With the pressure of economic necessity these trends are bound to advance toward a greater clarity of objectives and take on organized form. They are bound to spread because of the fact that everywhere the problem exists of finding a way out of the conditions of stagnation imposed by the trade union bureaucrats.

Period of Calm

At present the whole trade union movement is in a state of calm before the storm of new strikes and new struggles. Last year in some of the local strike situations, not only did the progressive tendencies become pronounced, but in Minneapolis, as one example, the truck drivers strike saw a conscious left wing in the leadership. Toledo followed this example and on the Pacific Coast the left wing forces had a powerful influence in the harbor workers unions prior to the San Francisco general strike.

Yet the reactionary trade union officials appear on a whole as strongly entrenched as ever. That is what appears on the surface. When looking beneath the surface to the undercurrents of rank and file discontent that breaks through from time to time it will become noticeable very quickly that the entrenchment is not so secure. This fact will undoubtedly become much clearer in the coming contests between progressives and reactionaries over the immediate and pressing issues of extension of union organization and of union recognition to be attained through the organized mass power of the workers—the only way it can be attained.

Fears of the Officialdom

Under the conditions of monopoly capitalism organization of the unorganized in the basic industries is possible only through fierce struggle against the owners of the powerful corporations and their government servants. In some instances the workers in these industries have already proven that they will respond most readily and that they do not at all fear the struggle. At the same time the trade union officialdom has demonstrated just as clearly its fear of any heavy influx into the unions of the healthy proletarian elements much more than it fears the aggressive onslaughts of the employers. It shrinks from organization of the unorganized in fear of the consequences of the struggle. The trade union officialdom knows that rapid growth and expansion of the unions also means a fundamental change in their composition and character, leaving room for demands for action and demands for leadership; leaving room for rank and file rebellions.

Counting on this officialdom to give leadership in the organization of the unorganized would be hopeless. Nay more, it would be inconceivable that the trade union organization of the basic industries can be undertaken seriously with this gentry in a position to block every move and to enter into treacherous agreements with the owners of monopoly capital of the kind that makes an aggressive policy of organization impossible. Certainly, unless there is an effective counterbalance created, an effective progressive movement, real prospects of success would be very slim.

The Job Before the Progressives

This is the job for the progressive and left wing elements to tackle. It is a job of large dimensions.

It is a job of large dimensions. It requires an intransigent fight against the reactionary officials who block the road and a determined fight against all the obstacles to organization laid down by the well-fortified employers. But it is necessary to repeat: The left wing and progressive forces will not get very far without a clear understanding that they are called upon to lead and that conditions are ripe for such a leadership. Now is the time for action. The progressive forces owe to the trade union movement that they organize themselves and work out their plans in common. Their movement may start on a local or otherwise circumscribed scale, but to be really effective it must be national in scope and unified in character, interlocking from industry to industry and from union to union.

The problem before them is first of all to chart a new course for the trade union movement and to gird up their loins for a serious struggle. A militant class struggle policy and leadership in the trade union movement is the objective. This the Workers Party will aim to sponsor. The party will endeavor to reach an agreement with the progressive elements to attain the elementary objectives, agreements honestly arrived at and with the pledge to carry them out in common action. Some of the progressives may falter and weaken in fear of reprisals by the hostile trade union officials, but this fear will be far outweighed by the needs for the building of the progressive movement and the pressing needs for action. Today there is not such a national movement in existence and its actual creation represents for us an unpostponable task.

Arrest Union Local In Labor Frame-Up

(Special to New Militant)

DETROIT, Mich.—In one of the rawest frame-ups the labor movement of this city has seen in many years the Prosecuting Attorney's office has charged Meyer Weiner, member of Jewish Bakers Union Local 78, with the murder of Harry Haftka, son of Joseph Haftka, operator of a Jewish bakery at 4322 Joy Road, against whom the union has been conducting a strike for several months. Harry Haftka was shot to death near his home on the night of December 13, 1934.

In addition to Weiner, seventeen other union men, practically the entire membership of the local, have been arrested. Four of the arrested reported to the court that they were severely beaten by the police.

The manner in which the war-

sions and requires a fight on two fronts. It requires an intransigent fight against the reactionary officials who block the road and a determined fight against all the obstacles to organization laid down by the well-fortified employers. But it is necessary to repeat: The left wing and progressive forces will not get very far without a clear understanding that they are called upon to lead and that conditions are ripe for such a leadership. Now is the time for action. The progressive forces owe to the trade union movement that they organize themselves and work out their plans in common. Their movement may start on a local or otherwise circumscribed scale, but to be really effective it must be national in scope and unified in character, interlocking from industry to industry and from union to union.

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WHAT TO ATTEND

(The New Militant will be glad to publish all notices of lectures, mass meetings or social events if they are sent in by branches and district offices, sufficiently in advance to reach the editorial department not later than Tuesday morning.)

New York City

Jan. 23, Wed. evening—Lenin Memorial meeting, Irving Plaza.

Feb. 7, Thurs. evening—Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaro." Chairman: Frances Drake.

Gillespie, Ill.

Feb. 1, Friday, 7:30 P.M.—Socialist Party Hall, Main Street. "The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: James Cross.

Torrey (Christian Co.), Ill.

Feb. 2, Saturday, 2 P.M., School House—"The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: C. H. Mayer.

Springfield, Ill.

Feb. 3, Sunday, 8 P.M., Carpenter's Hall, 5th & Monroe Sts.—"The Workers Party." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: Gerry Allard.

Feb. 3, Sunday, 10 A.M. all day. Left Wing Conference.

Philadelphia

Jan. 20, Sunday, 8 P.M., Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch St.—"Why I Joined the Workers Party." Speaker: Joseph Zack.

Waukegan, Ill.

Jan. 22nd, Tuesday, 8 P.M., Cooperative Clubhouse, 523 Helmholz Ave.—"The Program of the Workers Party of the U. S. Speaker: James P. Cannon.

Minneapolis

Jan. 23, Wednesday night, Pythian Hall—"Program of the Workers Party of the U.S." Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon.

Jan. 26, Saturday night, Pythian Hall—Banquet.

Jan. 27, Sunday—Minneapolis and St. Paul Open Forums.

Boston

Jan. 25, 8 P.M., Byron Hall, 6 Byron St.—"The Workers Party Faces Its Tasks." Speaker: Max Shachtman.

St. Louis

Jan. 31, Thursday evening, 8 P.M., Hibernian Hall, 3619 Finney Ave.—"The Message of the Workers Party—Its Program and Purpose." Speakers: J. P. Cannon and A. J. Muste.

Kansas City, Mo.

Jan. 20, Tuesday evening, Workers Library—"The Workers Party of the U. S.—Its Program and Purpose." Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Feb. 1, Friday evening, 8 P.M., Walker's Auditorium, 730 Grand Ave.—"The Message of the Workers Party." Speakers: Sam Meyers, Charles Curtis and Dave Harris of the National Unemployed League.

WEEKLY FRIDAY NIGHT FORUMS OF NEW YORK BRANCHES PROMPTLY AT 8:30

Branch No. 1—144 Second Ave. Branch No. 2—Grand Palace, 80 Clinton Street.

Branch No. 3—112 E. 19th Street. Branch No. 4—Harlem, 143 East 103rd St.

Branch No. 5—Bronx Branch. Branch No. 6—1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn.

Branch No. 7—1281 40th Street, Brooklyn. Jan. 26, E. R. McKinney on "The Unemployed Movement"

On Feb. 1, Dick Ellinger on "Roosevelt's Program"

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

SUPREME COURT DELIBERATES
DEBTS AND GOLD
HUGHES IS SHREWD
PERPETUATING RULE OF RICH

The judicial arm of the American capitalist government has played an inconsequential role during the period of crisis and the NIA. The august judges, than whom there would seem to be no higher authority but God himself, have felt rather aggrieved at being so completely eclipsed by the executive power in the hands of Roosevelt. But such power on the part of the executive authority becomes inevitable whenever a major crisis threatens the very foundations of bourgeois rule. There is nothing, in this respect, so firmly established concerning capitalist society, as that the boss class will violate every single law set up by itself, if these laws stand in the way of the fundamental interests or the continued existence of the ruling class. For that matter the ordinary "rights" won by the workers under bourgeois democracy are violated with impunity day by day. In regard to such violations of workers' rights by the exploiting class, the whole system of courts, including the Supreme Court when the interests of the class in power as a whole are involved, becomes merely a cloak for the proper veiling of class justice from the naive vision of the masses.

But the courts also exist, not merely in their role of judicial means of oppression of the exploited classes by the oppressors, but also to "keep the arena" where property interests come into conflict, causing, at times, deep-going differences within the ruling class itself. In such cases the Supreme Court may be called upon to render a decision generally in accord with the historic interests of the upper strata of the ruling class. The Supreme Court is now "deliberating" over the government's abrogation of its gold contracts when it went off the gold standard.

Case of the Gold Standard

It was to the interests of the capitalists, in order to maintain their power and to prevent an even worse collapse of their system than actually occurred, to scale down

the entire debt structure within American economy. It was also to the interests of the big financiers to lay the greatest burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. By depreciating the currency these aims were achieved.

Such depreciation amounted to wholesale expropriation of the wealth in the form of savings, common stock, insurance, etc., held by the small people. The big financiers were capable of protecting their own interests so that their wealth was not expropriated at all or to a minor extent as compared with the other classes. Furthermore, going "off gold" or depreciating the currency met the demands of competition for foreign trade due to the money manipulations of other countries. For the working class there was involved a subtle wage cut by this process.

In view of all these effects of the abrogation of the gold clause by the U. S. Government, corresponding to distinct needs of the bourgeoisie, can anyone be under the illusion that the Supreme Court would dare to declare the government's act unconstitutional?

Majesty of the Law

In reality the Supreme Court is putting on a show, is covering with the necessary amount of formality and formality the foregone conclusion of its decision. Hughes has no intention to bring about the chaos that would result from an adverse decision.

The Constitution Itself

The Marxian who knows the history of the American Constitution itself, is well aware that this sacred document is nothing but the legalization of the capture of power after the American Revolution by the rich, exploiting section of the colonial society, destined to become the modern capitalists. The Constitution was designed to protect private property, to prevent interference with this private property by the majority of the people. In short, the Constitution was designed to perpetuate the rule of the rich minority against any attacks by the future proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. Surely a "yardstick" to be respected by this same proletariat which it was designed to keep from attaining to power!

Huey Long's Labor Record; He Says Mussolini Indorsed His Plan

This is the third and concluding article on Huey Long, demagogue and dictator of Louisiana. Next week comrade Eastman will begin a series of three articles on Father Coughlin.

By DAN EASTMAN

It is not by chance that Huey Long, the most grasping of "practical" politicians, has a program distinguished for its impracticability. Huey Long is not interested in a real redistribution of wealth; he is only interested in appealing to the most ignorant prejudices of the backward sections of the population.

He is not interested in the welfare of the workers, but solely in the welfare of Huey Long.

To increase his power and influence, he is willing to promise anything and does.

As for carrying out the promises? That's another story.

His Labor Record

Huey Long has never in any of his writings or speeches given support to union labor. He has never given support in his actions to union labor. So far as he is concerned union labor does not exist.

On the construction of the very roads and public buildings which Huey "gave" to the workers, scab labor was employed wherever possible.

During numerous strikes in Louisiana Long has never given support, or even sympathy, to the strikers. During the longshoremen's strike in New Orleans, last year, Huey Long courts issued the usual injunctions in restraint of the right to picket.

"Every Man a King"

There has been no improvement of the status of the working man in his state where "Every Man is King."

An example: In New Orleans cotton mills the wage scale was \$3.30 per 56 hour week before the NRA. The workers were forced to pay two dollars of this sum in rent for company owned shacks. After the NRA the scale was raised from 6c per hour to 20c to 30c per hour, but the hours were cut to eighteen. At the same time that wages were thus raised from \$3.30 to \$4.50 per week, however, the rent was raised from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per week, so that the total gain was 14c per week for the workers.

This example is a bad enough indictment of the NRA; but consider that Huey Long was dictator of Louisiana, both before and after the NRA. During that time he did nothing to aid the workers in the cotton mills, either when they struck or when they were at work. The NRA raised wages 14c per week; Huey Long raised them not at all.

Long's attitude toward union labor is best and most completely revealed in one incident.

Suppresses Pamphlet

Last year a New Orleans labor editor, whose name I omit, printed at his own expense a pamphlet on Long's labor record, an expose of the Kingfish. The pamphlet never saw the light of day.

Two racketeers threatened the editor with violence, not against his person, but against his printshop, the means of support of himself and his family, unless the pamphlet was destroyed. Rather than take the chance of becoming poor in the state where "Every Man is King" the editor, out of consideration for his family, complied.

Negroes Are Oppressed

One of the most oppressed classes in Louisiana are the Negroes, who number 750,000. They are subject to the most degrading conditions, to Jim-crow discrimination, they are excluded from juries, are prevented from voting, are deprived of even the smallest show in the government that oppresses them.

Huey Long has done nothing for the Negroes in Louisiana. They are still excluded from the law and from the vote. Long himself indulges in Jim-crowism.

For instance: During the so-called vice investigation of New Orleans, Long called a city wide conference of ministers. Two Negro preachers, who were naive enough to take him at his word, turned up for the conference; they were barred. There are plenty of other instances of actual personal discrimination by the Kingfish himself, against Negro reporters, doctors, etc.

Lynchings

There is no better index of the attitude of the state, and of the oppression of the people, both Negro and white, than the number of lynchings. In 1933, the last year for which I have complete figures, Louisiana tied with Georgia and South Carolina for first place in the number of lynchings.

Huey Uses Troops

There is no class poorer than the unemployed and the "unemployables". Of the latter there are 15,000 in the city of New Orleans alone. Last August they were cut off without a penny of relief. When a hunger march descended on Huey's capital it was met by the National Guard, the leaders were arrested, and the marchers dispersed.

Huey Long failed to approve a bill providing a meager \$10,000 (66c each) for these workers, as a

temporary measure of relief. Instead the legislature, Huey Long's legislature, turned the care of the unemployed over to the parishes, unburdening the problem of the poor on the poor.

(President Roosevelt stole a trick from Huey when he returned 5,000,000 unemployed to state charity. It's all the old army game of passing the buck, with the workers getting it in the neck every time.)

Relief Is Low

In Orleans, now a Long city, has never provided one penny for relief (New York City pays some \$5,000,000 a month), every cent coming from federal and parish resources.

As a consequence of Huey's great concern for the poor man the average relief in Louisiana is two to five dollars a week; in a state where the legislature appropriated more than \$100,000,000 for the construction of vote getting roads.

Like all demagogues Huey talks big and does little.

What is Huey's future?

In an issue of The American Progress, his paper, there appeared a little box notice:

"Mussolini says Long is right on sharing the wealth. Premier Benito Mussolini, who has rapidly risen to the forefront among world statesmen (!) has given his indorsement to the Huey Long plan for redistributing wealth."

The quotation that follows, however, contains no reference to the Senator. The important fact is that Long's paper, and by inference Long himself, publishes with pride an indorsement from Mussolini.

There are points of similarity between Huey and the Italian murderer. Both are experienced politicians, both are ruthlessly ambitious, both are great popular orators, who conceal the continuing oppression of capitalism under a cloak of fine phrases about abolishing poverty. What Mussolini has is the backing of capital, and a completely crushed labor movement. What Huey Long needs is—

Mechanization In Steel
Bodes Uncertain Future

Fewer Workets Needed in Modern High-Speed Mills -- Companies Contract for Eight More

By FRED RAYBURN

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—Fourteen steel producers, representing 83 per cent of the ingot-making capacity of the country, report an aggregate deficit of \$19,023,200 for the third quarter of 1934, indicating that the net deficit for the entire industry was close to \$22,919,000.

Steel workers in the Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Gary and Detroit areas did not have to read these figures. They knew—not in terms of dollars or cents or trips to Europe, which is what the deficit means to steel mill owners. They knew in terms of bread and butter, of milk for their children, shoes for their wives.

A stagger system of one or two days' work a week, with the speed-up still operating full-force to keep down employment costs, brings full realization to workers of their plight under a dying capitalism.

See Uncertain Future

And now the steel workers, harried almost to the breaking point by the uncertainties of the past few years, must watch the steel mills carry on and increase the process of mechanization, and know that insecure as their jobs have been in the past, in the future they face the certainty that thousands of them will have no place in this industry.

If the mills were being operated to supply the needs of the workers, this would not frighten them. It would mean that the back-breaking work of the steel industry would be done by machines, and the men would be freed to provide other goods.

But as long as the mills are run with profits for the owners as the first and chief consideration, these workers know that this mechanization means only unemployment and misery; for with millions being replaced in other industries there is no place for them to go.

Erecting Modern Mills

Contracts for high-speed modern mills have been let by various steel companies. These mills, costing between \$6,000,000 and \$12,000,000, are capable through a continuous operation of producing 2,200 tons of 75-inch sheet steel in 24 hours, or 680,000 tons a year. Compared with an ordinary hot sheet mill with eight plants, rated at 60,000 tons a year, and you have a clear picture of the future for those workers who as yet are employed in old-type mills.

Ford Motors has one of the new mills in the process of installation. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. is building one in Youngstown, Ohio. The Great Lakes Division of the National Steel Company has let a contract for a similar mill at Detroit; Carnegie Steel (United States Steel), at Youngstown.

Brings Loss of Jobs

It is significant to note that the Inland Steel Company, which reported a profit of \$3,108,358 for the first nine months of 1934, when most of the large companies showed deficits, is equipped with the latest in tin plate machinery, which not only produces much larger quantities with fewer men, but results in a higher quality. And this results, not in a better life for the workers, as it should, but in their losing their jobs.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation is considering erection of one of these new mills either at Sparrows Point, Md., or Lackawanna (Buffalo), New York.

Steel Towns Passing

These conclusions to be drawn from the recent developments are that complete mills will become obsolete. The towns that grew around these mills will in turn become desolate and barren. These new type mills will employ a small working force, who cannot possibly work steadily as the available market for their

product is limited. Then, too, these mills, with their mechanical perfection, require very little experience to operate in contrast to the older types.

Inevitably, some firms will be forced into bankruptcy when they are unable to compete with these highly rationalized mills. The ranks of the unemployed will be swollen by thousands.

Thus what might mean greater comfort and leisure for workers will mean more profits for a few millionaire steel mill owners. The workers can save themselves only by building a society in which machines will be used to serve man—a workers' world.

The Boston Tea Party and
The Fears of Sir Hearst

Through his chain of newspapers, William Randolph Hearst, multi-millionaire who lives in California, is engaged in a vicious red baiting campaign against all who oppose capitalism.

The idea that the working class will lead the oppressed population in an uprising against the profit system has set Hearst off on a patriotic crusade. Like Hitler, Hearst wants to abridge workers' rights, and freedom of expression for everybody but the capitalists, and set up a fascist regime. Hearst is doing what every other millionaire and capitalist will do in time. He is speaking for his class—for Fascism.

The following letter, from a comrade in California, recalls some American history, and reminds us again of our revolutionary traditions. The Hearsts have good reason to fear for capitalism and their multi-millions taken from working people.

In the year 1773 the American colonists groaned and muttered under a yoke of taxes—stamp taxes, sugar taxes and the tea tax imposed by the wealthy merchants of England.

Today, in many of the States, sales taxes are a terrific burden to an oppressed working class who every time a loaf of bread is bought, must pay an extra toll to the capitalist.

The people of 1773 knew how to deal with their oppressors. In Boston three tea-ships arrived in the harbor. The towns people would not let the tea be landed. Gov. Hutchinson would not let the ships return without unloading. On the night of December 16, 1773, a party of men jumped aboard the ships, ripped open the chests, and dumped the tea into the harbor. This "Boston Tea Party" cost the East India Company about \$75,000.

The British Parliament took speedy action upon receipt of the news of the Boston Tea Party. Seventy-five thousand dollars worth of British property destroyed! That was going too far! The colonists must be shown their place. The port of Boston was to be closed until the tea was paid for, no town meetings held unless the governor o.k'd them, trials for British officers in England.

In 1934 when the longshoremen of San Francisco and the young men and girls in the textile industry struck for their rights against the employers, for better living conditions, what happened? Just like in the Boston Tea Party, the yellow press (owned by the capitalists) cried out: "The strikers are damaging property! Send the troops!" And just as the English troops were sent to quell the colonists, now the militia was called out in the interest of breaking the strikes and protecting the bosses' profits.

Under the guise of "protecting life and property", company thugs shot and killed strikers. In 1775 the Boston Massacre saw 8 colonists shot. Trials in England for English officers who killed the protesting colonists, today lackey judges who do the bidding of the money lords, sentence workers to long terms in prison (like Tom Mooney), electrocute other men fighting for freedom (like Sacco and Vanzetti) and hastily dismiss, or in a circus exhibition, free the big robbers of the people—"Wall

FRANCE

PARIS SOCIALISTS

PROGRAM FROM "LA VERITE"

Ed. Note: An event of great importance in the struggle against Fascism in France was the adoption by the Paris District of the Socialist Party of the Program of Action sponsored by the Trotskyist group which recently entered the Socialist Party. The members of this group, known as Bolshevik-Leninists, have conducted a vigorous agitation for their program of action in their newspaper "La Verite" and in the Socialist Party organizations. For the information of our readers we reprint this important document in full as it appeared in La Verite.

THE CRISIS

Capitalism is passing through a crisis against which it cannot stand up except by retrenching its productive capacity in order to adapt it to the capacity of consumption which is more and more narrowing. It has exhausted its possibility of reform.

The reactionary offensive and the utilization of fascism are not the results of a revolutionary offensive; in France they are the reply to socialist reformism, itself incompatible with the existence of capitalism if it is to be a "reformism" serious and logical. It is because it has entered the stage of retrogression and decadence that capitalism opposes us with a growing resistance. Capitalism is forced to substitute for a regime of parliamentary and bourgeois democracy a regime of strong force resting on the army, the police, the armed fascist forces, and to crush the democratic conquests, by the suppression of the rights acquired by the workers (organizations, press, demonstrations, meetings, etc.).

The Ministry of Flandin is but a variant of this regime. Under these conditions the task of preserving and extending the democratic conquests cannot be assured merely by parliamentary and democratic means. These methods must be paralleled by extra-parliamentary struggles of the masses. Either the reaction will crush the

workers as in Germany, Austria and Spain or the masses will overthrow capitalism and take power.

To expose the illusion that parliamentary means are sufficient for a defense of democratic conquests, to guide the will of the masses for preserving their conquests in a struggle for their own power—this is the task of the Socialist Party. The problem is posed whether socialism or fascism will arrive at power first.

The present parliament has betrayed the interests of the people who have chosen it. It no longer represents their will. It must go.

WE DEMAND ITS DISSOLUTION.

WE WANT POWER.

How to Bring the Masses on to the Road of the Decisive Struggle for Power.

1. The party must be in a state of permanent mobilization: daily propaganda must be carried on (distribution of leaflets, meetings at factories, at workers' centers).

A parliamentary group must be at the disposal of the Federations for systematic agitation in workers' quarters and at factory gates.

2. The unity of the workers' front must be on the broadest basis. It is necessary that this unity be effected around central slogans common to large proletarian organizations and capable of rallying the big mass of the workers, of involving in the struggle step by step even the most hesitant layers (peasants and middle-classes) which will gain their experience in the fight, will abandon illusions and will rally to socialist solutions. That is why the 19th Section believes that the plan of the C.G.T. contains four slogans:—Nationalization of key industries; Control of production; Control of banks; 40 hour week—which should serve as a common basis for the propaganda of the united front, involve the C.G.T. in this united front and give to the popular front an actively revolutionary content by realizing the bloc of all those who today are robbed and exploited by capitalism. The French Socialist Party must cease being the tail-end of the united front, but on this basis must put itself at its head.

To hasten the decisions, to give to the united front a content of action so that those who have to act in common become more firm and decisive, it is necessary:

1. To hold joint meetings between socialist and communist districts.

2. To break all resistance to trade union unity.

The strengthening of the unity of the front will facilitate the realization of the unification of the two parties for revolutionary action.

The Struggle for Power

The Socialist Party which poses seriously the problem of the struggle for power must know how to adapt its tactics and its preparation.

It is necessary that it know how to break the resistance no matter from where it comes.

For that the general strike is the best weapon. It will hinder the revision of the constitution by a capitulating parliament as well as hasten its dissolution.

Between the riots of Feb. 6 and the workers' answer of Feb. 12 too much time elapsed. The time may not be allotted to us in the future!

In the present state of tension the general strike will unleash the forces of the bourgeoisie against the workers. In order to defend themselves the working masses must organize the peoples' militia sufficiently strong numerically and materially to crush the reactionary bands.

The organization of the general strike and the organization of the peoples' militia must embrace volunteers from all the layers of the anti-fascist toiling population.

From this follows the necessity of creating (in accord with all other organizations which will accept it) shop committees and local committees for the general strike which organize locally the militia groups and prepare the days of proletarian power.

Necessity of the regional and national coordination of these committees.

The general strike must have for us, socialists, positive objectives:—The Government of Workers and Peasants—the problem of which will embrace essentially:

a) Convocation of a Constituent Assembly chosen by all the inhabitants over 18 years of age;

b) Disarmament of bourgeois formations;

c) Arming of the workers;

d) Realization of the principal demands of the united front mentioned above.

We Socialists, we must prepare this gigantic struggle, organize the working class step by step so that it can lead it. We must make it understood that even under a hypothesis that a government results from universal suffrage, that once this government decides to apply reforms of structure capable of realizing the demands of the workers, small merchants and the peasantry masses, that it will meet the resistance of the bourgeoisie which will not hesitate in violating its own legality to oppose by force the realization of these measures.

—BILL MONROE
California

The Party Fund

Building the new party is not a matter of choice. It is a duty imposed upon us by events.

The task is enormous, made more difficult by the disillusionment of the leftward moving elements who looked with hope to the Communist Party and the "Militants" in the Socialist Party. Misled and frustrated by these two parties, the class conscious workers are waiting to see what we, the Workers Party, are going to do.

We must prove our seriousness and earnestness. We must show by concrete work in the class struggle that we can and are willing to give correct leadership in the struggles.

We can do this. But we must have the full support of all who see the problem clearly and know how to answer it.

The first requisite is a party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, with functioning units throughout the country.

We must bend all our energies toward this end. We must aim a national training school for workers. We must extend and strengthen the unemployment movement; organize the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions; help the Youth consolidate its organization.

HELP BUILD A MASS WORKERS PARTY. CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUNDATION FUND.

REPORTS FROM BRANCHES

Waukegan, Ill.—The secretary writes: At our last meeting, the unemployed members pledged their 25c assessments and each of the employed members made their pledges. The total equals \$25, the sum assigned us by the national office.

Los Angeles, Cal.: Received a quota of \$100.00. Has definite pledges of \$91. No doubt the balance will be made up by local sympathizers.

Detroit, Mich.: Accepts the quota set, but will be a little late sending in the money due to unemployment in the branch.

The South: This branch has to function underground due to local conditions. However they accept their quota and will do their best to meet it as fast as possible.

Philadelphia, Pa.: Accepts the full quota and has already asked for \$70 worth of certificates.

Kansas City, Mo.: Will meet the quota. More than half already pledged.

New York: The following is a detailed report from the New York District. It gives the names of the members who paid on their pledges since the last report printed in the New Militant.

Branch 1	
Nash	\$ 3.00
L. Lewis	3.00
Rolene	2.00
Becker	2.00
Palmer	9.00
Sterling	2.00
Victor	2.00
Tanas	1.00
Brinkman	1.00
D. Morris	2.00
Marlen	3.00
Nelson	3.00
A. Berg	2.00
M. Wilson	2.50
Spithos	1.00
Branch 2	
K. Koster	8.00
R. Koster	1.00
Bord	1.00
Davidoff	1.00

Total \$1,432.20

Branch 3	
Eastman	2.00
Wasserman	3.00
Grote	2.00
Hollenbeck	.25
Green	4.00
Konikow	.50
Caswell	3.00
Glee	1.00
Smith	1.00
Jswald	.10
Wright	5.00
Branch 4	
West	20.00
Brode	2.00
Chertov	.50
Gonzalez	.50
Jolay	.50
Jopeland	2.10
Pollack	1.00
Branch 5	
U. Aberg	4.00
M. Aberg	2.00
M. Stern	.25
S. Greenberg	1.00
Grayson	2.00
Fox	2.00
Levin	1.00
Branch 6	
Klein	1.00
Podell	1.00
Schaap	1.00
Branch 7	
Vix	2.00
Levine	1.00
Brown	8.00
Sher	1.50
Brodrin	.25
Anonymous	.50
Total to date	\$329.85

RECEIPTS	
Previously reported	\$1,191.95
Pittsburgh Branch	15.00
Waukegan Branch	5.00
Friends of the Militant	
Club, Chicago	6.00
Mt. Carmel, Pa.	.25
Mike Osborn, New York	1.00
Steinberg, Spartacus	1.00
A. Friend, Baltimore	3.00
A. Sympalizer, Cambridge	10.00
Mrs. M., New York	200.00
Total	\$1,432.20

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Workers' Security

THE Association of Railway Labor Executives, the leaders of the railroad labor unions of the United States, set a good example the other day when they told Railroad Dictator Eastman to go to hell after he had made a speech saying that putting the 30-hour week into effect would "ruin the railroads". Said the union leaders, responding to pressure from their membership:

"A million unemployed railroad men have to be put to work or they will be ruined."

The Workers Party of the United States supports the struggle for unemployment and other forms of social insurance. But it believes that making this almost the sole object of struggle today, as the Communist Party is doing, is a grave error. The capitalist system must be challenged much more directly and drastically today—challenged with the demand to give the workers jobs!

The Workers Security program of the Workers Party includes the fight for:

1. The 30-hour week at a minimum wage of \$30 per week, and in any case without reduction in present weekly pay.
2. Proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers pending establishment of a satisfactory social insurance system.
3. A real public works program providing housing for the masses, electrification of farmers' homes, etc.
4. Credits to the Soviet Union which will put American workers to work making automobiles, tractors, machinery of all kinds for the U.S.S.R.

The 30-Hour Week

THE struggle for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay is taking on new form and new life, and will be reflected in the Seventy-fourth Congress now in session. The agitation for this slogan among the working class in the whole past period of the crisis has gained momentum and now promises to be one of the major issues of the day.

Spokesmen for the exploiters of labor, who in the past raised a cry against immediate relief and social insurance, at last realizing that some form of take deal will have to be adopted, now center their attacks upon the 30-hour week.

The press, the pulpit, the radio and the platform, to say nothing of the economic "experts", are being utilized by the capitalists to save the country from another catastrophe. They assure the people that nothing would be more fatal to recovery, to prosperity, to the United States, and to the welfare of the millions of employed and unemployed workers than the adoption of the 30-hour week. In fact, all of a sudden, they have forgotten their own selfish material interests and are championing the cause of labor—against the 30-hour week.

But we have heard all this before. In the thirties of the last century, just one hundred years ago, when the American workers were struggling against work from sun up to sun down and demanded the 10-hour day, these same arguments were used. Later, in the eighties when the eight-hour day movement gained momentum the same arguments were used.

In 1900 the average work week was 57 hours. By 1929 the process of technical improvement and the class struggle had reduced the average to 50 hours per week. In 1934 the average weekly hours for the country were reduced to 40. Before 1935 the working class should complete the first phase of the struggle for the 30-hour week. By that time the 30-hour week

must become a law and the practical gauge for the work week.

Practically the whole labor movement is behind the struggle for the 30-hour week. The only force that bungled the whole question a few years ago was the Communist Party which demanded the seven-hour day, and five-day week. They claimed that the slogan for the six-hour day, the five-day week, with no reduction in pay was counter-revolutionary, and was playing into the hands of Green and Company. Today they are climbing on the band wagon, first through their auxiliary organizations.

What is lacking in the struggle for the 30-hour week is UNITED ACTION. The labor movement is for the 30-hour week but up to the present, in the main, each organization has been fighting by itself, in its own way. The unity of this struggle and a powerful campaign will force through the workers' demands. Unless the workers drive toward this end the bosses and their government will give us a 30-hour week law, as a fake counterpart to their social insurance plan. We have had many laws passed, and many laws are on the statute books, for labor's rights—but these laws are not worth the paper they are written on.

There is no solution of the unemployment problem under capitalism. But immediate relief, social insurance, work relief, and a 30-hour week are needed to prevent the workers from becoming paupers. The most effective and far reaching immediate measure toward this end is the struggle to reduce the hours of work. It is a demand of both the employed and unemployed. It is a demand that readily unites the struggle of the employed and unemployed.

Even in the most promising days of prosperity before 1929 production could not be run 100 percent. Labor was being displaced by the millions. Declining American capitalism will do less.

The reduction of hours is one of the most effective immediate demands. It is realizable, and at the same time involves the exploiters of labor in the greatest contradictions.

Let the working class give notice. Let the working class unite and celebrate the 100th anniversary of the struggle for the 10-hour day by the realization of the 6-hour day, five-day week, with no reduction in pay.

The Saar Plebiscite

IN the plebiscite last Sunday the population of the Saar voted ten to one in favor of reunion with Germany. Out of the total vote cast 476,089 favored the return to Germany, 46,613 favored the status quo and 2,083 voted for France. Accordingly this territory, rich in coal and iron, will return to Germany and come under the ruthless Nazi domination.

What this will mean to its working population is already indicated in the extended arrests of Nazi opponents and the preparations for concentration camps. It is clear that the Nazi hordes will proceed exactly as in Germany, crush all opposition with fire and sword and wipe out all semblance of working class organization, rights and liberties. Another heavy blow has thus been struck against the international working class movement.

Let us not misunderstand this situation, however. The working class itself voted by a majority for reunion with Germany. It is especially significant that Voelklingen, the seat of the Herman Roelichs steel dynasty and a population consisting in its overwhelming part of steel workers, voted ten to one for Germany, casting its ballots as follows: 20,657 for Germany, 2,203 for the status quo and 135 for France.

How is that to be explained? Claims that these workers voted for the Nazi regime are preposterous and ludicrous. It is far more correct to assume that this vote represents a desire to return to what these workers still look upon as their fatherland.

But this is at its best only a partial explanation. It must be remembered that these workers felt themselves left in the lurch, with no force capable of showing the way out. Even the united front between the Social Democratic and the Communist parties that finally came about in the Saar could not show the way out. These parties had failed before.

When the Nazis knocked at the gates in Germany the issue was presented squarely: Accept the continuation of capitalism plus the rule of this tyrannical horde or fight to the end for a Socialist system of society. Both parties of Socialism failed miserably and had nothing but abject surrender to offer. This is the crime that in the Saar plebiscite had the effect of condemning these parties to impotency in advance. This is the crime for which the workers of the Saar now have to pay the heavy price. May it speed the day when they learn to build upon the ruins of the past, to build a new party capable of leading the way to the Socialist revolution.

Federal Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

still, transfer these sums and there would be more than twice as much to spend on relief purposes.

Whence did the money come? From the rich, the industrialists, the landlords, the bankers? Not much of it, you may be sure.

Income and inheritance taxes together—which, but oh ever so mildly, "soak the rich"—yielded less than \$900,000,000; i.e. less than a third of the total. The rest came from a variety of sales taxes, over and over again, which, so the pundits of taxation inform us, must inevitably "soak the poor". Thus miscellaneous internal revenues yielded \$1,500,000,000; processing taxes on farm products, \$350,000,

600; customs duties, more than \$300,000,000. As for the increases in the public debt, that merely served to build up future claims by bondholders to be supported out of the public funds.

It is a lovely and touching tale which the budget spreads out before anybody with a taste for fiscal data. In order to induce prosperity, in order to maintain relief, the New Deal has set the poor to picking one another's bones; which, after all, is just what used to happen under the Old Deal. Yes, the New Deal has redistributed the national wealth and income as the President said it would. There is only one catch; in accordance with the immemorial rules of the racket, the New Deal has taken from the poor and given to the rich.

In his budget measure, the President never bothered to touch upon

these indelicate facts. He was shocked, instead, at the idea that the government might be expected to continue supporting those of its members for whom capitalism cannot find jobs. Don't give them relief, he urged, for that will warp their moral fibre. Make them work for their dole, but never, never commit the mistake of employing them in some useful occupations or of paying them too much.

The President is speaking as the defender of an economic order which has long since outlived its usefulness. It is not balancing the budget which will make the United States a country worth living in for its workers and its farmers. Nothing short of revolutionary reconstruction will do that.

Biscuit Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the city, and an automobile brigade had been formed for flying work.

The company is reported frantic. Attempts to palm off stale biscuit and to ship in biscuit from other cities have failed. Threats against union leaders have been met with the formation of a bodyguard. An independent grocers association has boycotted National producers, according to reports.

The company is unable to ship biscuit out of the port of New York to foreign and colonial customers.

The workers have many grievances, including the practice of firing men when they reach 45, no matter how long they have worked for the company. (One man was fired after 20 years' service). The truck drivers were originally forced to buy their own truck chassis. The company, however, maneuvered them out of the ownership of their trucks. The drivers who then became eligible, immediately joined the drivers union and struck.

Trotsky Answers Indictment

(Continued from Page 1)
sul obtain this letter? One should imagine that this question would be of paramount importance.

But it is precisely on this score that we cannot gather a single word from the indictment as it is printed in L'Humanite. Is it conceivable that neither the examining magistrate nor the prosecutor became at all interested in this fact? For not the exploits of a consul unknown to anybody are of interest but the question of the relations between the terrorists and Trotsky.

What Happened to the Letter?

Were there such relations or not? Was the letter written and transmitted? Was a reply received? To these unavoidable questions we get no answer. Is that surprising? Only to naive people. The G.P.U. could not permit the prosecutor any indiscretion within that sphere over which it has been compelled to draw the curtain of silence.

One need not doubt for a moment that the letter was never written because if the terrorists knew anything at all about Trotsky—and they couldn't but know—my irreconcilable attitude towards the adventurism of individual terror which runs like a red thread through my 37 years of revolutionary and literary activity could have been no secret to them (see several dozen articles in my Collected Works, published by the State Publishing House).

However, an admission that the terrorists could not see the slightest reason for seeking contact with Trotsky, and for this reason did not respond to the kind offer of the "consul" would be tantamount to the immediate bungling of the entire amalgam. Best keep quiet about it!

Let us, nevertheless, make momentarily an entirely improbable suggestion; the eloquent provocateur did actually succeed in obtaining the letter which so interested him. But what happened to it? Of course the temptation would have been great to transmit such a letter to Trotsky and . . . to receive from him some sort of an encouraging answer for the Leninist "supporters", even if without any reference to terror.

But his inspirers, if not the consul himself, understood only too well the risk of such an enterprise: the previous attempts at provocation, which it is true, were on a smaller scale ended in inevitable fiasco. The letter—if it had been written, we repeat, contrary to all likelihood—would have to simply remain in the archives of the G.P.U. as a weapon unsuitable for its purposes. But this cannot be said aloud without confessing by this very fact that the consul is a second cousin to the Wrangel officer (see below).

The Mystery of the 'Consul'

Is it possible, however, to conceive of a consul in a role of an agent provocateur? We have no means at all of knowing whether a real or a fake consul is here concerned: the resources for fraud in the given instance are illimitable. But even genuine consuls bear very little resemblance to saints. Some of them engage in smuggling, with illicit deals in currency and fall into the hands of the police (not only of the G.P.U., of course).

Such a compromised consul may be offered not only forgiveness for his sins but also some entirely legal coin in addition, should he be so obliging as to perform a few trifling and innocent services. There were, there are, and there will be such cases . . . as long as there exist consuls, customs, currencies, intermediaries male and female, and police.

The version we have adduced which unflinchingly flows from the indictment itself, if one is able to read it, presupposes consequently that the G.P.U. itself through the medium of an actual or fake consul, was financing Nikolai and was attempting to link him up with Trotsky.

Complicity of the G.P.U.

This version finds its indirect but very actual confirmation in the fact that all the responsible representatives of the G.P.U. in Leninград were kicked out immediately after the assassination, and the investigation subsequently kept marking time for a protracted period, faced with the obvious difficulty of what variant to choose in order to explain what had happened.

We do not mean to say that the G.P.U. in the person of its Leninград agent, premeditated the murder of Kirov, we have no facts for such a supposition. But the agents of the G.P.U. knew about the terrorist act which was in preparation; they kept Nikolai under surveillance, they established contacts with him through the medium of trumped-up consuls for the double purpose of capturing as many persons as possible involved in the matter, and at the same time of attempting to compromise the political opponents of Stalin by means

of a complex amalgam.

Alas! an amalgam much too complex, as the subsequent course of events proved: before the "consul" had succeeded in preparing the political blast against Trotsky, Nikolai pulled the trigger at Kirov. After this, the organizers of the surveillance and the provocation were thrown headlong from their posts. And in writing the indictment, it became necessary to painstakingly steer around the sandbars and the submarine reefs, to leave the "consul" in the shade, to wipe away all traces of the activities of the G.P.U. and at the same time to save as much as possible of the shattered amalgam. The mysterious delay in the investigation thus finds an entirely natural explanation.

But why was the consul necessary? There was no getting along without the consul. The consul symbolizes the link between the terrorists and Trotsky with world imperialism (although the consul represented, one should imagine, some very petty and backward state: that is the least dangerous way).

The consul is serviceable in another connection: because of "consideration of diplomacy" he cannot be named in the indictment nor consequently called as a witness. Thus the mainspring of the combination remains behind the scenes.

Finally, the consul himself—if he really exists in the flesh—runs no special risk: even if recalled by his government. Out of considerations of diplomatic politeness, he returns home as a distinguished hero who suffered in the service of his passionately loved fatherland; moreover, a certain supplementary sum to his modest salary would be found in his pocket for a rainy day, and there is no harm in that either.

The White Guard Dodge

The character of the machination is easiest understood if one is in the least bit acquainted with the preceding history of the behind-the-scenes struggle of Stalin against "Trotskyism". I shall mention only three instances.

As early as 1926, the hired journalists broadcast through the entire world the report that the Left Opposition had been implicated in relations with . . . White Guards. We were bewildered. It turned out that the G.P.U. had sent one of its official agents to an 18 year old youth unknown to anybody, and sympathetic to the Opposition, with an offer to assist in spreading Opposition literature. Some six to seven years previously the G.P.U. agent it appears served in the army of Wrangel (which, incidentally, was never verified). On this basis, Stalin publicly accused the Opposition of making a bloc with . . . not an agent of the G.P.U. but White Guards.

On the eve of my exile to Central Asia (Jan. 1928) a foreign journalist made me an offer through Radek, to transmit secretly, if need be, a letter to my friends abroad. I expressed to Radek my conviction that the journalist was an agent of the G.P.U. However, I wrote the letter because I had nothing to say to my friends abroad that I could not repeat openly. The very next morning my letter was published in the Pravda as proof of my secret connections "with foreign countries".

On July 20, 1931 the yellow sheet Kurjer Codzienny, of Cracow, published a gross forgery under the signature of Trotsky. Despite the fact that my literary works are banned on the pain of severest penalty in the U.S.S.R. (Blumkin was shot for attempting to bring in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition), the article from the Kurjer was reprinted in the Moscow Pravda—in fascimile. The most elementary analysis proves that it was manufactured by the G.P.U., with the assistance of the well-known Yara-

slavsky and printed in the Kurjer (one should imagine at the regular advertising rates) only in order to be reproduced in the Pravda.

Stalin's Lackeys Inform French Authorities

I am compelled to leave aside a number of other combinations and amalgams which are more clarifying in order not to cause harm, by premature revelations, to other people involved. In any case, the type of this sort of creative effort is clear from what has been said above. The triangle composed of Nikolai, the "consul" and Trotsky is not new. It resembles a dozen other similar triangles and differs from them only by being on a much bigger scale.

It is necessary, however, to point out that the Soviet press, as is evident from the cable extracts in the very same L'Humanite makes very circumspect use of the latest amalgam in relation to Trotsky and does not go beyond inferences concerning "the ideological inspirers". In return, however, L'Humanite speaks about my participation in the murder of Kirov with almost the same assurance with which the Matin recently wrote concerning my participation in the murder of King Alexander and Barthou.

The difference in the conclusions drawn by L'Humanite and the Pravda is to be explained not only by the fact that the idiocy of the Nikolai-"consul"-Trotsky amalgam is much more obvious in Moscow than in Paris—but also because by its very essence this part of the amalgam is destined for foreign consumption, primarily for France. Its direct aim is to exert an influence of the necessary kind on the French workers through the medium of the united front, and to exert pressure upon the French authorities. Hence, the unbelievable tone of L'Humanite!

The Soviet authorities were compelled to openly admit that the participation of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others "was not proved": The governmental dispatches generally made no mention of me at all. The indictment refers only to the anxiety of the "consul" to obtain a letter to Trotsky—without making any conclusions. The lackeys of L'Humanite write that Trotsky's participation in the murder of Kirov was "proved".

Postmarked for the 'Best Disciple'

This article as I have already said is addressed not to the lackeys but their masters. However, I cannot leave unmentioned here the fact that one of my sharp conflicts with the "troika" (Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev), came as a result of my protest against their busy efforts during the time of Lenin's illness, to corrupt the more pliant "leaders" of the labor movement in the West, particularly by means of bribes. Stalin and Zinoviev replied in rebuttal, "Doesn't the bourgeoisie buy the leaders of trade unions, members of parliament, and journalists, then why shouldn't we do likewise?"

My answer was that by means of bribes one could disintegrate the workers' movement, but that one could not create revolutionary leaders. Lenin used to warn against selecting to the Comintern "obedient fools". There has been added to this selection of cynics who are ready for anything.

Ready for anything? Up to the first serious danger. People who have neither honor nor conscience cannot be trustworthy revolutionaries. In the moment of difficulty they will inevitably betray the proletariat. My only counsel to workers is that they remember well the names of these shameless villifiers, in order that they may verify this forecast.

December 30, 1934

Garage Strike In Twin Cities

(Continued from Page 1)

bullet was fired and ricocheted. Must have been some bullet.

Perkins of course was not arrested. Instead Ed Grosslein, union member, was framed. When a charge of inciting to riot proved too strong for even the frame up machine, he was accused of "unlawful entry".

"Bloody Mike" Busy
Chief of Police "Bloody Mike" Johannes has issued instructions that all pickets are to be booked on the most serious charge obtainable by the frame-up machinery.

On Jan. 11 guns belched again in answer to peaceful attempts of strikers to interview employees at work in the Tri-Mo Garage. This time the president and vice president of the firm did the shooting. Bufort Eastman was shot through the thigh, H. W. Collins in the hand, and Louis Le Meaux in the leg. Undaunted, the committee disarmed the gunmen. The wounded are members of Garage Mechanics Union No. 382, Minneapolis.

Thirteen strikers were arrested last Tuesday, charged with disorderly conduct while peacefully pick-

eting the Anderson Chevrolet Company. Their immediate release on bail was obtained by the Defense Committee of Central Labor Union of Minneapolis. Another picket was arrested Thursday at the McDonald Gillilan Garage.

Even in St. Paul, where the strike is less bloody, the strikers have had their trouble. When a scab was run out of the Holt Motor Company, the St. Paul press played the news up big—as in kidnapping. A striker was shot in the thumb at one garage.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

NEW TITLE WANTED
The editors don't like the title of this column, so they got together with the business manager and I am asked to announce that a year's subscription to the New Militant will be given free to the reader suggesting the best title. The editors to decide. Titles must be in by February 15.

By reading the Daily Worker, I gather that Lindergh, acting for Wall Street, conspired with Hauptmann, a Nazi adherent, and William Randolph Hearst, to kidnap and murder his own son for the purpose of launching a big campaign of publicity to befuddle the workers so that they could not grasp Earl Browder's latest zig-zag on the Labor Party and the united front.

That the Home Relief Office at 25 Sheriff St., New York, is a fire trap; that it was originally certified for 25 persons but was used for as many as 800 applicants in addition to the staff; that there are four lavatories for 300 employees and none for the relief applicants; electric circuits overloaded, switches fused; the floor above occupied by a paint company, with turpentine dripping through the Relief Office—such was the testimony of William J. Desmond, clerical supervisor, and an Aldermanic committee. And that testimony reveals the attitude of the "liberal" administration of Mayor LaGuardia and the class he represents, to the unemployed.

Not in backward China, but in up-to-date, progressive, rugged individualist U.S.A. An INS item reports that federal investigators in the Ozarks found 31 persons "living in a one room shack . . . several families made up the 31." Eight hundred applicants for relief crowded into quarters certified for 25 in New York City, thirty-one men, women and children living in one room in the Ozarks, surely Roosevelt's "more abundant life" is spreading all over God's country.

Krat News in Hauptmann Case

Fifty Western Union messengers at the Hauptmann trial pulled a sudden strike, and won \$1 to \$1.50 pay increases, and in addition the removal of the charge for uniforms. Bartel Reasoner, one of the messengers, who was fired for complaining about conditions, was reinstated.

Militant Progressive Unionism

Here is the meeting schedule of General Drivers Local 574 for the month of January, as reported in the Minneapolis Labor Review: Friday, Jan. 11—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 14—Full membership meeting. Tuesday, Jan. 15—Independent Truck Owners. Monday, Jan. 21—Coal Workers. Friday, Jan. 25—Stewards Meeting. Monday, Jan. 28—Full membership. Tuesday, Jan. 29—Taxi Drivers. Night shift, one P.M. Day shift, eight P.M.

The same issue of the Labor Review contains a report made by Herman Husman, international representative of the Machinists Union in the Garage Mechanics strike. "Husman said words should not express the gratitude of the strikers to the leaders and members of Local 574, who were giving tireless and most valuable assistance." The schedule of meetings and the assistance given to the striking mechanics together show that the leadership and membership of Local 574 are not content to rest on the laurels of the great strikes of last year, but with the widest democracy and most militant spirit, are preparing for the greater battles ahead.

Mass Telephoning

The just passed by plebiscite in the Saar, with its disastrous results for the future of the German and international working class, naturally has again brought into the forefront the question of Fascism. It is therefore interesting to pick up a little booklet published by the International Labor Defense in the U. S., and see what means they say they use in order to fight Fascism. Most startling tactics, a most unusual contribution to the arsenal of working class struggle! They boast that time and again, they have so swamped the desk of the German consul with telegrams, and have kept his phone so busy, that he could not conduct his regular work. Evidently the trouble in Germany was that Hitler did not have a phone. . . .

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

Speakers:

Max Shachtman Joseph Zack Nathan Gould

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 8 P. M.

MUSIC REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP SONGS

IRVING PLAZA HALL

Irving Place & 15th Street

Sponsors: Workers Party of the U. S., New York District

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First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935

MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeson

MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English.

MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three International-

als—M. Shachtman.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:00—Organization Principles.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.

Ten sessions for each course: one evening a week.

Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.

The International Workers School is ready to give any additional

classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further

information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter,

School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

From A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, comes further word of the tour he and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, are making to present the program of the W.P. to the workers of the country. Reports indicate that Comrades Muste and Cannon's tour is a march of triumph.

By A. J. MUSTE

NEW CASTLE, Pa. and YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—From the debacle which overcame the militant movement of the steel workers last spring when Bill Green and Mike Tighe sabotaged the general strike in the industry, the movement is slowly recovering.

The determination to build a union is not dead among the steel workers, though they are somewhat lost in the maze of Labor Board elections, injunctions by the steel companies against the union and by the union against the companies and what have you. A crisis breaking into a strike may develop in one of these mills where an election is denied.

W.P. Has Many Contacts

The militant leaders hope nothing too serious will break before they get their forces organized better than they were last year. Comrade Cannon and I were called into conference by some of them. We find the Party has many contacts in steel.

Comrades McKinney, Cooper, Sullivan and Berman from Pittsburgh popped into the New Castle meeting. They are hoping to tie in the unemployed movement here with the national movement.

The Party branches in New Castle and Youngstown have a good start and are thoroughly in earnest. The meetings for Comrade Cannon and me brought out most of the active spirits in the locality and made converts to the W.P. After the mass meetings, the branches kept the national officers up until four in the morning to discuss branch problems!

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—On the way up here we visited an old steel worker's home. He still goes to work when there is work. "We are lucky if we make 10 dollars a week now, when we used to make that in a day."

The day before, one of his shopmates fainted on the job, narrowly escaping being burned to death. "He has a wife and three or four children. He just doesn't get enough to eat to let him do a trick in a steel plant."

Two Husky Sons

Two husky sons of our friend sat in the house—no jobs. The father put a question to us—really to the capitalist system: "Do you think they'll fix it so there will be something for the young men to do?"

The answer of capitalism to that momentous question we got an hour later when we drove through McDonald, where Carnegie Steel was just breaking ground for a new strip mill. Referring to the labor to be displaced by the new process, the young steel worker riding with us said: "They won't need anything in this damn industry pretty soon except a few button-pushers."

Same Old Story

We had a well-attended meeting here. Same old story as to C.P. and S.P. They can't meet us in an argument on our Declaration of Principles. The branch has good material. It is working out a program of action. It will be felt in the labor struggle in Cleveland.

The branch conference in Cleveland was attended by party members from Akron. As dispatches to the New Militant have indicated, things may pop in rubber very soon. If so, Akron will be the first Toledo-Minneapolis of 1935. Our party members and sympathizers are the only advanced group having real access to the rubber workers. Would that Louis Budenz were well enough to take the field. What a chance his America of the Middle West would give him!

TOLEDO, Ohio.—If there was ever any doubt as to whether our Toledo comrades would be able to dig in and follow up (never mind if the metaphors are mixed, Comrade Editor) the work they did in the great Auto Lite strike, that day is past. The Central Labor Union supports the Unemployed Leagues openly. Our comrades are asked

(Continued on Page 4)

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Watch the number after your name on the wrapper of your copy. When the serial number on the masthead of the paper corresponds to it, your subscription is expiring! This issue is number 7.

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—Business Manager

Buying Power Drops Under "Model" Code

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON.—Did anyone ever believe that the NRA codes would increase the purchasing power of wage earners and redistribute the national income?

Then glance at the recent reports of the Federal Trade Commission and of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the operation of the cotton textile code: NRA's first and model code. These two reports, taken together, are revealing.

First, the Bureau of Labor Statistics study on wages. In August 1933, when the code took effect, half the cotton textile workers earned less than 21.8 cents per hour. In August, 1934, on the eve of the great strike, the median hourly wage rate was 34.9 cents.

But wait—between August 1933 and August 1934 living costs skyrocketed—because of the drought, because of the A.A.A. processing taxes, because the NRA codes permit cartelized price-fixing and production control.

The result? In that one year, real wages—purchasing power—in the cotton industry, in the north fell away 15 percent; in the south, 25 percent.

This, then, was how the cotton textile code raised the purchasing power of hundreds of thousands of wage slaves.

Significantly, real wages moved upward slightly—5 percent in the north, 8 percent in the south—until June, 1934. At that time, NRA agreed to a 25 percent curtailment in cotton production hours—with no compensating wage increase. The mill owners were given full power to sabotage the industry's productive capacity.

Without delay, real wages plunged down. Under pressure of mass misery, the rank-and-file workers forced a nation-wide strike which their leaders choked off at its height.

Meanwhile, what happened to the cotton mill owners? The F.T.C. report shows that from Jan. 1, 1933 to June 30, 1933 the rate of profit in the 400 cotton textile mills studied was 4.09 percent; from June 30, 1933 to Dec. 31, 1933, 9.50 percent; from Dec. 31, 1933 to June 30, 1934, 5.15 percent; during the two months preceding the strike a slight loss is reported—1.84 percent. These rates are calculated upon the hypothetical value of investment in plant and equipment. The F.T.C. cannot penetrate beneath the accounting logic by which employers make out the best case for themselves; i.e., inflated original valuations and minimum charge-offs for depreciation and obsolescence.

Then, too, the rate of return (constituting an accounting profit) does not allow for the generous salary which the owner pays himself as manager.

It now becomes evident why the Cotton Textile Institute loves its code. It is well-calculated to engender profits. As for the workers—let them be happy as guinea pigs of a high-minded experiment in New Deal reconstruction.

ROOSEVELT'S INSECURITY PROGRAM

Not economic and social security for wage earners but a scheme for forced thrift imposed upon those who can least afford to be thrifty—this is the Administration's "unemployment insurance" and "old age" pension proposal.

The government will not engage to pay a modest income to workers who become aged in the service of profit-making. Oh no! The government will require that each worker make periodic payments toward the purchase of an annuity, maturing at the age of 66.

How much you will receive in the end will depend: (1) upon the number of years you participate in the scheme; (2) upon your average yearly earnings over the payment

(Continued on Page 4)

Akron C. P. Members Follow Zack to W. P.

News that three of the most influential members of the labor movement in Akron, Ohio, have left the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party is received as the New Militant goes to press. These three new comrades, whose names cannot be given at this time, were the leading members of the C.P. in Akron.

The Akron branch of the Workers Party is especially fortunate in getting these three trained militants at this time. A strike of the rubber workers is pending. And it is very likely that Akron will be the Toledo and Minneapolis of the 1934 strike wave.

Announcement of this important news, which is further evidence of

the drift toward the Workers Party, came in the following telegram to the New Militant:

AKRON OHIO JAN 21 1935
NEW MILITANT
2 WEST 15 ST
BROWDER LABOR PARTY LAST STRAW AGAIN CONFIRMS WP THESES REGARDING CP DEGENERATION TOWARDS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY UNDER UNPRINCIPLED STALINIST LEADERSHIP THIS CULMINATION OF LONG SERIES OF UNMARRIED THEORETICAL AND TACTICAL BLUNDERS LEADS MAJORITY UNIT FIVE AKRON TO RESIGN FROM CP AND FOLLOW ZACK LONG LIVE WP

That Pittsburgh Convention

Steel Progressives Will Lead - A. F. of L. Leaders Look Askance at Rank and File Conclave

(By Special Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—On February 3, rank and file delegates from unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are to meet in Pittsburgh. In spite of the unofficial nature of this convention, many of the major A. F. of L. unions will be represented. Foremost of the unions that will participate, from the standpoint of numbers and influence, is the embattled Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, Tin and Sheet Metal Workers.

Within the union, according to the claims of some of its rank and

file leaders, a powerful rank and file movement has developed in recent months directed to the adoption of a militant program of organization and opposition to company-unionism on the basis of an eventual steel strike.

Revolt Against A. F. of L.

Ostensibly, this "rank and file convention" is called to consider the decisions of the official San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and to lay plans for carrying out these decisions, which are mainly concerned with the extension of organization. But there is implicit in such a procedure a revolt against the A. F. of L. officialdom.

There is no prospect that the "rank and file convention" will receive the blessings of the officials. In at least one case, that of the A. A. the officialdom headed by Mike Tighe has already put thumbs down on the whole business, calling on the rank and file to adhere to the union's constitution and to avoid any sins against its "solemn ritual."

Normally, plans for organization issue from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the International Boards of the affiliated unions. No such plans have been forthcoming since the San Francisco convention and apparently there has arisen a militant rank and file leadership strong enough to take matters into its own hands.

That the Steel union will dominate the coming convention is confirmed by the preparations of the A. F. of L. top leadership to propitiate the steel delegates. Bill Green finds himself unable to attend the organization conference of the Aluminum workers this past week in Pittsburgh because he is obliged to attend an Executive Council meeting in Washington devoted to organization in the steel industry.

The conference is very opportune. Out of it will come organizational plans that will be placed before the A. A. delegates to the "rank and file convention" as a proof of their fealty and unwavering action. Obviously, it is supposed that

(Continued on Page 4)

56 Released as Leaguemen Storm Court

By ART PREIS

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio, Jan. 22.—A cheering, jeering, clapping, stamping assemblage of Wood County workers and farmers packed the court room here today and forced the release of 56 Unemployed League members who were arrested last Saturday evening after they stormed the relief headquarters and occupied it for eleven hours in an attempt to obtain relief for 26 strikers in a county-wide strike on relief projects.

The defendants formed solidly into a "56 or None Club," modeled on the famous "40 or None" trial of the Toledo Auto-Lite strikers, defeated attempts of county officials, acting as agents of "No Work No Relief" Duncan, county relief czar, to isolate and frame Ted Selander, Sam Pollock and Art Preis, Workers Party members and League leaders, by giving them a separate trial.

The 56 workers, 47 men and nine women, were tried in a body, and by raising the demand "If one goes to jail, we all go to jail," forced Justice-of-the-Peace Nearing to suspend sentence on all on a charge of "illegal trespass" on the public property of the county relief building. A second charge of "unlawful assemblage" against 55 men and women is set for hearing Jan. 28 with the officials wanting to continue it because they realize what a "hot potato" they had grabbed.

Force Leaders' Release

At the close of this hearing, when deputies started to take Pollock and Selander back to jail until their hearing on the second charge or until bail of \$1,500 was raised, the entire assemblage surged around them while the "56 or None Club" seized the prisoners, shouting their slogan. The police, deputies and officials were helpless; they could not feed or house the hundreds who demanded to be taken to jail with the two prisoners, and the prosecuting attorney and sheriff had to appeal to the prisoners to protect them from the crowd.

Upon assurance by the prosecuting attorney of a drastic bail reduction and release as soon as the legal arrangements were carried out, the two prisoners quieted their defenders. The entire group settled back into their seats to wait until Pollock and Selander were released and pledged themselves to join them again in the county jail if they were not.

Following several maneuvers by the officials, such as an offer to release the prisoners if they would promise not to return to Bowling Green and veiled threats that a "vigilante" group was forming and they had better leave the county—which the presence of hundreds of League members in the court room made laughable—the defendants' offer of \$300 bail was accepted.

Are Released on Job

The released prisoners walked right back to the court room, addressed the assembly, and went at once to the relief headquarters on another grievance committee.

The entire trial was a farce. It was obvious the verdict had been

(Continued on Page 4)

United Defense Acts To Mobilize Labor In California Trial

Union Conference Called by Five Groups to Aid 18 Defendants—Decker Out by NPLD

BULLETIN

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Jan. 23 (by wire).—Caroline Decker, organizer of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Agricultural Workers and leader of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, was released on \$3,200 bail yesterday provided by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Decker is being defended by the International Labor Defense but applied to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for bail. Bail was supplied within 24 hours of the receipt of her application. Jack Warnick, another leader of the union defended by the I.L.D., was bailed out two weeks ago at his request by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Two other defendants are out on bail. The remaining 14 are still in jail, where they have been since their arrest last July.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 22 (by wire).—The newly formed joint defense committee for the Sacramento trial of 18 workers and labor leaders on criminal syndicalism charges, tonight drafted a call for a conference of all unions and other labor organizations Feb. 10, to mobilize the labor movement.

The call was signed by Charles Gordon for the International Labor Defense, Maurer for the Communist Party, Clarence Hubert for the Socialist Party, Barney Moss for the Workers Party, Herbert Solow for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Dr. George Hedley, director of the Civil Liberties Union, as temporary chairman of the committee. The Shipyard Union and Machinists Local 68 (A.F. of L.) have already endorsed the defense committee. The conference will be preceded by a united front mass meeting Feb. 1.

The first meeting of the united front defense committee was held Jan. 19, at the end of the first week of the trial.

The united front came at almost

Second Blast In Mine Kills 11, Injures 71

SHENANDOAH, Pa., Jan. 21.—

Eleven miners were killed outright and 71 injured, at least one fatally, in the second blast in the main shaft of the Gilberton mine here within a week. The first blast resulted in the death of one miner.

Although the miners were warned by the company "not to talk" they reported that the blast followed the detonation of a shot of dynamite. "The blast was undoubtedly caused by faulty ventilation of the mine, which allowed the accumulation of fire damp."

A miner, Richard Evans, although fatally injured directed a rescue party to an alley where ten of his comrades lay helpless. When the rescue party returned to him he was dead.

WASHINGTON.—The United States is "the most backward major industrial nation in the matter of mine accident prevention," according to the report of the Minerals Planning Committee of the National Resources Board. Its accident rate is exceeded only by that of China.

"Miners and their families lose between \$50,000,000 and \$100,000,000 in income annually due to preventable accidents and ill health," says the report. The average age of the coal miner who is killed is 35 years.

Ten or more percent of the mine cost of producing coal or ore is due to the various factors entering into accident occurrence, which amount in the bituminous industry to between \$30,000,000 and \$50,000,000 a year. "If already known and available improved safety methods and measures could be put into general use, the burden of accident expense could probably be reduced to as low as 1 or 2 percent of mineral production costs," say the government experts.

Saturday Night Housewarming

NEW YORK CITY.—Champagne will flow from soda water bottles when the formal opening of the new National Headquarters and New York District Office at 2 West 15th Street, takes place on Saturday night, Feb. 2, on the third floor, we'll waxed, of the aforementioned address.

A refreshment table of no mean proportions will help us make the newly scrubbed hall a little more livable by messing it up a bit with the skins of hot dogs, etc. A jazz band to be furnished by the Cultural Committee will furnish low brow music, and the ship of the new state will be sent down the rails accompanied by high spirits and lots of soda pop.

The entire membership is invited—Los Angeles, please notice—and of course all friends and well wishers. We'll sing revolutionary songs and play ring around the rosie. The date is Feb. 2 at about 9 P.M. and bring all your friends.

To Maintain this Great Work We Must Have Funds--Now!

THE Workers Party is expanding at a rapid pace, so rapid as to completely outdistance our meagre funds. We have our principles, we have our men, workers are crying to be organized, the field is vast, the opportunities are here.

At the present moment we have contacts in the steel industry who are working in the progressive movement. The steel industry is one of the critical battlegrounds in the coming struggles of the American workers, and the progressive movement will be the determining factor in this struggle.

The Workers Party must, it is our revolutionary duty to maintain our work in steel. BUT WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

In Akron, the center of the rubber industry, where a strike is imminent, we have been extremely fortunate. The leaders of the local C.I. unit, who are active in the unions and in workers' education, have resigned from the C.P. and come over to the W.P. just this week. These comrades form a nucleus from which we may penetrate thou-

sands upon thousands of workers. We are sending organizers into the field immediately.

But in order that the comrades may carry on this vital work, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

In Detroit, where tens of thousands of automobile workers are in a constant ferment, we have already established several party organizers. They are carrying the tradition of Toledo right into the heart of the automobile industry.

To maintain this work, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

Last week we mentioned the expense of a new press to take care of the increased circulation of our publications. This week the need becomes even more imperative, so imperative that we are already negotiating for the press, although the money is not yet in sight.

We have undertaken the printing of a national paper for the N.U.L. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of this step: a national paper will unify and promote the unemployed movement to a tremendous political force. We are fortunate to be able to assist in this work, where many of our comrades are active—BUT WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

To facilitate our activities we have moved to the new office. It is a great advantage to have our work centralized: to have a place where all our committees can meet. At last we have a little space; the Political Committee no longer has to convene on the editor's desk. The International Workers School, an invaluable instrument in the class war, at last has space of its own, where the classes may meet in some semblance of order.

At risk of becoming monotonous, we repeat, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS. Comrades and friends, we must seize on the magnificent opportunities of the moment, and we must have money to do so!

Subscribe to the Party Foundation Fund now. Subscribe yourself, and press every friend and sympathizer to subscribe to the best of his ability.

Pay your pledges now, and pledge again. Press friends and sympathizers to pledge.

Collect all contributions, all pledges, immediately, and forward them to the national office, IMMEDIATELY.

Comrades, friends, sympathizers: We are faced with a great opportunity and a great responsibility. We cannot fail!

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THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF MODERN WAR

CAPITALIST EXPANSION ENDS IN OPEN CONFLICT

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of four articles by Comrade West on the problems of the revolutionary struggle against war. The remaining three will be entitled: "The Struggle Against War," "The League Against War and Fascism," and "The United Front!" Do not miss them!)

An integral part of the great aim of the revolutionary movement is the elimination of war. It has become almost commonplace to realize that modern war threatens not merely suffering and death to vast millions, but the actual destruction of human civilization, the thrusting of mankind back into barbarism. No one who, with the lessons of the last war in mind, has followed the recent developments in military technique, can doubt this to be literally true.

In the face of this prospect, it is the revolutionary movement alone that has a solution to offer. From the open war-glorification by Fascism to the futile gesturing of pacifism, all other forces in modern society are not merely powerless to prevent war but in fact aid in preparing war. The responsibility for the struggle against war rests wholly on the revolutionary movement.

The first step in the struggle against war is a clear understanding of the nature and causes of war. A mere pious horror at the dreadfulness of war—which is shared by the great majority of men—is useless, and worse than useless.

AT THE BOTTOM OF WAR

The driving force of the capitalist mode of production is the necessity for the continual accumulation and expansion of capital. This necessity is inescapable. Capitalists must constantly attempt to expand capital, in order to maintain profits. But this attempt comes up against (indeed it is merely the reverse side of) the equally inescapable tendency under capitalism for the general rate of profits to fall. The fall in the rate of profits demands capital expansion, in order to retain an equal or greater total amount of profits; the expansion, however, in its turn involves an increased tendency of the rate of profits to fall, and, consequently, the still further need for capital expansion.

The necessity for the expansion of capital leads to the mighty development of the means of production, to the huge new machines and great factories and mines and railroads, the enormous corporations, the ever-growing monopolies. The expansion is, however, by its nature unregulated and chaotic, for two chief reasons, the first of which is dependent on the second:

(1) It is carried out on a competitive basis, not in accord with

a rational and inclusive plan. (2) It is developed with no relation to the needs of a consumer market.

From the point of view of capitalism, the "market" is only the means for transforming commodity-values back into capital-values for further use in the accumulation of capital. The market is therefore necessarily limited not by the potential needs of consumers (which are nearly boundless), but by the conditions of capitalist production itself—by the possibility of using the surplus value realized from the sale of commodities to produce more surplus value.

The tendency to uncontrolled expansion exceeds the limits; the capitalist created market can no longer "absorb" the products of the expanded capital equipment; expansion becomes over-expansion. The over-expansion is temporarily "corrected" by the periodic crisis, during which capital (i.e. the value of the means of production) is destroyed through falling price levels, bankruptcies and material deterioration. The point is reached where capital accumulation can once more proceed "normally"; the tendencies re-assert themselves on a new and still more violent scale, and the next crisis is rapidly prepared for.

Capitalism thus faces: (1) A chronic necessity for the accumulation of capital, i.e. for the re-capitalizing of all present values and for new capital investments; (2) a periodic inability to find markets through which commodities turned out by the capital equipment can, by their sale to consumers, be re-converted into capital. During the decline of capitalism, this second periodic condition likewise tends more and more to become chronic, thus bringing about a lowering of the scale of capitalist operations. The necessity for capital expansion, however, continues in an even sharper form at the more restricted level.

These two conditions explain the fundamental basis of modern (imperialist) war.

DRIVEN TO IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

Capitalists of every major capitalist nation are faced with the following situation: In order to sustain the system which sustains them, they must find continuous outlets for capital investment and re-investment; but the internal market, provided by the capitalist mode of production within any single nation, is not sufficient to re-convert into capital values the values of commodities turned out even by existing capital equipment, much less of new. Consequently, the capitalists of each nation are forced to seek outlets for capital investment (and likewise consumer markets) beyond the national borders.

If we glance even for a moment at the history of the United States since the War, we can see this tendency everywhere manifesting

itself.

International Tel. & Tel. builds and operates telephone and telegraph systems in Spain, Latin America, South America, and the Near East. General Electric buys heavily into the electrical industries not only of "backward" countries but of Germany, France and England. New York banks and investment houses exploit the copper mines of Africa and the silver mines of Peru. The Standard Fruit Co. owns and operates the great orchards of Mexico; United Fruit, the orchards of Central America. The American Sugar Refining Co. expands its refineries in Cuba. Curtiss-Wright builds an airplane factory in China. Standard Oil and Texas Co. build oil refineries and operate filling stations all through the Far East, as well as in Bolivia, Venezuela and Mexico. The auto companies build plants in Canada and even (Ford) in England and Germany.

CAPITALISTS VIE ON WORLD-WIDE SCALE

But the capitalists of England, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan are driven by the same scourge.

Since the world is limited in extent, since the areas available for new forms of capital expansion and exploitation are growingly restricted, conflict is not only likely but inevitable. The grandiose battle of the capitalists of the imperialist powers is fought on a world-wide scale. Into the colonies, mandates, "subject nations", "spheres of influence", flow the surplus capital funds, imperiously demanding to be set to work at making profits.

The political arms of the capitalists—the governments of their respective countries—are extended watchfully over the new investments.

They are ever ready to unseat a Central American government, threaten a native prince, wipe out "red bands", stop or start a revolution, send a flotilla of warships or a regiment of marines, resent an "insult to the flag", if necessary set two countries—Bolivia and Paraguay for example—flaming at each other's throats to settle the dispute of Standard Oil and Shell over rights to an oil field.

To expose the foundation clearly, there must be added to this basic drive of capital for accumulation the closely related struggle for sources of raw materials, for control of shipping, for the ability to manufacture in countries where the standard of living is lower than in the home country, and the determination of the home capitalists to keep the home market for their own purposes by tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions.

CAPITALIST SOCIETY CONTINUALLY AT WAR

The truth of the matter is this: In the stage of imperialism, capitalist society is continuously at war. This is the essence of imperialism. It is not a question of one war starting, then stopping, to be followed in a decade or two by a new war. It is war all the time, changing only in the form it takes, in the degree of violence.

The economic wars of capital expansion, of tariff and exchange and armament and competitive exploitation reach a point where the attempt is made to find a political solution of the economic and social contradictions through war open and undisguised. Imperialist-inspired wars between subject nations: wars of subjugation by imperialist nations against subject peoples and the converse wars of these peoples against their imperialist oppressors; the world-wide war of the imperialist nations among themselves. But, though producing a "boom" by loosening the bonds on capital expansion, by destruction of existing values, and by credit expansion, the open wars, far from solving the contradictions, only express their depth, and prepare for still more bitter conflict to come.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF THE WORKERS

And throughout this bloody chaos is fought the war that gives historical meaning to the whole mad spectacle: the revolutionary war of the working class against its exploiters. This war, which, after generations of preparation, began on a world scale with the October revolution, continues within every country in a thousand varying

forms, from strikes to armed uprisings to preparations for intervention in the Soviet Union, and will continue until the final issue is decided.

The disguises that war wears—appearing as due to "national" or "cultural" differences, as following from an assassination or an insult to the flag—must not be allowed to hide the fundamental conflicts which are the true source of modern war. Though these other factors may provide the final push that sets open war going or may modify the character of a war, there is nothing in their own nature that must necessarily lead to war. They are the tools of the forces making for war, not the cause of these forces. Nor should we be misled by those who tell us that the present tendency toward "economic pacifism" means the end of imperialism and consequently of imperialist war. The loosening of foreign trade and foreign investment during the crisis, far from removing the imperialist contradictions, only exaggerates them, only increases the relative importance of whatever foreign capital expansion and trade remains and makes ever sharper the struggle to capture and control it.

The general conclusion is inescapable: Modern war is neither accidental nor due to the evil of human nature nor decreed by God. War is of the very essence of imperialist-capitalism, as much a part of capitalism as wage labor. To speak of capitalism without war is like speaking of a human being without lungs. The fate of the one is inextricably bound to the fate of the other.

Will the Steel Workers Strike? Here's Record Under NRA to Date

By DENNIS BROWN

The record of the Roosevelt Administration comes up for inspection by the Insurgents of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, early in February. That record is here presented in a fourteen paragraph calendar statement of facts.

Two courses have presented themselves to steel workers during the past year and a half. One—recommended by William Green and Mike Tighe—has been a reliance upon the benevolence of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the NRA. Tacit admissions have given of an alliance between these labor leaders and the Federal Administration. Cooperation between labor and capital has been their stated policy.

Membership Exerts Pressure The second course toward which the body of the union has moved steadily is independent action. To bring their own coercive pressure upon the employers is what the union masses have been moving toward. That pressure can only express itself in the strike. This movement now finds its leadership in an organized struggle against Tighe and the union's bureaucracy. It was the Rank and File group, whose criticism of Tighe and the NRA was formulated in the famous slogan "National Run Around", now the watchword of all progressive groups. It must however be pointed out that the Rank and File leadership showed serious weakness in its first struggle. Greater resoluteness in the struggle will be necessary to unseat Tighe and Co.

Weighing the Record Many thousands of workers have believed in the policy of Roosevelt-Tighe. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating—and the pudding is on the table. Promises were made, and a promise must eventually be realized or withdrawn. Roosevelt, Green and Tighe must now stand on their record while the steel workers weigh against it the policy of independent militant action.

The following is the dated record of Roosevelt and the labor bureaucracy:

- On October 16, 1933, the National Labor Board induced the Amalgamated to call off the Weirton strike. E. T. Weir signed an agreement providing for an election at which the workers would choose between the company union and the trade union.
- Early in December 1933, the Weirton Co. refused to go through with its election arrangements. The worthy protests of the National Labor Board notwithstanding, Weirton proceeded to conduct an election of representatives under the company union scheme.
- After two months of muddling and buckpassing, the National Labor Board finally referred the case to the Department of Justice (but never recommended to NRA Compliance that Weirton be deprived of the Blue Eagle). At length the Department began to prosecute the case, seeking an equity order which would compel Weirton to submit to an election.
- But—conveniently for the Weirton company—the legal experts

of the Department of Justice did not trouble to familiarize themselves with the Anti-Injunction Act of 1932. Thus on May 29, 1934, Judge Neils threw out the case—on technical grounds—and the Department of Justice had to start all over again.

The case was resumed, and is still in the Federal courts. It is now January 1935, well over a year since the trouble began. Judge Neils cannot possibly decide on the case in time to get it before the current session of the U. S. Supreme Court. Thus the NRA will have expired before the election powers of the Labor Boards, specifically, and the meaning of Section 7a, in general, can be decided by the Supreme Court.

Roosevelt's Pledge

On May 30, 1934 (one day after Judge Neils' first decision on the Weirton suit) President Roosevelt, in his executive order approving the execution of the iron and steel code, made the following specific pledge:

"In order to assure the free exercise of the rights of employees under the provisions of Section 7 of this Act and Article 4 of this code, I will undertake promptly to provide, as the occasion may demand, for the election by employees in each industrial unit of representatives of their own choosing for the purpose of collective bargaining and for mutual aid and protection, under the supervision of an appropriate governmental agency and in accordance with suitable rules and regulations."

On June 15, 1934, William Green spoke before the Amalgamated convention and induced the workers to call off the strike scheduled to begin the next day. He appeared as a quasi-official spokesman of the Federal Administration; and he let it be understood, by tacit assurances, that if the strike were called off the workers would have their elections, majority rule, recognition, collective agreements: all they were asking for.

Set Up Steel Board

On the same day Congress passed Public Resolution No. 44 (approved by the President a few days later), authorizing the President to set up boards empowered to call for employee elections to determine collective bargaining representation. Section 2 reads:

"Any board so established is hereby empowered, when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to assure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7a."

On June 28, 1934, the President, relying on Public Resolution No. 44, did in fact create the National Steel Labor Relations Board, Section 3 of the Executive Order reads as follows:

"Whenever, after its services are invoked by employers or employees, the Board upon investigation, shall find that an election is necessary to determine by what person, persons or organizations employees desire to be represented, the Board is authorized to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot. . . . After each such election the Board shall certify the results to all concerned, and the person, persons or organization certified as the choice of the majority of those voting shall be accepted as the representative or representatives of said employees for the purpose of collective bargaining, without thereby denying to any individual employee or group of employees the right to present grievances, to confer with their employers, or otherwise to associate themselves and act for mutual aid or protection."

We may say then that the creation of the NSLRB signified a truce: the workers agreed not to strike; the government agreed to call for elections, majority rule governing.

10. From the beginning of July 1934 to late in December—a period of six months—the Amalgamated

SITUATION IN CUBA

AFTERMATH IN SPAIN

The terror regime continues on the island of Cuba. As the conflict between the Mendieta-Wall Street regime and its opponents (on both the left and right) increases in sharpness, with bombings and street murders again daily occurrences, the government has placed the country under virtual martial law.

All constitutional guarantees have been suspended throughout Cuba for a period of 30 days. This decision was accompanied by a Cabinet decree calling for the death penalty for all persons convicted of setting fire to cane fields or "sabotaging in any form or otherwise interrupting the sugar harvest". Freely interpreted, this decree can

be made to apply to strikers on the sugar plantations.

Tollers Under Imperialism

Imperialism and its puppets are unable to solve the crisis that has held the island republic in its clutches, with ever-increasing privations for the masses, for nearly a decade. The great mass of toilers of city and plantation remember how they were able, during the days of revolutionary upsurge following the overthrow of Machado, to win increased living standards through militant struggle, and are now preparing to press forward once more in order to regain the positions that the Mendieta "counter-revolution" has wrested from them.

The period of the sugar harvest is always the period of most intensive struggles by the Cuban working class, and in this case it coincides with the political crisis brought about by the partial breakdown of the ruling clique.

Mendieta Seeks Allies

The beleaguered Mendieta regime is casting about on all sides for allies. Elements such as the "Auténticos" of Grau San Martín and the semi-Fascist ABC, who under more favorable circumstances would ally themselves with the puppet of imperialism, realizing that a greater future is offered them if they remain in opposition, have spurned every attempt to negotiate. Grau, from his exile in Miami, Florida, has announced that his party "will not accept any formula tending to perpetuate the present regime in Cuba".

While the government casts about in search of a life-line, it is bringing pressure against the left forces on the political field. It is these leftist forces which today represent the main danger for the Mendieta government.

A number of strikes have occurred recently, contributing considerably to the further weakening of the government. If the threatened general strike should materialize, however, it may well become, as in the case of Machado, the lever by which the whole regime can be dumped into the sea.

According to an Official Statement

The following is an official statement made public on Jan. 15 by the governor general of the province of Asturias, eleven thousand miners of the region have either been killed in the recent revolt or are otherwise unaccounted for. The government decreed some time ago, that all miners returning to work, in order to be permitted to do so, would first be required to turn over one rifle to the authorities. A few days ago the Miner's Union of Asturias was declared illegal. It appears that the valiant miners of Asturias who bore the brunt of the armed struggle, are also destined to bear the brunt of the present relatively "peaceful" interlude.

The whereabouts of some of the missing miners is indicated in the same official statement referring to a whole series of rebel groups who are still holding out in the mountainous recesses, and against whom, according to the announcement, a special military expedition is now being sent.

Spanish government officials announce that they have confiscated 80,354 rifles, 35,211 revolvers and 1,026 machine guns, from the workers recently in rebellion.

As the Lerroux regime draws the balance of the Spanish October, its own foundations are being corroded by the internecine struggles now developing within the rightist camp itself. One of the main points of friction from the beginning has been the disagreements arising as to the punishment that should be meted out to the ex-rebels. Some of the rightist forces, especially the Fascists, have been insisting on large scale executions of the leaders of the uprising. The Lerroux government on the other hand has allowed the Left Republican leader, Azana, and others, to go free, while commuting practically all of the death sentences imposed by military court, to sentences of life imprisonment.

It is now quite evident that the struggle of the Spanish working class was at least successful in that it has prevented the Fascists from consolidating themselves in the government. Meanwhile a deep ferment is in process within the ranks of Spanish labor: policies are being reviewed, lessons being drawn; and all indications point towards a renewal of the struggle on a still higher plane in the not very distant future.

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GEORGE S. COUNTS Professor of Education, Teachers College Columbia U.	CARLO TRESCA Editor, Il Martello
MORRIS MILLGRAM Student League for Industrial Democracy	FELIX MORROW Sec'y, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

HEYWOOD BROWN, Celebrated Columnist

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 8 P.M.

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WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Labor History (vol. 1)—J. Meste
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In California

EIGHTEEN workers are on trial in Sacramento, California, facing a hostile jury and possible sentences of long terms in prison. They are charged with criminal syndicalism. But no smoke screen of any kind can hide the fact that these workers are prosecuted because they were the active organizers of the agricultural workers of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. It is the most elementary working class right which is at stake in this trial: the right to organize into trade unions.

To stir up passions and hatred against the defendants the prosecution has raised the "red" issue and has challenged the right to legal existence of the Communist Party.

A special red-baiting Deputy Attorney General—although defeated in the last election—heads the prosecution, amply supplied with funds by the "Associated Farmers" and the Industrial Association. Religious and racial prejudices are played upon to secure a conviction. The Hearst press is flooding California with anti-red and anti-labor propaganda. And in this atmosphere of fierce reactionary agitation the Sacramento City Manager has publicly taken upon himself the arming of 600 "citizens" to repel an alleged invasion of the city.

The American Legion, the Elks, the Lions, Rotarians, Kiwanis, priests, rabbis, pastors, Boy Scout leaders, real estate brokers, brothel keepers and legislators—one and all are yelling for the incarceration in San Quentin of the eighteen defendants.

In face of this gigantic lynch party one duty remained supreme for those engaged in the active support of the defense: solidarity and unity of all defendants before the capitalist court despite differences of political views. Only utter disregard for working class interests could permit any other course.

For these reasons we accepted the building of a united front in the Sacramento defense as our special task and we have not swerved one inch from the pursuance of this aim. One of the defendants no longer adheres to the Communist Party. He shares the views of the Workers Party; but the capitalist court is no place for the discussion of internal working class differences.

We knew that the accomplishment of a united front in this defense would be no easy task. The pernicious attitude of the Communist Party had made that appear well nigh impossible. When members in their own ranks demanded a united front in this case they were denounced as stool pigeons. All the prejudices, artificially fostered, all the obstacles created by their false policies had to be battered down one by one to make a genuine united front possible in which the participants accept its obligations and carry them out honestly.

At the present moment this united front has been accomplished and a defense committee set up including the Communist Party, the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the International Labor Defense, the Non Partisan Labor Defense, the Civil Liberties Union and other organizations mutually agreed upon by all concerned. The organizations involved and the defendants are pledged not to raise the internal controversial issues before the capitalist court and the attorneys for the I.L.D. and the N.P.L.D. cooperate in the courtroom.

Will this united front last until the case is through? This we cannot guarantee since it involves more than our party. But we can say that only light-minded charlatans would consciously take any steps or carry out any actions designed to endanger or break the united front defense.

Our position is clear. We fought for the united front from the day we entered the case. We are pledged and we carry it out honestly not only for the sake of one defendant who shares our views, not only for the sake of the other seventeen defendants, but for the sake of the working class—the real defendant at Sacramento.

The C. P. and the Labor Party

AFTER having been the almost exclusive property of the right wing in the Socialist Party for years, the slogan of a labor party has just been taken over bag and baggage by the leadership of the Communist Party.

The leader of the Communist Party, straight from Moscow, rushed down the gangplank of the boat which brought him home, grabbed the first train to Washington, and in the presence of the assembled delegates of the "unemployment insurance conference," set forth the new revelation.

Thoroughly characteristic of the present regime in

the Communist Party is the fact that although it has been the policy of that organization for the past seven years to oppose the slogan of a labor party in this country, its leadership never even bothered to inform the membership that a change had been made in the policy.

Up to yesterday, the C.P. bureaucracy looked upon anybody who advocated the formation of a labor party as a deliberate agent of capitalism, a social demagogue and a social fascist. The right wing of the Socialist Party was the special object of C. P. ridicule and attack precisely because it defended the idea of a labor party.

What, then, is the meaning of this abrupt, bewildering and bureaucratic turn-about-face which has been effected in the dark of the moon?

On the lips of Waldman, Panken, Solomon the demand that a labor party be formed, or that the S. P. should initiate or help to create one, signified an acknowledgment that the S. P. had failed even as a party of reformism.

The slogan is a confession of bankruptcy.

On the lips of Browder and his trenchmen, the appeal for a labor party in this country has essentially the same significance. In his "historic" speech in Washington, Browder as much as confirmed this. In effect, he declared:

I think the C. P. is the only party that is good for the working class; but the working class doesn't think so. It does not yet want a revolutionary party. Well, since this is the case, we, the Communist party is perfectly willing to create a non-revolutionary party. The kind that you want. After a while, you will learn that this party is not really the kind you need, and just as we created it for you, we will smash it for you so that you can finally follow the leadership of the only, genuine, real, etc., party.

What other sense can be made of this political abracadabra?

We do not believe it to be the job of revolutionists, who have had the opportunity to thoroughly absorb the lessons of what labor and reformist parties have led to in Europe, to create a reformist labor party in the United States.

We shall return to the question of the labor party in greater detail in forthcoming issues of the New Militant.

Tom Mooney's Freedom

WHEN the United States Supreme Court entertained a writ of habeas corpus for Tom Mooney in November 1934 we said the action was a post election sop to the California working class. At that time the court ordered the state of California to show cause why the writ should not be granted.

Leaving aside the sheer irony of entertaining a writ of habeas corpus eighteen years after incarceration, we remark that our analysis was correct. The court has refused the writ.

The Supreme Court has the colossal gall to inform Mooney that he has not made sufficient efforts to obtain his freedom in the California courts. After eighteen years of appeals and reappeals, after four governors have refused pardon, after the California Supreme Court has declined to review the case!

The Court said that "Mooney had never asked the California court for the writ on the grounds which he now submits," and refused to deny that California would grant him his proper legal rights.

After eighteen years! Ironically, Mooney is sent back to California law at the very moment when it is in the act of railroad-ing eighteen workers in Sacramento—for what? For the crime of organizing agricultural workers!

The Supreme Court is a court of aristocrats and millionaires. Mooney's freedom—the freedom of class war prisoners—is up to labor.

Attack the Enemy

THE best defense is a good offense. Attack the enemy—put him on the run.

This strategy is particularly important to the workers of the United States today.

The employers are pushing the attack on unionism. Section 7a of the N.R.A. title as it has done actually to secure to the workers the right to organize, is to be emasculated or repealed altogether if the bosses have their way.

Mindful of the growing sense of solidarity displayed by the workers in Toledo, San Francisco, Minneapolis and other strike areas in 1934, the National Association of Manufacturers now proposes federal legislation to prohibit general and sympathetic strikes. If the machinists, for example, go on strike over a question of wages, no other workers even in the same shop may stop work if the N.A.M. is to be suited!

The only answer to these proposals to hog-tie and enslave the workers is for them to pick up where they left off last fall—organize in rubber, steel, automobiles, and fight out the issue of union recognition on the picket lines.

Production is for the moment on the rise in these industries. The bosses would like to avoid trouble. The American Federation of Labor leaders must not be permitted in 1935 to prevent or sabotage strikes as they did in 1934. It is because these bureaucrats did all in their power to thwart the militancy of the masses that the bosses have dared to take the offensive again.

Let the workers of Akron, of Weirton, of Detroit, and a score of other centers take the offensive again! Union recognition will not be won in Congress, or in a Labor Board hearing, or in the Supreme Court, but in militant strike struggles.

The Workers Party of the United States pledges its utmost support to these struggles.

Roosevelts Insecurity Program

(Continued from Page 1)

is taught in our respectable universities.

That workers are chronically thrown out of their jobs, by technological change, by the business cycle, by seasonal influences—all this is disregarded. Similarly, the New Deal social welfare lads forget that the American worker hardly earns enough to support himself, let alone to save for his old age, and that as he grows older, his earning power declines.

The annuities are to begin at 65. But the worker under modern industrialism becomes aged economically long before he is biologically old.

Fifty-Fifty?

The cost of purchasing the annuities will be divided 50-50, in theory, between workers and bosses. But if the boss does not pass on his share, as wage reductions, something is wrong with the theory of the incidence of taxation as it

Where the old age pension scheme is hollow mockery, the unemployment insurance plan is a straight kick in the pants. To begin with, it will be financed by a 3 percent payroll tax. This means the cost will be shouldered back upon the wage earners, through lower wages or higher living costs. In either case, the wage earning masses will not share wages and hours, as they do today, but in addition they will share the enforced saving.

The plan has been conceived to make sure that the various insurance funds will go bankrupt from time to time. It contemplates not one pooled national fund with an offsetting of risks by industries, regions, and enterprises, but 48 separate state funds; and in each state thousands of individual plant reserves. The evident intent is to encourage state schemes modeled up-

on the abortion of the Wisconsin liberals. And the Wisconsin plan does not even pretend that unemployment insurance is its primary objective, but addresses itself to coaxing employers into regularizing production and employment. Thus we shall probably have sanctioned, by the Act of Congress, the idea that individual employers can turn back the tides of economic forces.

Democratic Poverty

When the President set up his Committee on Economic and Social Security last June, the Secretary of Labor remarked that not for us any European scheme of economic and social insurance, but an American scheme; not for us any socialistic devices, but democratic devices.

"Security"? Perhaps, if you call it "insurance". "Insurance"? Fine—but be sure it encourages self-help and thrift among the casualties of the economic order, and be ever so certain that it costs the owners nothing. To safeguard the profit system, after all you must first safeguard profits.

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

(Continued from Page 1)

to write for the Central Labor Union paper.

The Auto Workers' Union has kicked out Ramsey and Bossler and its present leaders make no secret of seeking the help of our comrades. The union is growing rapidly and despite the fact that the Auto-Lite plant itself is still half company union, thanks to Ramsey's influence, the Minger interests hesitate to provoke a quarrel. They've had a lesson!

Five members of an S.P. local drove 60 miles over roads that were a sheet of ice to our Toledo mass meeting. And they weren't sorry!

Toledo branch is growing. Sam Pollock can't be spared for Detroit just now. Ted Selander, however, is going to Columbus to hold down the office of the National Unemployed League of which he was elected treasurer last summer.

DETROIT, Mich.—There's going to be big political news soon from Detroit. It will mean a substantial accession to the W.P. But we'll have to keep the comrades guessing for a while.

Meantime we can report that the Detroit branch has a good start, has the respect and confidence of the best elements in the trade union movement, and with the forces that are being sent in will prove itself capable of handling even as big a situation as Detroit.

Reports on the interesting and complex industrial situation here, the New Militant is getting from other comrades. Capitalism is booming here. Ford working 24 hours a day.

So there's no unemployment in Detroit?

Say, comrade, we said capitalism is booming.

CHICAGO, Ill.—A hall jammed with nearly 400 people, Spartacus Youth with their red sashes, the crowd so interested that we had to get the management of the hall to extend our time, the C.P. and S.P. attempts to answer us so weak that the workers present often roared their derision, the singing of the International and three mighty cheers for the Workers Party of the U.S.—that was the Chicago meeting.

A Hot Situation

It's 10 below zero here meteorologically speaking, but it's a "hot" situation as far as our branches, the Spartacus Youth League and prospects of growth are concerned.

The Chicago branches believe that a district comprising Illinois, southern Wisconsin, eastern Iowa and Missouri and northwestern Indiana, with headquarters in Chicago, ought to be set up soon. Comrade Cannon and I are convinced by their arguments and are recommending action to the Political Committee.

There are a million things to write about Chicago, but here as elsewhere the time is all too short. Besides, I can hear the editor cussing now because this copy isn't in. Better have mercy on us. As I said, it's 10 below zero here, the weatherman says the cold wave is staying for a while, and we're headed for Minneapolis and—the North Pole!

56 Released by Ohio Leaguers

(Continued from Page 1)

reached in advance. Fearing organization of a proper legal defense, the presiding justice refused to continue the hearing. Since the new defense counsel was unacquainted with the case, the justice permitted Art Preis and Pollock to cross-examine the witnesses. When Duncan was placed on the stand, the cross-examination became so hot the justice quickly ruled these two could not legally carry on the questioning.

The justice refused to permit any testimony on the matter of relief conditions and administration.

Relief Building "Private"

Inable to find a legal basis for the charge of "trespass," the justice ruled that the relief building—rented with public funds for a public agency—was the property of the relief administration only and in that sense "private" property. He ruled that the public could remain in the building until the regular closing time.

George McGee, one of the defendants and fighting Negro leader of the Roosevelt Unemployed League, replied to a question as to why he did not leave the building at closing time. "The closing time of the relief office may be 12 o'clock but when your stomach is empty it's still open."

Mrs. Frederick, a militant Leaguer, asked what right she had to walk up the stairs of the relief building, answered, "Because I am a citizen of the U.S. I believe I have the right to remain as long as it takes to get food for starving children."

Charges are being preferred at once against Duncan before the new state relief administration and a committee of the Ohio Unemployed League will demand his immediate removal.

That Pittsburgh Convention

Tighe Will Maneuver to Hold Steel Delegates in Check - Bill Spang is Opposition Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

blocking the rank and file revolt within the steel union will automatically liquidate the less organized and developed rank and file movements of the other participating unions.

Will Delegates be Hoodwinked?

Whether or not the delegates will allow themselves to be hoodwinked by these concessions or by any other maneuvers on the part of Green, Tighe and their henchmen is hard to predict. As far as the A.A. is concerned, the rank and file movement seems to be suffering from the same weaknesses that were apparent in the famous Committee of 10 which nullified all its excellent opportunities for destroying the Tighe bureaucracy and rallying the union to a militant struggle against the slow attrition tactics of the steel barons.

These weaknesses resulted from the lack of program, of a common tactic, and a unifying agreement based on progressive union policies. The movement was directed against the person of Tighe rather than the philosophy and tactics that make Tighe possible. The members of the Committee, united by a common dislike of Tighe, were disunited on every other basic point. The rank and file found themselves with an assortment of leaders but with no leadership. It was a comparatively simple business, therefore, for Green to sidetrack the strike movement and to throw the fight against company-unionism onto the laps of the N.R.A. the courts, the lawyers and all the thousand practitioners of pink sentiment and red tape.

Not Likely Again

The rank and file members of the A.A. are not likely to repeat that particular mistake. They have had eight months of the Steel Labor Relations Board and are today in a worse position, if anything, than they were at the outset.

(For a detailed description of what the Steel Labor Relations Board has "accomplished" for the steel workers see article on page 3.)

"Our Men Are Desperate"

In the words of Bill Spang, chairman of the Fort Duquesne Lodge which has been the spark plug of the fight against company-unionism:

"The union will not live through another delay like this. Our men are already desperate. Some of them are hungry—they have kids who are undernourished and wives who face away right under their eyes. Unless our union starts to fight company-unionism with every weapon at its command right now—there may be no one to fight with later on. The men will go back to work."

Bill Spang was one of the members of the Committee of 10. He will be chairman of the "rank and file convention" and one of the leaders of the rank and file movement for the strike and against the Tighe bureaucracy. Hard fisted,

courageous, sincere, unshakably honest, Spang represents the virtues characteristic of rank and file leadership in the steel unions. And he represents the weaknesses of this leadership as well—weaknesses that may well prove fatal to the present movement as they were to the Committee of 10.

Bill Spang's Weakness

He does not understand that an opposition movement within a union demands an even more careful organization and consistent leadership than a movement in opposition to boss greed. He will not submit to the discipline imposed by a program, the discipline that obliges every leader to submerge his personal differences, opinions and weaknesses in the interests of the common program and the common cause. He is an individualist, relying upon personal prestige and ability to storm the bureaucratic barricades. He has the man-of-action's contempt for careful planning, for "theorizing" and, in consequence, is fair prey to the very first plan that comes his way—in all probability the worst possible plan.

Such is the plan proposed for A. A. action in the "rank and file convention." The delegates will lay their plans for organization and appoint their own organizers for carrying these plans out.

Tighe is Afraid

"Tighe does not want to organize new locals," says Spang, "because he knows he would lose control. If we left it up to him to send in organizers he would send us guys like the one we had last time who was more congenial to the steel company than to us. We are going to organize the A.A.—Tighe or no Tighe, and then he can sit at his desk and look at the four walls of his office."

In these naive reckonings, the seeds of defeat are already sown. Tighe will not look at those four walls long before he evolves a plan for gaining control of the new unions or for keeping control in spite of the new unions. Actually, that is what his position is, if he is not removed from office. And if the A.A. and file movement within the A.A. is strong enough to follow a plan of organization based on an eventual steel strike in spite of the Greens and Tighe then it is also strong enough to remove Tighe and clean house generally. If it fails to do this, it will also fail to carry out its other plans.

A Golden Opportunity

There is certainly a golden opportunity in the present movement to overthrow the reactionary Tighe and their destructive class-collaborationist policies and to reassert the militant traditions and the progressive history of genuine trade-unionism. The time is at hand for an entire reorganization of the unions on democratic and non-compromising principles. Will the "rank and file convention" achieve these things?

Letters To The Editor

An increasing number of readers write letters to the editors of the New Militant. Most of these letters deal with subjects that will be of interest to a large number of readers. In the future, therefore, the editors have decided to turn over this section of the New Militant to its readers. Conditions for publication are: 1) No letter shall be over 300 words in length. 2) The name and address of the writer must be known to the editors.

START MEETINGS ON TIME!

Dear Comrade Editor:

A party starts out with certain principles, certain tactics, and an organizational set-up.

In the process of building itself, certain "details" are cast aside, even treated with scorn. "There are bigger things" is the answer to these smaller problems.

I would like to bring up one of these "details" for consideration.

In the "left-wing" movement all meetings, parties, gatherings, demonstrations are traditionally unpunctual. Lateness has become almost a fetish.

Originally, perhaps, comrades and workers were so busy, that they could not manage to arrive on time. However, starting a meeting one hour after scheduled time has since come to be a sort of hoary tradition, that no radical party would dare to violate.

Aside from the physical inconveniences of this lateness, it must be remembered that some time, in our career as a revolutionary party, we may come across a "raw worker," one unfamiliar with the ways of the reds. When this worker does come to our meetings, he will come on time. And very likely he will be alienated by the undisciplined fashion in which our meetings are run.

Glance over the correspondence section of every working class paper, union, political, social, and you will read this same plea for promptness, for discipline.

What other working class parties and groups have failed to point out, are the political implications of promptness.

The worker is accustomed to effi-

ciency. His boss makes him come to work on the dot of eight.

We as revolutionists admire the well run machine. We base our ideology upon maximum efficiency. —We fight for an efficient, well-run society.

In order to secure this society, we ourselves must have a well-knit, well-run machine. And punctuality, discipline in meetings, gatherings and demonstrations, is one very important factor in our efficiency.

Aside from the bad psychological effects of lateness, as a political tactic, it is ruinous.

I would therefore advocate that the National Committee take up discipline in meetings as a real issue. That branches discuss and pass resolutions on this subject, and that disciplinary measures be introduced to insure the efficient conduct of meetings and gatherings not only of the party itself, but of mass organizations in which the party participates.

As an agitational "front" this insistence upon punctuality and disciplined conduct of meetings is invaluable. As a party we will be set apart, our efficiency will be symbolized by this innovation.

A month hence, a year hence it will be too late to decide that we're going to conduct our meetings in a more orderly fashion. You can't break down old habit patterns easily!

What do the comrades in the field think about this question? I believe that the New Militant should devote space to it, and lastly, I urge that action be taken. It's easy to nod one's head wisely and say "that's right!"

Let's become the party that meets on time!

—COMRADE A. B. C.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

NEW TITLE WANTED

The editors don't like the title of this column, so they got together with the business manager and I am asked to announce that a year's subscription to the New Militant will be given free to the reader suggesting the best title. The editors to decide. Titles must be in by February 15.

The Mooney Case

Again the "courts of justice," this time the highest in the land, played shuttlecock with the life and liberty of Tom Mooney. This time the publicity and protests of the radical labor movement was so strong that the nine fossilized tools of Wall Street had to administer a gentle slap to California "justice," while on a "technicality" they condemned an innocent man to a continued living death. They passed the case back to California, where that other "stalwart representative of American democracy," Governor Merriam, says he is too busy to consider it now.

Where do our "labor leaders" stand? That smug Baptist faker, Bill Green, remains as silent on Mooney as he was vocal when helping to break the Frisco general strike.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

That's the motto carried on the masthead of the New York Times, and they print a boxed in front page display to the story of the Judge in the Hauptmann case, giving a cough drop to the defense lawyer, and the Shenandoah mine explosion is tucked away on page 9.

Slobbering Over Stalin

Never to my knowledge has there been such servile slobbering over a leader in any section of the labor movement as is found today in articles, speeches and resolutions of the Communist Party of Stalin. Even Olgin's postical praise of America's entry into the World War is surpassed by the following greetings sent to Stalin by the Moscow District Committee of the C.P., which we take from a New York newspaper:

"Long live he who has led our party in the struggle against all enemies of Leninism! Long live he who is teaching the Party daily and hourly the art of discerning the enemy in the very embryo and mercilessly stamping him out! Long live he who has secured the victory of our Party and the iron unity of the Bolshevik ranks! Long live our own great Stalin!"

The Dignity of the Court

The Hauptmann case continues to be the big news in the capitalist papers. It has been turned into a "Broadway success" by the press, by publicity-seeking lawyers, judges, etc. Here is a man on trial for his life, charged with kidnapping and murder, and yet guards have been posted over the hall to stop the gales of laughter that sweep the courtroom. The Prosecuting Attorney, noting that the interest of his audience lagged during the hearing of expert testimony and fearing that attendance would fall, decided to bring in a Broadway burlesque to break the monotony. Such is the dignity of justice in America, the dignity of a waterfront prostitute.

Strikers Versus Labor Leaders

After a militant ten weeks' strike, employees of the Kayne Company (Cleveland) returned to work with the signing of a collective bargaining agreement by the company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. A Cleveland paper reports that following the signing of the agreement a workers' rally was held in the NEWS Auditorium, which was addressed by Sidney Hillman, President of the A.C.W. "In the evening the union tendered a banquet to Mr. Hillman, officials of the company, city officials and judges." We wonder why the chief of police was left out—or was he?

California Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

and bona fide trade unions. However, at the first meeting among those claiming to represent organizations was one man who said he belonged to the American Veterans Association, "only that organization is controlled by agents of the Industrial Association and last night they expelled me and 11 others, but I represent them officially."

Real United Front
The attempt to pack the united front was defeated. Voting together for a real united front policy were the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Civil Liberties Union.

A slanderous article had appeared the previous week in the Western Worker, referring to "racketeering" and linking the Non-Partisan Labor Defense with it. Herbert Solow, N.P.L.D. representative, declared he regretted that the I.L.D. did not make some statement concerning this article. After much hesitation, the I.L.D. representative promised a printed retraction in next week's paper.

What do you think of it? Do you like it? Good! Or have you any ideas for a better one? This is the time for all hidden talent to blossom forth. Immortalize yourself as the creator of the revolutionary symbol of America.

Send all suggestions, drawings etc. to the Political Committee, National Office, New York.

LIVELY MEETINGS MARK SPEAKING TOUR FOR WORKERS PARTY

Enthusiastic Crowd Cheers The New Party in Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill., Jan. 20.—The interest in the formation of the Workers Party is such in Chicago, that over 350 workers turned out to hear Comrades Muste and Cannon speak at the Capitol Building on the program and aims of the party. The audience responded with frequent outbursts of applause.

Muste and Cannon laid down an analysis of the present economic and political situation which necessitated the formation of the new party. They showed that the Workers Party, armed with a realistic revolutionary program, with connections in the trade union centers throughout the country, with a powerful unemployed organization and a well circulated press, bids fair to become THE revolutionary party of the American proletariat.

Communists Believe

A large number of left Socialists listened attentively to the speakers. The Communist Party was also represented by about twenty members, who, surprisingly as it may seem and for the first time, behaved themselves in an orderly fashion and did not attempt, in their usual manner, to disrupt the meeting.

Following the speeches a collection was taken. Over \$70 was collected and \$25 pledged.

The chairman announced that a speaker from the S.P. and the C.P. might take the floor and present their party's point of view. A prominent section leader of the C.P. got up and set forth to damn and slay the W.P.

Brought Down the House

Much to the amusement of the workers, this worthy deplored the fact that the program of the W.P. was really a communist program stolen from the C.P. on a dark night. He literally brought down the house when he referred to "comrade" Muste (not Mr. Muste) and stated that he regarded him as an "honest man who had made contributions to the American labor movement."

God Forbid!

A left Socialist next took the floor and argued that the W.P. should be in the S.P. today, helping to reform it and revolutionize it. He pleaded that the W.P. should follow the example (God forbid!) of Albert Goldman and enter the S.P.

Comrade Cannon replied to this. Defeating the big talk of tremendous mass contact, he showed how the actual left wing was very small and had no reason to look scornfully upon the W.P. The W.P., he stated, did not deny the existence of a developing left wing. But the best way to help the left wing was precisely by forcing it to fight the S.P. old guard, with a view to splitting them and then of uniting all revolutionists into one party.

Describes Zig-Zags

No less effective was Comrade Muste's reply to the C.P. speaker. He evoked great laughter when he

showed the recent zigzags of the C.P. both with regards to the class struggle in general and with the characterization of himself as an honest man, whereas up to recently he had been classified as a black-guard and left social fascist. Muste threw into the teeth of the Stalinists the challenge to defend their policy of terror in disposing of political opponents in the Soviet Union, after the Kirov assassination. He concluded with an appeal for support of the Workers Party.

Waukegan, Ill.—Despite bad weather, 55 workers gathered to hear James P. Cannon explain the program of the Workers Party. The speech was the opening gun in the drive of the Waukegan Branch for new members.

DETROIT—About 150 workers, representing every important political tendency in the labor movement, heard A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, outstanding leaders of the Workers Party at Jericho Temple Jan. 18. The meeting was the first held by the new party in Detroit. The response was enthusiastic.

In the audience were Socialists, several of them new members who

had joined, hoping for a new revolutionary policy in that party; there were one or two lone Love-sonettes, who are still hard at work "reforming" the local Communist party; and a handful of Stalinists. Present also were some of the leading members of the Detroit Branch of the Proletarian Party, many of whom are the most active militants in the Mechanics Educational Society of America, a union of some 20,000 tool and dye makers.

Twenty new contacts were established for the Workers Party at the meeting.

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—A. J. Muste spoke to 60 persons here on Jan. 15. The question and discussion period centered around the policies of the Soviet Union; the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals and the necessity for the Workers Party.

Following the meeting an organizational meeting of the Branch was held. Rocky Lewis was elected branch organizer.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Comrades Muste and Cannon helped us get the new party off to a fine start in this city.

Quite a number of youthful, healthy elements of the Cleveland working class were present. The new party is being discussed in every hall and center where workers meet throughout the city.

Textile Strike Looms - Will It Be Another Betrayal by UTW Leaders?

By FELIX GIORDANO

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The wave of militancy which came over the textile workers last year, and which culminated in the general strike of last September, is far from being dead.

The betrayal of that strike at the hands of the vacillating and inept leadership arouses the workers now more than ever.

It will be remembered that the last convention of the American Federation of Silk Workers, in spite of the top clique, had to promise strike action in case (!) the report of the Industrial Relations Committee appointed by the Winant Board should not be satisfactory.

No report has been made public. But the report may have already been made, and may be now in the hands of the national officials of the U.T.W. and of the American Federation of Silk Workers, without the organizations making it known to the members.

Delegates to Meet

This possibility assumes gigantic proportions in view of the fact that a meeting of delegates from all over the silk industry has been called suddenly for next Sunday in Al-

lertown to discuss the possibility of strike action on a national scale.

It seems, then, that the report has been made, and—naturally enough—it is not satisfactory.

But if that is the case, why call a meeting of delegates to talk about it? Why not let the membership of the organization know about it first?

A burning question now confronts the silk industry. Is this strike to be a repetition of the debacle of last September? Is the same group of bureaucrats that were responsible for that shameful betrayal, going to be in charge of this strike?

Francis Gorman, the official head of the last strike, has recently made utterances to the effect that the textile workers have been betrayed in the confidence they put in the Government.

That sounds very much like an attempt to rehabilitate himself with the workers.

It suggests that the silk-rayon strike, which seems quite certain, may be only the prelude to a new general textile strike to follow either immediately or closely after it.

The question comes up: Can the present U.T.W. leadership conduct another textile strike?

The workers who saw their fellow-workers die in the deep South and in Rhode Island only to have the strike called off when it was still on the upswing, and without any gains, will they forget the lesson of only a very few months ago, and again follow the same kind of leadership? Can they be rallied to follow a general who is so ready to sound the retreat?

On the other hand, there is no

possibility to change now, even mildly, the leadership of the U.T.W. If a strike call is issued, the same men will be at the head of it.

Way Through Strike Committee

It appears evident that if any results are to be obtained by the next strike, be it in the silk-rayon or in the whole textile industry, the only way is through a militant, progressive, clear-sighted Strike Committee—ready to follow the U.T.W. leadership so long as it shows firmness and militancy, but ready to continue the strike in spite of the U.T.W. when the same officials show—as they will—weakness and uncertainty, and lose from sight the situation.

This Strike Committee must be representative of the membership and close to it, coming immediately from its ranks. It must be composed of the most clear-sighted elements in the unions, ready to push on the fight when the fighting is good. This does not mean that it should be composed of adventurist elements, who—mistaking a defeat for a victory—will continue (or try) to push on a fight that has lost morale.

These are the two evils between which the textile workers must steer.

Weakness and reactionary tendencies on the part of the leadership will prove to be the workers' own defeat.

But romantic adventurism will prove equally as destructive by distorting the truth, pushing when retreat would be wisdom, giving hopes to the masses in the face of doom.

Will the textile workers be able to secure such leadership? Only if such leadership is theirs can they hope to achieve any gains.

Sop to Akron Labor Hides Company Aim

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 26.—Good-year, Goodrich and Firestone threw Akron rubber workers a bone in the form of a three cent per hour wage increase last week.

This was belittled by the companies as having come through the tireless efforts of the company unions.

The announcement came as a surprise to the red apple boys whose first knowledge of the plan came from the evening papers.

At the same time, tire production is rapidly shooting toward the 1929 peak.

The rubber barons are obviously trying to stage off union militancy with the wage sop while building up a huge inventory toward the time when strike action breaks out.

Meanwhile Dr. Coleman C. Clarity, head of the A. F. of L. rubber workers' council, continues to play the old shell game with an angry and impatient rank and file.

A few more passes like sabotaging the Firestone strike vote, which was lost by only 25 votes, and palavering with the National Labor Relations Board—especially after its own confessed impotence in labor disputes, and the Firestone rank and filers are going to take the medicine show out of his hands.

And once they do that, they aren't going to fool.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Notices for this column should be sent in as long in advance as possible, and if destined for a particular issue, must be on the editor's desk by Tuesday morning.

New York City

Feb. 2, Saturday night—District Housewarming Party, 2 West 15th Street, (third floor). Jazz band. Refreshment and drinks. Members, friends and sympathizers invited.

Feb. 7, Thursday evening—Benefit Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaraugus." Tickets from Frances Drake, chairman, or through branches.

Feb. 8, Friday 8 P.M.—Ludwig Lore, "Two Years of Hitler's Rule." 1776 Pitkin Ave., cor. Stone Street, Brooklyn.

Feb. 16, Saturday evening—Gala event. Revue and dance. Germania Hall, 16th St. and Third Ave. Professional show, games, supper and drinks. See ad about tickets.

Friday night forums at all branches. Sunday night informal open forum at Branch 6, Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn. Free admission.

Akron, Ohio

Feb. 4, Monday evening—Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon.

Columbus, Ohio

Feb. 5, Tuesday, 2 P.M.—Branch conference. Tuesday at 8 P.M.—Mass Meeting.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Feb. 5, Tuesday evening—Open Forum, 1785 First St. (cor. Boyle). "The C. I. Turns Right Again!" Charles Curtis and Rae Roskin.

Charleston, W. Va.

Feb. 6, Wednesday, 7:30 P.M. at Court House—"The Workers Party and the Trade Union Movement." A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairmen, B. A. Scott.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Feb. 8, Friday, 8 P.M., Northside Carnegie Music Hall. "The Workers Party of the U. S.—Its Program and Purpose." Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

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Leaves Communist Party for Workers Party -- Tells Why

"To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party," says Harold Smith, resigning from the Communist Party.

The letter of the section membership committee to Comrade Smith and his reply to the district committee are published below, without further comment.

Jan. 18, 1935

Comrade Smith:

Please call at Section 5 this Wednesday, Jan. 23, 7:30 P.M. to see the Section organizer about the statement that you made in our Section that you are in favor of Trotsky and that he is the only true disciple of Lenin. As this is the second notice that we are sending you, if you do not answer by Wednesday, you will be expelled from the C.P. and publicly exposed as an enemy of the working class.

Membership Committee, Section 5, District 2

Charles Krumbeln, District Committee C.P., U.S.A.

My reasons for resigning from your party I may state briefly.

1. Your party no longer applies the teachings of Lenin but the arbitrary decrees of Stalin and his picked crew. Your party is dominated by a bureaucracy and as a direct result, sectarianism keeps you separated from the working class.

2. Since the suppression of the best minds and spirits of the revolution, your officialdom has accumulated a long list of failures. . . .

3. The Party's trade union policy, its united front tactics, its amonous with the League of (capitalist) Nations, its concessions to the French and American bourgeoisie, indicate too clearly the headlong march to the right.

4. When your apparatus grows, it swells with the pus of the petty bourgeois. The backbone is non-proletarian and flabby.

5. You are no longer capable of self-criticism, and having become inflexible, you no longer need polemics. You have very mysteriously caught the knack of avoiding any and all mistakes. Subsequent events invariably prove that the latest debacle of proletarian defeat shows the correctness of the party line.

These are some of my reasons. Your letter informing me that if I fail to see the organizer by Wednesday I shall from that day become an enemy of the working class, is a happy bit of humor. The simple fact of the matter is that by returning my membership book some two weeks ago, I resigned from the C.P.

It is known of course, that you do not recognize a resignation. But on this point there appears to me much discord, i.e. on what you recognize and what the workers are actually doing.

You say I will be "exposed." May I ask—exposed to whom? And exposed in what connection?

I ask my friends and comrades inside the C. P. to recognize the political surge when such sterling proletarian revolutionists as Zack, Strong, Taylor, Terry etc. are making the turn. I ask them to study the platform of the Workers Party so that they may really be able to judge. To discard the "disciple" bugaboo, and begin to study with free heads. To recognize that the monster Fascism can be destroyed not by blind obedience but by democratic centralism, by the widest polemics and by genuine individual initiative.

To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party.

—HAROLD SMITH

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The real disunity is the disunity of working class leadership and the achievement of unity rests with these leaders—or with the workers, if they fail.

This is the basic problem within the unemployed movement and in every other section of the labor movement. It cannot be solved by "accommodations," "coalitions" or by "federations" of unemployed organizations in the name of an abstract autonomy, but only by the most thoroughgoing and uncompromising elimination of all differences in theory and tactic.

Confusing the Problem

The problem has been confused by the very natural inclination of every leader or body of leaders to lay their own plans and aspirations on the doorstep of the plans and aspirations of the workers.

Thus, in the very worst days of the "United Front from Below" when every minute of that practice pushed unity back a year, the C.P. leadership shouted that "the workers were crying for unity"—meaning thereby that the workers were crying for the "United Front from Below" and the subsequent destruction of every organization but the Communist Party!

And thus, every pompous manifesto of the socialist old guard speaks in the name of the "workers"—who are apparently not afraid to defy the bayonet and the machine gun in a strike but fear to oppose imperialist war even on paper because it might annoy the police!

Even the Weisbordites, all 6 of them, weave their incredible phantasmagorias in the name of those same "workers"—who are prevented from embracing Weisbord only because they are handcuffed by Gitlow!

Workers Cannot Deviate

The workers need a clear revolutionary program and a consistent revolutionary leadership. They are not concerned with deviations. The workers themselves cannot deviate, however much they may be led to bark at tinsel moons temptingly dangled over them by the Roosevelt, the liberals and the fascists. In the end there is only one path that leads to the goal—the revolutionary path. When the workers realize this, they will set up the cry for unity.

But they will mean, not their own unity (for it is by the recognition of their own unity that they find the revolutionary path) but the unity of their leadership. The leadership will either lead the way to revolution and the workers world by the shortest and most direct route, or fall by the wayside with the thousand Kerenskys at al.

Nothing finally can destroy the essential unity of the proletariat. It is said that failure to unite against Fascism results in Fascist "unity"—that is, the concentration camp. This is true, but not final. The unity of the concentration camp can be destroyed, but the workers are indissolubly united by a single interest and a single goal. Unity can be delayed, obstructed, fed into the lunatic byways and the reformist highways—but it cannot be destroyed.

This is the conception of unity held by the National Unemployed League. It underlies the NUL program for achieving unity in the unemployed movement. But before we come to that program, we will review briefly the united front experiences of the NUL to date.

The Struggle for Unity

The experiences of the NUL in the struggle for unity may be classified for the sake of convenience as follows: a) the united front on specific issues, b) organizational and organic unity.

In reality, however, this classification is not altogether valid.

The united front is, or should be, a transition measure towards organic unity within a particular field, i.e., the unemployed movement, the trade unions, etc. (The S.P. practice, which strictly limits the united front to "specific issues" is comparable to the lady of high virtue who limits her lover to a single kiss. Neither lovers nor workers will stand for this sort of teasing, finally.) Nor is there any "specific issue" confronting the workers on which they can unite as separated from any other issue on which they, presumably, cannot unite. There are issues that do not immediately involve organic unity, but organic unity is the goal of every genuine united front.

The united front on specific issues is the preliminary to the testing ground of organic unity. That has always been the understanding of the NUL. Thus, at the first Columbus convention a united front was entered into with the Unemployed Councils WITH A VIEW TO CALLING A UNITY CONVENTION. Failure to carry out the united front successfully would result in failure to achieve the unity convention.

Testing the Councils

At this time the famous open letter of the C.P. to itself in which the united front from below was seemingly repudiated had hardly dried off the press. There was to be no double-dealing, no stabbing in the back. Issues were to be met squarely. The right of criticism was not abrogated, but confined to the work at hand.

The NUL accepted this agreement in good faith, recognizing then as now that dualism in the unemployed movement was one of the greatest impediments to progress. But almost at once evidences of bad faith on the part of the Councils began pouring into headquarters.

In Columbus itself, Council leadership blithely continued to damn the leaders of the NUL as if there had never been a united front.

In Toledo, where the Councils and the Leagues had united to carry out a relief-work strike, the Council leadership promptly forgot about the strike and concentrated on printing exposures of the social fascists.

In Pennsylvania, a "red-herring" was deliberately foisted on the Allentown League which might have destroyed that organization.

Patience—Another Letter

When the NUL complained of this sabotage, the leaders of the Councils explained that the new tactic, i.e., the abandonment of the United Front from Below had not yet trickled down to the rank and file. Only time and patience were required. But in the weeks following, the back-stabbing and sabotaging increased rather than diminished and the patience of the NUL came to an abrupt end when a letter from the N. Y. district of the Communist Party to the Toledo Unemployed Council fell into its hands.

The letter called on the Councils to make every use of the united front, not to win the relief strike, but to smash the Leagues!

When A. J. Muste read this letter to the Cleveland Trade Union Conference that same year in the presence of most of the top leadership of the C.P., the only answer was their complete silence. Only a rank and filer in the rear of the hall was heard to mutter: "How in hell did he get that letter?"

FORGOTTEN MEN'S YELL

One, two, three, four. The last war was a bosses' war. Five, six, seven, eight. Rise and make a workers' state. —From "Voice of the Workers"

Real Story in Relief Paper

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Angered by the Pollyanna relief paper put out by relief officials, transients in the Allentown Transient Shelter put out their own uncensored paper.

"The first two pages of the last edition were taken up entirely by those persons who are not on relief and who get a regular income," they wrote. "One article pleaded with us to have sympathy and tolerance. One stated that because Dawes, the banker, predicted an upturn in business, every transient would get a break—if he had the patience."

How do transients fare?

"They check us out for refusing to do insulting and degrading work; for being sick too often, for not taking 3 more shots after losing our medical card, for not seeing a notice on the Bulletin Board within an hour after it is posted, for not signing food and lodging orders on the specified hour, for telling the truth, for knowing too much, and for non-cooperation, which can mean a multitude of things," the uncensored paper said.

WORKERS' EDUCATION FOR ALLENTOWN

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—A united front between unions and unemployed Leagues was instrumental in obtaining a State Emergency Relief project in Workers' Education for Allentown. Classes will meet in union and League headquarters and will start Feb. 4. Courses will be offered in Public Speaking, Writing, English, Labor Dramatics, Labor Problems, Labor History and Current Events. A workers' library and reading room is to be opened, all Allentown labor organizations co-operating in its upkeep.

The project, which calls for 14 teachers, is under the supervision of Bill Reich, educational director of the Lehigh County Unemployed League and former instructor of Labor Education at Commonwealth College. An enrollment in excess of 500 is expected.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

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Garage Strike Ends in Gains

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—On Saturday night, Jan. 19, the membership of Local Union No. 382, Garage Mechanics, voted to accept the strike settlement as drawn up by committees from the employers and the union. The settlement terms are approximately the same as those upon which the St. Paul strike was ended: a minimum of \$55 an hour for mechanics; a minimum of \$18 weekly for washers, greasers, runners and attendants; time and a half for overtime; 30 hours a week guaranteed; union recognition; no discrimination, etc.

The settlement represents real gains for the workers in Minneapolis garages and auto body shops. Not every one of the demands was won with this strike, but with the relationship of forces it was certainly the best agreement that could have been obtained. Hundreds of workers, furthermore, have come into Union 459 and 382 during the last two weeks. Both organizations now have a firm foothold in their industry.

Act Against Chiseling

On Sunday an overflow mass meeting of garage workers was held at the General Drivers Local 574 auditorium. Among the speakers were Bob Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, Herman Husman, International representative, Henry Schultz, secretary of the State Employees Assn. and Farrell Dobbs, business agent of Local 574. A broad committee was elected, at the meeting to check up on the bosses, beginning early Monday morning, to see that no chiseling on the workers takes place.

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Bridge that Gap!

NO REVOLUTIONARY labor organization has ever been able to make any progress by the efforts of its members alone. Without their devotion, self-sacrifice, zeal and activity, the movement would of course be inconceivable. But while they bear the greatest part of the burden of work, they cannot assume the whole of it. The rest must be taken off their shoulders by—the sympathizers, the unaffiliated friends of the movement.

The number of sympathizers a working class party has and the vigor with which they come to its aid—these are the tests of the party's success. The response of sympathizers to the appeals for support which the party must make from time to time, indicates the influence the party has radiated and the prestige it enjoys.

Answering the most urgent need of the hour, some of the best forces in the American revolutionary movement have joined hands to launch the new party. They do not include altogether "green hands", amateurs, dilettantes, but men and women who have given their best years to the working class movement. In it, they have gained a vast store of experience and ability which is now at our disposal. Not only do they incarnate the best and richest traditions of the revolutionary movement in this country, but they bring to the Workers Party the living proof of its ability to lead stormy struggles of labor. Minneapolis, Toledo, the battles of the unemployed—which directly preceded the formation of our party—are symbolic of the work which it is going to carry on in coming days.

And what magnificent prospects for work there are! Reports which come to us every day from all parts of the country speak eloquently of the inexhaustible possibilities. Our meetings are larger than ever before. Our organizers are insufficient in number to meet the growing demand. Automobiles, steel, rubber, mining, transportation—the big and basic industries of the country—are sending in urgent appeals for assistance in organizing, in preparing for the great battles with which the year 1935 will be filled. Our press is leaping forward in circulation and ever increasing numbers of workers are proving the favorable impression that our party's views and activities are making on them.

How shall we meet this growing demand? How are we to profit by the splendid opportunities that confront us? How are we to satisfy the requests for more speakers, tours, organizers, literature?

The wheels of the party machinery must be lubricated for greater speed and efficiency. Our Party Foundation Fund campaign is calculated to do just that.

Every party member is called upon to make the maximum sacrifices. They must pay their dues regularly. They must do their union work. They must do their work in the organizations of the unemployed. They must assure the regularly increasing distribution of our press and periodical literature. They must organize our meetings. They must arrange special affairs. They must contribute special donations from time to time, running as high as two-days' wages in the present campaign.

They accept these burdens cheerfully. The revolutionary movement is their very life's blood and they are always ready to do their utmost for it. But the need is greater than even their efforts suffice to meet. And that is why we must appeal for supplementary aid from our sympathizers who, for one reason or another, are unable to join our party.

Do we need to labor the point? We don't think so. Every friend of our movement, we feel confident, will respond generously and speedily to our appeal. The money is urgently required. Your contribution will help make it possible for the party to accomplish all those jobs imperiously facing it. And the speedy giver—gives doubly.

Booker T. Washington-He Pleased the Bourgeoisie

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute, and the chief promoter of industrial education for Negroes, did much to curb the militancy of the Negro worker in this country by making him contented with existing economic conditions.

Washington taught that if the Negro were to better his condition in America he must become an efficient workman through education of his hands as well as his brain in the use of the crafts and remain willing at all times to render a "fair day's" work for a "fair day's" pay. However, he was always to content himself with a wage lower than that received by the white workers in the same craft. His philosophy was somewhat the same as that of Samuel Gompers in the American Federation of Labor. He sought to make black labor subservient to white labor. He advocated job consciousness in place of class consciousness.

Helped Exploiters

The white bourgeoisie of the South and North accepted Washington with open arms and heralded him as the champion for the advancement of his people. They saw in him a man capable of suppressing militancy and enabling them to continue in peace their schemes of robbing and exploiting the Negro and white masses. Washington was, moreover, cognizant of this fact.

Tuskegee, the school that he founded, teaches the use of technical crafts that have been replaced by new technical devices. It is endowed by millions of dollars coming from the coffers of white millionaires in this country, who profit through the exploitation of Negro toilers in the South.

Washington represented the corrupt type of Negro middle class leadership that came to power during the reconstruction period. Unlike Douglass and Pinchback he put up no fight for equal citizenship and the right to suffrage for the blacks. He was apparently happy and contented with the grand-father-clause laws that deprived the

Negro workers of their right of franchise in the southern states. In the midst of it all he told the Negro toilers to be contented and "cast down their buckets" where they were. He encouraged them to become property owners and businessmen despite the hostility of the white landlords and business men of the South.

Got Additional Glory

In speaking once of social equality for Negroes, Washington said: "In things industrial we can be as close as one, but in things social as separate as the fingers on the hands."

This pleased his white financial masters and they covered him with additional honor and glory in the form of more endowments for his institution. They well knew that so long as such ideas were shoved down the throats of the Negro and white workers there would be little danger of unity and their position as robbers of the American workers, would be secure.

Washington later sought to strengthen the position of the Negro middle class through organizing the Negro Business League for the purpose of discovering new means of robbing the Negro toilers of whatever the white bourgeoisie failed to take from them. From this movement grew the philosophy of the petty Negro bourgeoisie of patronizing, by Negro workers, businesses owned by Negroes. They knew the glories that could be derived from segregation by the individual once they could win the confidence of their group.

He Twisted History

Washington falsely interpreted history. He taught, in the face of the Negro participation in the struggles of the Knights of Labor in 1869 and in 1890, that the Negro's interest was "purely economic" and had nothing to do with politics. He ignored the fact that in those years Negroes had led a determined struggle for political equality and the rights of suffrage.

He modelled Tuskegee after Hampton, the school from which he graduated, and sought to develop a skilled and efficient Negro labor force that would remain loyal to its

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

Pacifism No Aid, But Helps the Militarists - Only through the Class Struggle Can War be Fought

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the second in Comrade West's series of four articles. The remaining two—"The League Against War and Fascism" and "The United Front and War"—will follow in the next two issues of the New Militant.)

Even a brief study of the nature and causes of modern war proves that war is an essential part of capitalism. The inner conflicts of capitalism lead and must lead to war. All Marxists, and in fact many pseudo-Marxists or even liberals, accept this conclusion.

Nevertheless, there have been the most serious misconceptions in following out the consequences of this conclusion so far as they apply to the struggle against war.

The most serious mistake made in the attempted struggle against war comes from the wide-spread belief that this struggle is somehow "independent" of the class struggle in general, that a broad union of all sorts of persons from every social class and group can be formed around the issue of fighting war, since—so the reasoning goes—these persons may be all equally opposed to war whatever their differences on other points. War is thus lifted from its social base, considered apart from its causes and conditions, as if it were a mystic abstraction instead of a concrete historical institution. Acting on this belief, attempts are made to build up all kinds of permanent Peace Societies, Anti-War Organizations, Leagues Against War, etc.

TO END WAR WE MUST REMOVE CAUSE

This kind of attitude is about as effective as it would be for doctors to treat the high fever in acute appendicitis by putting the patient in an ice-box. The only way actually to get rid of the high fever is to remove the cause of the fever—that is, to take out the diseased appendix. The same thing is true for war: the only way to get rid of war is to remove the cause of war.

Putting screens around the rotting supports of a building will not improve its foundations. It will, in fact, do just the opposite—it will divert people's attention from the need for new foundations, and therefore make it all the more likely that the building will collapse.

War is not the cause of the troubles of society. The opposite is true. War is a symptom and result of the irreconcilable troubles and conflicts of the present form of society, that is to say, of capitalism. The only way to fight against war is to fight against the causes of war. Since the causes of war are part of the inner nature of capitalism, it follows that the only way to fight against war is to fight against capitalism. But the only true fight against capitalism is the revolutionary struggle for workers' power.

It therefore follows that the only possible struggle AGAINST war is the struggle FOR the workers' revolution. Marxists must be absolutely clear on this point. There is no "separate" or "special" struggle against war. The struggle against war cannot be divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the workers so far as, in their historical implications, these lead toward workers' power. No one can uphold capitalism—whether directly, as an open adherent of the capitalists, or indirectly, from any shade of liberal or reformist position—and fight against war, because capitalism means war. Only a revolutionist can fight against war, because only a revolutionist takes the road to the overthrow of capitalism.

To suppose, therefore, that revolutionists can work out a common program "against war" with non-revolutionists is a disastrous illusion.

Any organization based upon such a program is not merely powerless to prevent war; in practice it acts to promote war, both because it serves in its own way to uphold the system that breeds war, and because it diverts the attention of its members from the real fight against war. There is only one program against war: the program for revolution—the program of the revolutionary party of the workers.

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY WILL END CONTRADICTIONS

The workers' revolution can and will eliminate war because, by white master. To accomplish his objective Washington bowed to all of the prejudices of the bourgeois South. Knowledge of the peculiar problems of the wage earners has never been taught in either Tuskegee or Hampton. They specialize in the philosophy of the white master class.

Although the Negro Business League was practically a failure by 1900 the false philosophy of Booker T. Washington's "education" still penetrates large sections of the Negro masses and must be eradicated before large sections of Negro workers in the South will enter the ranks of organized labor in a struggle to annihilate capitalism.

overthrowing capitalist economy and supplanting capitalism with a socialist economy. It will remove the causes of war. Under socialism there will no longer exist the basic contradictions that lead to war. The expansion of the means of production, under the ownership and control of society as a whole, will proceed in accordance with a rational plan adjusted to the needs of the members of society. Socialism will remove the limits on consumption, and hence permit the scientific and controlled development of production. Thus, under socialism, war will disappear because the causes of war will have been removed.

PEACE PLANS AND PACIFISM

Since this is the basic nature of the struggle against war, the attitude of a Marxist toward any "official" bourgeois "peace plans" is self-evident. The World Court, the Washington Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, the League of Nations, whatever their pretensions, are actually expressions of the irreconcilability of the imperialist conflicts.

Far from being instruments of peace, they are, in fact, part of the preparation for imperialist war, stamping grounds where the great powers can jockey for the most advantageous position for the start of open conflict. If at times they seem to settle a war situation "peacefully", this is only because the interest of the dominant powers is an immediate outbreak. Postponement serves only to assure a greater conflagration when the time comes. They serve, in point of fact, as additional means whereby the great powers can carry out their imperialist aims.

This is above all true of the League of Nations, which was formed to preserve the Versailles Settlement (that is, formed as an instrument of aggression against, and subjugation of, the defeated nations) and as a part of imperialist unity against the post-war revolutionary drive of the workers, and which is utilized now to maintain French hegemony on Continental Europe and the world position of France and England. How meaningless it is, is well enough illustrated by the withdrawal of Germany and Japan at the first real issue.

The League will keep peace as long as peace is to the interests of the powers that control the League. It is into this den of imperialist robbers (as Lenin called it) that Stalinism has led the Workers' State!

But if Marxists must separate their position sharply from official bourgeois peace plans, they must distinguish themselves no less clearly from all forms of pacifism. The revolutionary struggle against war—the struggle for workers' power—is at an opposite pole from pacifism. A Marxist is against any and every war undertaken by the capitalist state of course, just as the Marxist is the implacable enemy of the capitalist state—the political representative of the class enemy—on every occasion.

But it is the business of the Marxist, upon the outbreak of imperialist war, to work to turn that war into a class war, a war of the masses under the leadership of the working class for the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the rule of the working class.

Likewise, it is the business of the Marxist to support actively the revolts of colonies against their imperialist oppressors, and the uprisings of all oppressed and exploited races and nations, since these are directed against the power of the imperialist states—just as he supports strikes and any other manifestations directed against the capitalist class or its government.

War is not an abstraction; wars are a social institution, concrete historical phenomena. The final aim of Marxists includes the elimination of wars of all kinds. But they know that this can be accomplished only through one particular kind of war—the class war—since only through the class war can capitalism be overthrown and the causes of war thereby removed. This requirement is due not to the wishes of Marxists but to the actual historical situation.

PACIFISM AIDS WAR

Marxists must, therefore, expose and seek to prevent all kinds and forms of pacifism—all theories and organizations, that is, based on a mere "anti-war" program.

Pacifism is not merely powerless against war—since it is not based on genuine social organization nor a clear analysis of the causes of war. In practice it aids war: by spreading illusions about the nature of war and the fight against it; by shifting the energies of honest opponents of war to a fictitious fight against it; by sugar-coating the realities of capitalist society and thus making them—including war—more palatable; by subordinating the working class to middle class individuals and ideas; by preparing the betrayal of the masses in the next war, when outstanding pacifist leaders will decide in the crisis that this war is different from the last war, that it is for democracy, culture, God, or what not—and call for support of the government.

No, the pacifist way is not the way to fight war. In the struggle against war, properly understood, every militant demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, every step in the workers' advance to power, is worth a thousand Peace Leagues.

Long Waits, Small Benefits Feature of Insurance Bills

By HUGO OEHLER

The post-war period has witnessed the rise of a permanent army of millions of unemployed workers in the leading capitalist nations. One after the other, these countries have been forced to adopt some form of unemployment and social insurance. The last to even consider, let alone adopt an unemployment insurance plan, is the United States. Although unemployment for the last four years has fluctuated around 16 million, the States and the Federal Government and the bosses have tried to keep unemployed relief on the basis of charity. They have attempted to ignore it as a social problem.

But the prolonged crisis, the failure of all relief measures, the failure to stimulate industry through government subsidy and the increased mass pressure of the working class has at last forced the capitalists and their government to consider the question of unemployment insurance. They hope to give a few crumbs as possible, accompanied with a press campaign that creates the impression that Social Security is at hand.

If concessions must be given—then give a fake unemployment insurance plan. That seems to be the slogan. The bosses hope, thereby, to hold off more important concessions, such as the six-hour day and the five-day week with no reduction in pay.

They Call It Insurance

The various plans of the bosses and their government revolve around bills which, when passed mean nothing to the workers. These bills have long waiting periods, short periods in which the relief is given, small and inadequate amounts of benefits with discriminating clauses, to be administered by the bosses, with many of the working class excluded, and funds to be obtained through a tax on the workers or the employers and the employees. Relief in name, but not in fact!

A few of the many plans are the Wisconsin Act, the Bill proposed by the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, the William Green Plan, the Wagner-Lewis Bill, the Roosevelt Plan and the Lundeen Bill.

With the exception of the Lundeen Bill, the plans are attempts to side track real unemployment insurance. The Wisconsin and Wagner-Lewis Plan and the William Green Plan endeavor to obtain the funds from the employers, but these bills have so many clauses that they nullify the better sections that they are inadequate to say the least. All three bills exclude many classes of workers. The Wisconsin plan is for industrial workers only. All three plans have long periods of

A year of Struggle in France

February 6 will mark exactly one year since the political crisis that changed profoundly the course of the class struggle in France. On that date, utilizing as a pretext the Stavisky scandal that had stirred the masses to the depths, the forces of reaction accomplished by a coup d'état the overthrow of the "radical" socialist government of Daladier and its replacement by force by the Doumergue government. The rioting of the reactionaries on February 6 was answered by the tremendous demonstrations of the working class in the week following.

But the Doumergue government, aided by the capitulation of the petty bourgeois parties, remained in power and proceeded to establish a dictatorial, anti-parliamentary regime. Doumergue, attempting to prepare the way for fascism more rapidly than class forces would permit, was in turn voted out of power by the attenuated parliamentary regime still existing, and his prototype Plaudin took office as premier. Plaudin carries out the function of opening the road to fascism.

The United Front

The course of events, the imminent menace of fascism, aroused among the masses a strong sentiment for militant action. The lessons of Germany and Austria were too near at hand for the workers

to permit a reactionary victory without strong resistance. By the pressure of the masses the two major working class parties—the Socialist and the Communist—were compelled to enter into a united front to combat fascism. The Communist League of France (Trotskyists) threw its forces into the French Socialist Party in order to exert its influence in the united front to counteract the opportunist policies of the bureaucracies of the two parties by proposing and fighting for revolutionary policies leading towards the defeat of fascism and the taking of power by the working class.

Alliance with the Bourgeoisie

The policies pursued by the leaders of the two parties in the united front have tended not to lead the masses in militant struggle, but on the contrary to lull them into inaction. Both bureaucracies, starting with a non-aggression pact not to criticize each other at all, are unwilling to aim at establishing workers' power—the only method of defeating fascism. Instead, the two leaderships prefer to uphold bourgeois democracy, the one because of its entire nature historically, the other due to the needs of Soviet diplomacy to maintain the French military alliance.

Recently the Communists took the initiative in adding to the united front the Radicals and the Radical-Socialists, both parties of the petty bourgeoisie. The Socialist Party, taking its cue from the C.P., has accepted this situation without much opposition. This is the surest way to give the victory to the reactionary forces and to bring about the bloody defeat of the proletariat. Under the guise of the common interests of the youth, the Young Communists of one Paris District have actually held meetings in common with the fascists organized in the Patriotic Youth.

The Anniversary

The French masses are waiting expectantly for February 6. It is possible that the fascist Croix de Feu and Francistes and other organizations may attempt, as they have threatened, to demonstrate their power anew on this date. This would undoubtedly bring a fresh current of struggle and resistance into the ranks of the proletariat. Unless the workers are aroused from the apathy into which they seem, on the surface, to have sunk in recent months, fascism may march forward at faster pace. The recent riots at Chartres give the first signs of renewed street battles which will take on a wider mass character in the days to come.

Sugar Workers Strike in Porto Rico

A dramatic strike movement grips the island of Porto Rico, where the colonial slaves of Wall Street have again rebelled. The sugar plantation workers were the first to strike. One by one the majority of the sugar centers of the island have been paralyzed. Stevedores and truck drivers have struck in solidarity with the plantation workers. The movement is marked by great militancy: canfields are being burned; clashes between workers and scabs are hourly occurrences; many arrests have been made. On Jan. 19 six boats operated by scabs were scuttled. Finding the forces of capital and the colonial administration pitted against them, the strikers resorted to sabotage as a weapon of struggle.

The great number of strikes that have swept the Caribbean area since the outbreak of the Cuban revolution 18 months ago, indicates the increasing radicalization and organization of these toilers in Wall Street's colonial domain. The United Fruit Company's banana workers in Costa Rica and Colombia have been active and at the present moment, which is the period of the sugar harvest, the sugar workers of Cuba, Mexico and Veracruz are striking hard blows against their exploiters. The major weakness of the movements is the lack of coordination between labor in these countries.

Greater unity of action between the workers of the various countries is essential for victory.

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WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationalisms—M. Shachtman.

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THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

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MORRIS MILGRAM

Student League for Industrial

Democracy

ROGER BALDWIN

Chairman, American Civil

Liberties Union

LUIGI ANTONINI

First Vice-Pres., International

Ladies Garment Workers Union

CARLO TRESCA

Editor, Il Martello

FELIX MORROW

Sec'y, Provisional Committee for

Non-Partisan Labor Defense

HEYWOOD BROWN, Celebrated Columnist

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 8 P.M.

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE, 205 East 67th Street, N. Y. C.

Admission: Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

NEW MILITANT

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Roosevelt Program

If the workers needed any further evidence that the Roosevelt program is for the bosses and against the workers, the Social Security bill now before Congress promises such evidence in overwhelming abundance. Four billion dollars is to be appropriated for public works to be carried out under the President's personal and exclusive direction. Thus three and a half billion are to be taken off the relief rolls and put to work. We submit the following damning indictment of this program:

1. It makes scabs of those who take jobs under it. The President talks openly of paying \$50 per month, about \$11 per week, on these jobs. As a matter of fact, not enough money is being appropriated to pay that much. In many cases, therefore, especially outside the biggest cities, men and women will get as little as \$5 per week. This constitutes scabbing on the standard of the entire American working class.

2. By the same token, the program means the pauperization of the entire working class, while profits pile up in the hands of a few who are enabled by the grace of Roosevelt to luxuriate in Florida again as they did in the good old days of the Coolidge-Hoover boom.

3. Roosevelt is made a dictator over the lives of millions and enabled to proceed with building a mighty political machine.

4. Since no specific provision is made as to what the money is to be spent for, it will enable Roosevelt (i.e., the American imperialists) to go ahead with a big naval and military program.

Let the unemployed organize to fight the Roosevelt scabbery Panzerization Program. Let them demand the 30-hour week and \$30 weekly wage on all jobs. Let the employed workers, the unions, the farmers, the masses everywhere support the unemployed in

this fight!
Abject poverty, utter slavery, will be the lot of all unless the Roosevelt program is killed!

Hearst and the Bosses

WILLIAM Randolph Hearst is crusading against the "Reds" for the protection of his interests, his newspaper monopolies, his California barony and the honor of his movie queen.

The steel companies are fighting the "Reds" for the protection of their interests, their company unions, their untrammelled freedom to exploit labor and their right of making as much profit as possible with as little return as possible.

Michael Tighe, in common with all of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, is fighting the "Reds" in the steel unions for the protection of his interests, his right of controlling the union as he sees fit, his determination to avoid any kind of militancy even if it means the destruction of the union.

The "Reds" are the common denominator, the universal bogey for all these interests. Here is the proof.

The Duquesne Times, organ of the Carnegie Steel Company of Duquesne, Pa., reprints a Red-baiting editorial from the Hearst Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph with this note:

"The following article should be published in every loyal newspaper in the United States. And if results are not favorable communities should adopt the same method that for a time was in vogue in the early history of California. There are plenty of vacant trees, and hemp these days can readily be produced." (Duquesne Times, Friday, Jan. 4, 1935.)

The Journal of the Amalgamated Steel Workers in its last issue publishes an editorial aimed against the "Progressive" movement in the union. It charges the movement with being a communist affair and calls on all workers to "stamp out the reds in your locals".

In the one case the steel bosses are fighting the steel workers, calling them "Reds", trying to create a lynch psychology against them. In the case of Tighe, he is fighting the more militant steel workers, trying to create a lynch psychology against them by calling them "Reds".

In both cases, William Randolph Hearst supplies the philosophy and the ammunition.

That is how "Red" becomes the name of every worker who fights exploitation and labor-fakers. As one of the Jones and Laughlin Mill steel workers expressed it:

"When they call us 'Reds' it only means that we are not dummies. When the steel bosses yell 'Red' it means that we are asking for union recognition. When Tighe yells 'Red' it means that we are fighting for union democracy. So why should we kick? That's what we are doing, isn't it? And the more they yell, the more we're going to do it!"

THE PARTY AT WORK

THE TOLEDO BRANCH

The Toledo branch is carrying out a program of action of its own.

This program was not formulated in exact terms on paper, but in real life every action undertaken brings the branch forward ever more as a distinctly leading political force in the class struggle.

In many respects it constitutes a model of an active party branch.

In all important labor events our comrades are in the forefront, not merely in the sense of a unit taking its post collectively. And the important thing is that results are obtained.

Take, for example, the recent relief actions of the Wood County Workers and Farmers.

Strenuous efforts were made by the authorities to isolate our comrades who were in the leadership, and to single them out for special punishment. They did not succeed, because our comrades had made themselves a completely integral part of the movement and the determined reply: "If one goes to jail, we all go to jail," won the day. Not only did the attempts to single out for special punishment fail, but the demonstration settled some of the grievances that were pending.

After the demonstration the branch members took an inventory. How was the trial conducted by the defendants? Had they been sufficiently effective in their testimony? Was the demonstration sufficiently well organized to bring out the collective will of the participants and the full force of their unity of action? These subjects were analyzed. Lessons were drawn that will serve for action in the future.

The Toledo branch is prompt in reporting every event, the trade union progress in the city, the strikes and the position taken by the branch. With these comrades, the latter is not merely a theoretical question. What the Toledo branch says and does has important bearing on the course of the general movement there. Branch members continue to be the leading militants in practically all union actions.

The Auto-Lite union is gaining strength and has adopted a distinctly progressive course. Long ago the reactionaries, Ramsey and Bosler, were eliminated from office.

Mike Tighe and his reactionary administration is in control of the central union apparatus. He has turned thumbs down on the conference. He will certainly attempt to strike a deadly blow at the progressives. Would it not be reasonable to assume that in a choice between this administration and the progressives the whole of the A. F. of L. officialdom, when called upon, will support Tighe against the latter, and reinforce the weight of the blow? Certainly, that can be expected, and it can be met effectively only through the power of organization.

We suggest, therefore, that the very first duty that the progressives owe to the union and to the steel workers is to organize themselves as a separate and distinct force within the union and each member of this movement accept the discipline imposed by majority decisions.

This organization should extend throughout the local lodges with a progressive group organized in every lodge. Naturally this would require that the progressive movement establish a medium of publicity and propaganda, to win the union and build it up to embrace all workers in every steel mill in the country.

To understand what this means, it is necessary only to refer back to the Auto-Lite strike of last summer. It enjoys prestige in the general movement because the workers know that when it promises support in a struggle it also carries it out with telling effect. Our comrades have proven themselves to the unions as a political force, capable of charting a correct course and winning victories.

By committing themselves to this point of view on Section 7a, the labor boards sealed their own doom. They would have to be scrapped, so the Administration became convinced. For the time being, it would now appear, the strike wave has exhausted itself (although forces are still at work in iron and steel, automobile manufacturing and cotton textile which may soon lead to new blowups). In the belief that the strike movement will continue on the decline, the Administration is preparing to get rid of the boards, a useless luxury, which at the same time, spoil the works. The President's Jennings ruling is the first step in that direction.

NEW STRIKE-BREAKING LEGISLATION

Suppose, however, that the drive for labor self-organization breaks through the straitjacket of the National Run Around. What then? The most likely move is that an effort will be made to replace Section 7a by new legislation calling for the compulsory arbitration of strikes. The mask of voluntary partnership between labor, management and government will be dropped, the brutal truth of capitalist coercion will reveal itself full-face. The labor boards will be divorced from their powers (on paper) of telling anti-union employers how to behave, and will be restricted in function to one task alone: suppressing direct working class action. The necessary laws are already being formulated by draftsmen official and unofficial. They will be launched as soon as expedient, under the smoke-screen, no doubt, of amending and perpetuating Section 7a.

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A Bold Policy for Progressives in Steel

Retreat Before Tighe Would be Fatal - Militants Must Organize Their Forces to Unionize Industry

THE call for a conference, issued by the progressive district leaders of the steel workers' union, to be held in Pittsburgh Feb. 3, is an act of significance. Much depends upon what this conference decides to do. No doubt it represents a culmination of resentment produced by a whole series of grievances that found no satisfactory solution, neither through the appeals made to the National Steel Labor Relations Board nor from any action of the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and Co. The necessity for this conference therefore grows out of the situation under which the steel workers live and work.

The rank and file steel workers demand action. They want a union that can serve as an effective weapon of battle against the powerful and rapacious steel trust. A serious responsibility rests on the progressives who have taken the leadership in organizing this conference.

This leadership has acquired many excellent attributes, but it suffers from weaknesses and shortcomings. Now it is called upon to propose a solution of the grievances of the rank and file and to blaze the trail for a union that can speak in the terms of power—the only terms understood and recognized by the steel barons.

We feel that this progressive leadership will welcome suggestions merited by the experiences of the class struggle. Therefore, we venture these suggestions.

Organize Progressive Forces

Up to this moment the progressive forces have fought for their ideas and conducted their activities entirely through the officially recognized union machinery, proceeding in the main from their entrenched positions in the districts. This has served as a source of strength and enabled them to enlist widespread support from the union membership. But it has also led to certain weaknesses, owing to the fact that they lack cohesion, the discipline and above all the organization of a separate and distinct course.

Mike Tighe and his reactionary administration is in control of the central union apparatus. He has turned thumbs down on the conference. He will certainly attempt to strike a deadly blow at the progressives. Would it not be reasonable to assume that in a choice between this administration and the progressives the whole of the A. F. of L. officialdom, when called upon, will support Tighe against the latter, and reinforce the weight of the blow? Certainly, that can be expected, and it can be met effectively only through the power of organization.

We suggest, therefore, that the very first duty that the progressives owe to the union and to the steel workers is to organize themselves as a separate and distinct force within the union and each member of this movement accept the discipline imposed by majority decisions.

This organization should extend throughout the local lodges with a progressive group organized in every lodge. Naturally this would require that the progressive movement establish a medium of publicity and propaganda, to win the union and build it up to embrace all workers in every steel mill in the country.

A Bold Policy

To build the union as a fighting weapon it is necessary to have a bold policy and carry it out courageously. Bean-shooters are of no avail. No reliance can be placed on the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Clarence Irwin, pres-

ident of District No. 6 of the Amalgamated Association, pointed this out in a recent issue of the Progressive Steel Worker. He said that any program for organizing the steel workers which is less than an industry-wide movement is worse than futile.

An aggressive national campaign of organization is long overdue. The favorable moment may disappear. The A. F. of L. should be called upon to make good its promise and support a campaign of organization financially. But to leave the direction of this campaign to Green and his lieutenants would be no better than to leave it to Grandmother Tighe.

Financial support from the A. F. of L. should be conditioned upon the districts of the Amalgamated Association selecting its own organizers, the activities of organizers to be supervised by the districts. The Tighe administration has proven itself unfit for this. Needless to say, adjustments should be made in initiation fees, etc., to make it possible for all workers to join the union.

A National Strike

A campaign of organization inevitably brings forward the question of a nation-wide strike to win union recognition. Piece meal efforts will not do. But a nation-wide strike in the steel industry is a gigantic task. It cannot be posed lightly-mindedly or faced without the most serious preparation and leadership. Nor will it do to back down in the manner that happened last summer. Another such back-down would stop the union progress and growth for a long time to come.

Leadership in organization and preparation for a nation-wide strike can come only from the progressives. It requires instant attention. The steel trust will not grant union recognition willingly and it will not be granted by mere appeals based upon the NRA. Organization and preparation for a strike must be approached in terms of power—the power the workers have when they are united to wield it.

Powerful Allies

Organization of the steel industry is a key question for the whole American trade union movement. The steel workers have powerful, potential allies. A serious struggle in steel would have widespread repercussions in many unions and would secure untold support.

The coal miners union is directly affected by the present open-shop move that the steel trust is attempting to enforce in the captive mines. The progressive steel workers should pursue a policy looking toward the establishment of a firm alliance with the coal miners. In our opinion an appeal should go out from the headquarters of the Amalgamated Association calling upon the coal miners' union to make common cause with the steel workers in a nation-wide strike for recognition of the steel union and for the granting of its demands, together with recognition of the miners' union in the captive mines.

This appeal should also go out from the districts of the A.A. to the districts of the miners union and it should be followed up by an intense agitation among the rank and file coal miners. From the miners an effective response is certain when they are properly approached.

Unemployed Allies

Among the potential allies of the steel workers, count also the unemployed organizations. The jobless workers realize that they must make common cause with the unions in their struggles. Look at the effective manner the unemployed workers have helped on the picket line in recent strikes. A call from the A. A. to the unemployed organizations in the steel territories to help prevent scabbing, and to assist on the picket lines, would produce results. We have no doubt that the unemployed organizations themselves would lose no time, as soon as prospects of a strike appeared, in preparing their own members to lend all possible cooperation.

Retreat is Fatal

Above all, however, it is necessary to recognize now, in the problems that the steel workers' union now faces, that any retreat would be fatal. No further vacillations should be tolerated.

It is time to have done with the treacherous, bureaucratic schemes of the Tighe administration. It is necessary to recognize that none of the demands of the steel workers, and that the actual building of the union, cannot be accomplished without direct, persistent struggle against the Tighe administration as well as against the steel trust.

The Tighe administration has thrown down the gauntlet to the progressives. It is up to them to pick it up and to make it a fight to the finish, to clean this whole administration out of office. This is an absolute prerequisite of a powerful steel workers' union.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHEERMAN

TITLE CONTEST

A number of readers have entered the contest for a new title for this column. The contest ends Feb. 15. We print below a few of the titles received, and then turn the column over to Bill Reich of Allentown, with the suggestion that if he continues contributions of this standard, the column shall have not only a new title but an additional conductor.

Suggested Titles

First a letter from M.B.: "Comrade Sherman: As to your headless column: Mopping Up, Mopping Up on the News, If You Ask Me, So They Say. Or, in the European revolutionary-literary tradition: Banging on the Teapot. Or, Coffee-Clutch. Or, What the Hell. Yours, M.B."

Other titles received: Punch Lines, Bull's Eye, PlainSpeakin', In the Light, Have You Heard? What Next?, Clouds and Reality, Disinfecting the News, Debunking the News, Seven Days, Exposures, and many others. Please rush your suggestions.

NATIONAL JIG SAW

Bill Reich Broadcasting

Dr. S. A. Stauffer of the University of Wisconsin in a recent investigation found that 15 percent more babies are born to families on relief than to those not on relief.

... In the U.S. the annual bill for contraceptive exceeds \$25,000,000. ... The Cotton Garment Code sets a minimum wage of \$13 per week. ... The Pennsylvania Bureau of Women and Children finds the average wage in that industry to be \$10.25 per week with 15 percent of the workers receiving less than \$5 per week. ... Code administrators in New Jersey receive as high as \$12,000 annually. ... The Pecan Shelling Code, which affects 15,000 workers, sets a minimum of \$8 for a 40 hour week. ... Forty six men had incomes in excess of \$1,000,000 in 1933. ...

Sixty bishops sign a petition opposing the payment of the soldiers' bonus. ... Crippled soldier failed for yelling "Give us the bonus" as President Roosevelt's heavily guarded car sped by. ... Medieval whipping post installed in Wilmington, Delaware. ... No prison walls are needed for 12,000 prisoners at Magnitogorsk, Soviet steel town. ...

Henry Ford says: "Those homeless boys, those boys riding around in box cars. Why is the best education in the world for those boys, that traveling around. They get more experience in a few months than they would in years in school." ... Young boy with torn tunic taken to hospital from Allentown Transient Shelter after being attacked by pervers. ... Transients in Minot, N. D. are forced to work improving the Country Club golf course at \$1 per week. ...

"Labor Shortage Bared by NRA" headlines the New York World Telegram. ... American Federation of Labor estimates the jobless at 14,525,000. ... Child Welfare League of America recommends 27 cents per child per day as a minimum food allowance for orphans in institutions. ... Duke Endowment finds an average of 10 cents per day food allowance for children in Negro orphanages. ... Dukhobair girls imprisoned for going nude have been reformed by giving them movie magazines, says prison matron. ... A nudist colony is the most popular spot in Hollywood, according to press report. ... Winthrop Aldrich, millionaire director of Chase National Bank, urges the elimination of work relief in favor of direct relief. ... Direct relief in Oklahoma averages \$2.53 per family per month. ...

William Randolph Hearst's pet elephants, camels, kangaroos, etc. in his private zoo at San Simeon cost over \$100,000 per year to maintain. ... Jobs on relief are urged by authorities to get rid of pets that consume part of the family food allowance. ... The election in the Saar plebiscite cost in excess of \$3 per vote. ... Referring to those who voted against Hitlerizing the Saar, Herman Roehling, Nazi industrialist remarks, "We have promised not to do them harm, but we have not promised to do them any good!" ... Secretary Ickes, Department of the Interior, upon numerous occasions has said, "There will be no graft in the administration of funds under my control." ... House Democrats move to insert a provision barring Secretary Ickes from administering President Roosevelt's 4 billion dollar relief fund. ... "Secretary Ickes has not been courteous to congressmen," says one. ... "The unemployed, and large, are getting enough," says Harry Hopkins, administrator of relief. ... The Journal of Commerce estimates dividend payments for 1934 at \$6,340,000,000. ...

Father Coughlin says: "Labor should have a voice in the management and in the social conditions of the factory. I say you should have a voice, perhaps not the loudest voice. You shouldn't demand wages that are too high but a voice in the management that will enable more profits to be made." ...

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Across Country with Cannon, 'AJ'

(Continued from Page 1)

force. It looks like the next big achievement for Minneapolis.

A regular and a special meeting of the party branch, a party meeting well attended in spite of 30 below zero weather, a rousing banquet at which sympathizers contributed a substantial sum to the Party Foundation Fund, a meeting of several hundred students and faculty members of the University of Minnesota, a forum in St. Paul and another in Minneapolis, a meeting of the Northwest Unity Conference, the organization of militant unionists in these parts—these items contributed a part of the speaking schedule here! But as suggested above, the weather was cold and bracing, so we have survived.

In fact—we had better make it public lest the comrades conclude that Comrade Cannon and I have gone plutocratic or that the party has come into a fortune—we look like new men. Some of the trade unionists here clubbed together and fitted the two of us out with brand new suits, union label and all!

At the Branch E.C. meeting Sunday morning twelve new members were enrolled. It is expected that a party office will be opened soon. Our stay here ended as might have been expected in this region where one strike follows on the heels of another. Eight or ten of the comrades were in my room at midnight for a last chat. The telephone rang. Miles Dunne was

wanted. Fargo, N. D. was calling. Miles has organized the drivers there. They are on-strike for union recognition. The call was from a newspaper man in Fargo and conveyed the news that a few hours before the police force, which has sworn in 300 special deputies in that town of about 25,000 inhabitants, had appeared at union headquarters with warrants for Miles Dunne and two local leaders. The union men refused to open the doors and give up their leaders. So the police shot tear gas bombs through the windows, rounded up 94 strikers and threw them into jail. They did not arrest any of the women and children of whom a considerable number were in the hall. The warrants against Miles Dunne and the other leaders charge rioting and inciting to riot. Thus our gathering was transformed into a council of war. Strike and defense plans were mapped out.

The Workers Party, Local 574 and the other unions in Minneapolis, the organized farmers around Fargo, will get those drivers out of jail and call the bluff of the Fargo reactionaries who think that terrorism can stop the militant labor movement of the northwest. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense may be called upon to help.

CP Jeopardizes Liberty of 18

(Continued from Page 1)

honestly this conference can succeed only in accomplishing a further split. This separate conference is to be held Feb. 10.

Already several A. F. of L. progressives who were ready to respond to an honest call have indicated that they will attend no conference on Feb. 10. The general disgust which will result from the Stalinists' behavior will undoubtedly weaken the whole defense movement. The N.P.L.D., however, is carrying on, and will build a united front of all honest militant elements.

Thus far the N.P.L.D. has succeeded in taking two I.L.D. prisoners out of jail, in bringing into the case Albert Goldman whose legal capacity and excellent courtroom judgment is proving invaluable in this difficult case, in popularizing the case as a whole, and in forcing the I.L.D. into the open on its various sabotaging and disruptive policies. If other organizations continue to back up this fight, the defendants may yet see a mass movement behind them and not be left to the tender mercies of their capitalist enemies or their Stalinist "friends".

At this moment the N.P.L.D. is badly in need of funds to pay the expenses of Attorney Goldman and other bills incurred in the Sacramento work. Answer the disruption of the Stalinists with a contribution to the N.P.L.D.'s Sacramento defense funds. Despite and against Stalinism, throw your weight behind an honest, fighting defense movement.

FD Order Bodes New Legislation

(Continued from Page 1)

trap! Witness the Weirton strike, the Budd strike, the Harriman strike, et al.

Their best was hardly good enough, however, to cope with the recurring and persistent upsurge of militant labor. No matter how hard the boards sat on the lid, the pressure blew it off. Thus the San Francisco, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Toledo strikes, the captive mine and the national textile walkouts. But in the performance of strike-breaking, their chief function, the boards were diligent and conscientious.

Unfortunately for their continued existence, the two major boards—first, the National Labor Board, then the National Labor Relations Board—took Section 7a at face-value. They not only sought to suppress strikes, they also issued decisions, which if put into effect, would have compelled employers to recognize and deal with trade unions. But the employers simply ignored them and the government made not the slightest move toward enforcement.

By committing themselves to this point of view on Section 7a, the labor boards sealed their own doom. They would have to be scrapped, so the Administration became convinced. For the time being, it would now appear, the strike wave has exhausted itself (although forces are still at work in iron and steel, automobile manufacturing and cotton textile which may soon lead to new blowups). In the belief that the strike movement will continue on the decline, the Administration is preparing to get rid of the boards, a useless luxury, which at the same time, spoil the works. The President's Jennings ruling is the first step in that direction.

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MASS MEETING

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary, Workers Party of the U.S.

WILL SPEAK ON

Coming Gigantic Strike Struggles In Steel -- Auto -- Rubber

Comrade Muste who is at present touring the mid-West, has studied the situation at first hand. He has met and conferred with the leaders of last year's great labor struggles in these regions.

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NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

VOL. I NO. 9

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1935

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Roosevelt Kicks Bill Green Downstairs

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

Labor Bureaucrats Howl as Roosevelt Disregards Auto Union

By JACK EIDER
WASHINGTON. — For once in their lives, the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. spoke the plain and simple truth when they howled that the newest version of the automobile code had been "imposed" not on the employers, but on the workers.

Did the President consult with organized labor before extending the code, for the third time, without the formal pretense of a public hearing?

He acted as if the Labor Advisory Board—executive arm of the A. F. of L.—simply did not exist.

Did the President accept the advice and counsel of his National Industrial Recovery Board?

By a vote of 5 to 2 the Board recommended that the code be scrapped rather than renewed on the basis proposed by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association.

Did the President ponder upon the joint report submitted by his two disinterested experts, Messrs. Henderson (Research and Planning) and Lubin (Bureau of Labor Statistics)?

Their report, he blithely informed the press at large, had been "lost" in the shuffle of papers on his desk.

One readily sympathizes with the A. F. of L. leaders in their discomfiture and dismay. But what on earth did Mr. Green and Co. expect? They had their chance to assert the claims of labor in the automobile industry last March when the rank-and-file workers were pressing for a nation-wide strike.

Faced to face with the threat of direct mass action, the President wavered in decision, the A. F. of L. leader so well, assisted by Green's stupid betrayal, that the workers have been groaning ever since under the burden of works councils, proportional representation, and the ineffable Wolman Board. Rather than drop the class collaboration ideal (that famous partnership among management, government and labor) the A. F. of L. leaders sold out the strike. They entered the agreement of March 25, 1934, with their eyes wide open, fully aware that the President's settlement meant a complete tactical route for the United Automobile Workers.

Thanks to that sell-out by its leaders, the A. F. of L. has lost most of the power which it once commanded among the robots whom General Motors, Chrysler and Ford find it convenient to employ. Today the federal unions in the automobile industry are pitifully weak, low in membership, downcast in morale, torn by internal strife, the theatre of a bureaucratic scramble for offices and emoluments.

The President, after all, is a consummate master of Realpolitik. Why should he pay the least attention to a negligible quantity? Why should he disturb himself for the benefit of a ghost?

We can leave Green and Co. to their agonies. They have the capacity to discover, but not to learn. What is more important, is that the rank and file workers should profit from the lesson. They have nothing to rely on but organization and force. They can organize what is worth fighting for, only when they are ready and able to fight for it.

There is no hope for them in the New Deal's professions of belief in "social justice," "economic planning" and the "redistribution of wealth and income." There is still less hope for them if they trust to Messrs. Green, Collins, Dillon, etc. And by fooling around with the apparatus of official labor boards, they merely paralyze their ability to strike.

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Business Manager

Fantastic Evidence Used by State in Labor Trial

SACRAMENTO, Feb. 4.—Most of this week's session of the trial of 17 defendants charged with criminal syndicalism has been taken up with testimony and cross examination of 70-year old William Hanks, stool pigeon hired last April by Prosecutor McAllister to frame-up the union.

The prosecution's attempt to make capital out of Hanks' fantastic claims that he had been driven out of Sacramento in September at the point of a gun by persons he believed to be communists was turned into a farce by Hanks' thick-witted remarks.

Hanks declared he "didn't think it was necessary" to notify police that he had been intimidated. Asked why he didn't telegraph local authorities of his plight when he reached Omaha, Nebraska, Hanks replied: "Well, there's communists there, too." He decided, he said, to stay out of town because there "was a big communist convention in Sacramento September 20, and I didn't know but that I might be hurt."

More Defendants Bailed

Five defendants bailed out on Thursday by the International Labor Defense. Only one defendant had been previously bailed out by the I.L.D. It was only after the Non-Partisan Labor Defense had bailed out two of the chief defendants, Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, and was about to bail out Nora Conklin, that the I.L.D. bailed five out, including Conklin. The prisoners had been in jail over six months. Eight others, including industrialist Donald Blochman, are still in jail. The funds loaned to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for Conklin were earmarked for her and were withdrawn.

George Hedley, director of the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, has sent a letter to the Western Worker, protesting its lies about the break-up of the union front last Saturday. The C. P. broke up the united front by repudiating the call for a conference signed on January 21 by the Socialist party of California, the Workers party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Communist party, the I.L.D., with Hedley as chairman. Instead the C.P. laid down as an ultimatum that the only call for the conference must be an earlier one issued by the I.L.D. and signed only by four C.P.-controlled organizations, none of them unions.

All the non-communist organizations are continuing in their efforts to build a campaign of organized labor to save the Sacramento defendants.

MASS MEETINGS BUILD P.A. UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—New locals of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League in Allegheny County are forming rapidly as a result of mass meetings being held all over Greater Pittsburgh. The P.U.L. is waging war on a relief cut.

This cut was hidden behind a change from the despised commodity relief system to cash relief, for which the P.U.L. has been fighting for three long years. By arbitrarily establishing a lower "budgetary deficiency" standard, the relief administration is now able to send the average family a weekly check of \$2.50.

Want Plenty? Nice, Easy Secret Way--Its Utopian

Would you be able to use about \$15,000 a year? To be got by a secret, mysterious process?

The Utopian Society, Incorporated, can tell you how--almost. The Utopians want to change the economic set-up of the United States and end poverty.

They make it easy. All you do is just realize that plenty is possible and swear allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. You are then given a mystic number to be known by—7 by 123 by 7a—and asked to bring your friends. Everyone raises his right hand to the American flag, tucked on the wall in a room with the blinds down, and swears to support the Constitution. The ritual is respectable. You are even blindfolded by a lady. A Voice speaks from behind a screen. Whispers. Mystery. Awe. It's done! The Utopian movement has jumped forward again by leaps and bounds.

Not Enough Flags
The effort to end poverty the easy way may be retarded, however, for there are not factories to make enough flags. The Chambers of Commerce and the American Legion must have flags. Also the bankers and industrialists are hot for flags. But the cotton industry should boom, and that may help. Serious-

Judge's Trick Approved by Union Leaders

Stay of Injunction Gains Time for Bosses in Waterfront Fight

The battle of the New York truckmen and longshoremen against the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association has just begun. Last week's one day rank and file strike forced Justice Humphrey to postpone decision on the threatened injunction restraining collaboration of the two unions until this Tuesday. The injunction as finally handed down contains a stay until an appeal can be made in March to the Appellate Division.

This stay grants absolutely nothing to the truckmen. It is nothing more than a trick to give the merchants and shippers time to mobilize against the union; to save the face of the union leaders, Cashal and Ryan by giving them a breathing space between now and March, and to postpone action until the attacks of the bosses, by the trickery of the union leaders, and by the long wait, the uncertainty and confusion attendant on an appeal. The stay will not prevent for a moment the wholesale laying off of union truckmen which has been going on for the last month, under the mere promise of an injunction.

A Lousy Plot
The terms under which the stay was granted reveal the whole lousy plot. "It is to be operative," said the New York Times, "only during the good behavior of the defendants."

Under the terms of a gentlemen's agreement the plaintiffs agree not to enlarge their non-union personnel and the unions agree not to molest non-union crews already at work.

What a farce! The stay on the injunction remains in force so long as the bosses refrain from firing union men. If they fire union men the stay is inoperative and the injunction comes into force.

What a Victory!
If the merchants try to break the union the court will "punish" them by enforcing the injunction! In other words the court says to the merchants, "You mustn't take that easily, because if you do take it, we will give it to you." This is what Lyons, secretary of the Joint Council, Joe Ryan, president of the I.L.A., and MacGuire, attorney for the unions all hail as a victory sufficient to warrant calling off the strike.

To quote Joe Ryan—"The most pleasing part of the stay is that while it prevents us from making any demonstration until the appeal is heard, it also guarantees that the practice of discharging union employees will have to be stopped in the interim."

What is Ryan pleased about? He is pleased that the rank and file is prevented from demonstrating. He is pleased that the merchants have "guaranteed" not to discharge union employees, by the "guarantee" of the very injunction they applied for.

The bosses and the union leaders are following exactly the same tactics which broke the auto strike, which broke the steel strike; the tactics of hesitation, compromise and deception. Instead of the usual phony "impartial" board, like the auto board, the "impartial" Appellate Court is the machine used to crush the strike and break the union.

The truckmen and longshoremen's unions are in the greatest danger. Unless a broad rank and file movement, well organized, is started, headed toward a militant strike, regardless of all the legal maneuvers of the bosses and the unions' leaders, a strike set and called to throw the whole question of injunctions, stays, "gentlemen's agreements" out of the window, the unions will be smashed.

Truckmen! Longshoremen! Act now, or you are lost.

The Department of Agriculture, so reports run, has just discovered that the A.A.A. program is divorcing thousands of share-croppers from the soil.

An army of special agents has been sent into the field (Arkansas and other states) to go through the motions of "investigation and adjustment."

As never, the Department of Agriculture suspects that something has gone wrong with the program to make it bear so heavily on the poorer of the tenant farmers.

Mass Meeting Calls Hearst Labor Enemy

Audience of 2,500 Indicts Millionaire Publisher and Red-Baiter

William Randolph Hearst, multi-millionaire publisher, arch-jingoist, and friend of all munitions makers, was indicted as "Labor Enemy No. 1" in a statement unanimously adopted by 2,500 workers, students and friends of labor at an anti-Hearst meeting at the Central Opera House, New York, last Sunday. The meeting was called by the provisional committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Speakers included labor leaders, college professors, noted liberals and heads of student organizations who had been assailed in the Hearst press for "subversive activities". They denounced the "stool-pigeon" campaign Hearst has been waging against them, made clear the anti-labor, anti-culture character and purpose of his attacks, showed clearly his pro-Nazi and pro-Mussolini sympathies and revealed him as the prime mover and instigator in the prosecution of the 17 labor leaders in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial.

Among the speakers were Professor Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Professor James Burnham, professor of philosophy, both of New York University, Professor George S. Counts, professor of education, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Luigi Antonini, vice president of the International Ladies' Guild, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; Heywood Brown, newspaper columnist; Morris Milgram and Monroe Sweetland, organizers of the Student League for Industrial Democracy; Carlo Trevello, anti-Fascist editor of Il Mattino; Felix Morrow, secretary of the provisional committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. George Novack of the provisional committee was chairman.

Telegrams of greetings were read from two of the Sacramento prisoners, Jack Warnick and Norman Mil.

The "indictment" passed at the meeting read, in part: "We, 2,500 workers, students and friends of labor, assembled in mass meeting, accuse William Randolph Hearst of being an enemy of labor and culture. Like Hitler, he is using the power of his press to make systematic attacks upon all that is progressive in American life. . . . We call upon all members of every class and cultural organizations to bring this indictment to the attention of their fellow members in order to broaden the struggle against Labor Enemy No. 1, William Randolph Hearst."

with signal depravity—seize upon and hold in common all that has been acquired by title of lawful inheritance (Libby Holman) through intellect (William B. Hearst) or manual (J. P. Morgan) labor, or economy of living (Andrew Mellon).—

"These monstrous views they proclaim in public, uphold in booklets, and broadcast everywhere through the daily press. Hence the hallowed (hallowed in the blood of 25,000 Communards—D.E.) dignity and authority of rulers have occurred such odium on the part of rebellions subjects that evil minded traitors—have boldly raised impious hands against the very heads of states (Hitler, for example?)."

"With such doctrines spread far and wide and such license in thought and action it is no wonder that men of the most lowly condition, of humble home and lowly workshop, should fix eager eyes on the abodes and fortunes of the wealthy."

"They (still the Socialists) in good sooth cease not from asserting that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honor nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws, save those sanctioned accord-

Father Coughlin Adopts Popes' Fake Liberalism

By DAN EASTMAN

"Father Coughlin," says L. B. Ward, one of his apostles, "bases his social and economic philosophy on the liberal encyclicals of Pope Pius XI and Pope Leo XIII."

Pope Pius XI, the present incumbent, who gained his knowledge of politics and economics while scaling mountains (he is the author of a textbook on the Climbing of Alps) has done very little but elaborate the basic thesis laid down in the encyclical of Leo XIII, On Social Evils.

On December 28, 1878, seven short years after the "hallowed" heads of the French government had shot down twenty-five thousand men, women and children, Parisian workers, because they dared to abolish night work in bakeries and institute an eight-hour day in the name of socialism—seven short years after the cold-blooded slaughter of the Paris Commune, that kindly shepherd, Leo XIII, produced his famous "liberal" encyclical. Let us quote:

Leo Takes Sides
"In short they (the Socialists), spurred on by greedy hankering after things present, 'which is the root of all evil, which some covet have ever from the faith,' they attack the right of property, and

'Leaders' in Dilemma Still Cling to F.D.R.

By ARNE SWABECK
Labor widens rift with Roosevelt, announces recent capitalist newspaper headlines. This, of course, refers to the official American Federation of Labor family. It appears that William Green—usually so soft spoken—together with the more beligerent John L. Lewis has made some strong remarks on the action taken by the President in extending the automobile code. Advertised by the Federation officials as "Labor's hope and strength", Roosevelt now turns around and kicks these labor officials in the pants. He feels he can afford to do so. The automobile agreement of March 25 last year put the manufacturers on the offensive while the automobile unions still suffer from the demoralization of the policy pursued by the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

The Executive Council faces a dilemma. Organization of the unorganized under its leadership has come to a stop. The "perfect" equilibrium of cooperation of labor, industry and government is coming tumbling down over the heads of these labor officials like a house of cards. Instead of striking out boldly like real leaders and utilizing the favorable mass sympathy for organization they stall and sabotage in fear of the consequences of the struggle. Now these craven souls feel that they have been let down. Dangers threaten their position from two directions.

A Dilemma

Obviously the government is moving toward some form of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes while the rank and file union membership is showing increasing signs of discontent and restlessness. A most damning indictment of the A. F. of L. officials is contained in the rather frank statements publicly made, that in the inner circles of the administration it is felt that the A. F. of L. cannot organize the basic industries—steel, rubber and automobiles.

Militant Bureaucrats

Despairing of obtaining a benevolent hearing for union recognition from the powerfully entrenched monopoly capitalists the Federation officials are turning their attention in the other direction. And these despairing officials are becoming aggressively militant when they face the large scale rank and file rebellion they see brewing on every hand. It is no secret that they are still, despite their announced rift, toying with the idea of coming to an agreement with Roosevelt's proposed industrial truce of no strikes. Only the open shop and company union employers demand too much. They demand a complete surrender and the Federation officials cannot remain unmindful of the move into from the ranks, so they move into action, not in reality against the employers but against the rebellion in order to head it off.

At this moment the otherwise soft spoken officials are preparing to reinforce their blast against all opposition and against all progress, whom they label "reds", with a campaign of expulsions, beginning in the very fortress of the basic industries, in steel. All local lodges of the steel workers union that sent delegates to the recent Pittsburgh progressive conference they threaten with outright expulsion. Make no mistake about it; their next step will be outlawing of strikes. This is the most serious feature of the present situation.

The Auto Agreement
In several respects the automobile agreement of last year entered into by the Federation officials became a turning point. It was a blow to the whole trade union movement. It advanced the automobile manufacturers into a position of being the spearheads in the struggle against organization of the unorganized in the basic industries. This agreement provided that any group of workers may be represented in conferences for collective bargaining with the employers. In other words, it legalized the company union and put the trade unions on the defensive. The trade unions, of course, had rich possibilities of embracing the great majority of the workers and becoming the recognized spokesmen of all the workers in the industry. Due, however, to this treacherous agreement these possibilities were frittered away, as the recent elections in the Detroit automobile plants, conducted by the despised Wolman Board, show.

Two Results
In these elections conducted in twelve different plants, 60,000 workers were eligible to vote. A total of 53,771 ballots were cast and the voting gave the following results: Voting for unaffiliated representatives, 40,143; for employers'

thirty days, says Buffalo Judge, instead of food.

Buffalo, N. Y.—When Mary Janowski was brought before Judge Peter Maul of the Buffalo court on a vagrancy charge, he asked her, "Have you any money? Have you a home?"

"No," she replied.

"Where do you sleep?"

"In box cars," answered Mary.

"That's no place to be sleeping. In this weather. Thirty days . . . ordered the honorable judge. . . ."

So Mary, who recently came from Toledo was assured regular shelter and food for the next thirty days at the Wende prison.

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Should Revolutionists Build A Labor Party?

By HUGO OEHLE

Leftward-moving workers who have broken or are in the process of breaking with the past are looking for weapons of struggle to the left of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Reform and utopian movements and middle class movements as well as fascist movements are springing up and taking root in the minds of the disoriented masses who know by hard experience that something is wrong.

Every prolonged depression in the past increased the political activity of the working class. Reform and utopian movements spring up on the heels of economic and social dislocation. These movements were washed away with the first signs of the return to prosperity. But the present crisis continues. Government and private measures to stimulate business fail. The condition of the working class becomes worse and discontent increases. Hoover's promises could not be realized and Roosevelt's "plans" for the forgotten man are more and more seen as plans for the "forgotten" financiers and industrialists.

In this fermentation the slogan of the Labor Party is brought forward again. As yet it has not taken root in any substantial section of the working class nor has a crystallization taken place. However, the new opportunist right turn of the Communist International and its sections and the issuing of the instructions for a Labor Party campaign bring the subject to the fore for clarification.

Labor Parties and Reform

In the period of capitalist development the Labor Party took root in Europe as the handmaid of reform, as the concession for class peace through the policy of class collaboration with the capitalist overlords. These reformist labor movements took on different forms in various nations all the way from Labor Parties based upon collective membership through trade unions and other workers' organizations to the Social Democratic movements of individual membership. In the pre-war period they constituted the progressive and liberal opposition parties championing the cause of labor, humanity and what not. In the post-war period these parties became the left covering of the capitalist governments for the reorganization of Europe and for the prevention of the extension of the October revolution. They were labor governments in name but

capitalist dictatorships in reality. Since the rise of Hitler and fascism in Europe this has become plain for everyone to see.

Capitalist Decay

But the post-war period revealed another striking fact in regard to the Labor parties and the parties of reform.

Developing capitalism could grant reforms, and such were granted to the degree of the pressure of the working class, and the labor leaders of the reactionary trade union movement and the labor party movement held them up as special concessions these "leaders" had obtained "for" the working class. But the post-war period marked a deepening of the decay and decline of capitalism. Many of the leading capitalist nations were in no position to grant further reforms. Instead the very life of the different capitalist nations after the war period demanded that they reduce and take away concessions from the workers, in order to compete with imperialist powers on the world market for capital investments, commodities and raw material.

Every concession wrung from the capitalists in this stage rests upon an entirely different basis than the previous reforms. The reforms in the period of capitalist growth were used to bribe a part of the working class to enable the capitalists to have a free hand against the majority of the working class and the colonial people. The most outstanding representative of reform during this period was the Second International.

Reform Base Disappearing

The economic base of reform parties has been wiped out by the conditions of capitalist decline. But it was not a uniform process which accomplished this condition. In America the whole process lagged behind European developments. The permanent miserable conditions confronting the American workers since the beginning of the present crisis were at far deeper levels in Europe even before the first world war.

The elimination of the economic base of reform parties did not mean the immediate liquidation of these parties. The parties had developed into complex systems and definite parts of the superstructure of capitalism whose organizational and ideological structure could not be killed so easily. Even after their economic base was lacking these reformist parties served as the instruments to save European capitalism from the proletarian revolution.

"New" reforms were the price to be paid by the capitalists as the "lesser evil" to maintain power. Developments have shown that such concessions, especially since Hitler seized power, can be wiped out with the stroke of a pen.

The sweep of developing American capitalism enabled her to build a whole network of special means of bribery without the aid of a large layer of labor agents within the workers' ranks. While a relatively small number of skilled workers was placed on a high level, the oppressed races and foreign born workers within the country, and the colonial people, paid the hand of robbers super profits. This was not a difficult problem for the American capitalists due to the country's natural resources and high degree of exploitation of labor.

The millions of American workers were unorganized and labor's participation in politics was confined to the two old parties. While social-reformism flourished in Europe it was not even budding in America. It bloomed and withered in Europe before its American counterpart had a chance to walk upright.

The radical political movement of American origin was first a labor reform movement, next an agrarian movement of the eighties, to be followed by a more confused and heterogeneous agrarian movement in the first part of this century. The urban middle class that has been broken by monopoly capitalism joined forces with it and produced the various hybrid movements such as the Farmer-Labor parties and the La Follette movement.

(This article will be continued in the next issue of the New Militant.)

Credits for Russia-- A Slogan for U. S. Labor

By TESS HUFF

In a newspaper, among the letters to the editor, recently I ran across a letter something like this: "Dear Editor—Why doesn't the United States grant the Soviet Union long term credits, so she can buy American made machinery, which is needed in the Second Five Year Plan? The capital goods industry in the U. S. are at a low ebb and men need work. The Soviets want credit. What is the trouble?"

In a newspaper, last week, was a letter from a business man. The business man complained that the U. S. was getting very little trade from Russia and ended by saying: "At the time diplomatic relations were established between our government and Russia, it was said that Russia would spend 10 billion dollars for American goods. This was absolutely untrue and our government should break off relations with Russia immediately."

Well, it A Bit Mixed Up is a bit mixed up, as you may see. Incidentally, the business man failed to mention credit, and no nation can carry on trade without credit. It is true that the Soviet Union needs machinery and wants credit. Likewise it is true that capital goods factories in this country need orders. It is also a fact that since the day of diplomatic recognition, in November 1933, trade with Russia has steadily declined.

The paradox becomes more and more glaring, the more you consider the case. The fact is that the United States not only needs Russia's business, but that it has credit powers it doesn't know what to do with. At the same time Russia, of all the major nations, is probably the only one which still has a clean credit slate. Since the proletarian took power in 1917, and started out on a grand scale to build up Russian economy, requiring big orders of machinery and goods from any and every corner of the world, every debt contracted has been paid when due. And at the present moment, despite the world depression, Soviet capacity for payment is greater than ever before.

Why the Deadlock?

Why then the deadlock? What has happened since the Roosevelt-Litvinoff talks in Washington, in 1933? Why did credit and trade, much talked of then and badly needed by both countries, not materialize?

The answer has to do of course with politics.

The answer is that the Roosevelt-Litvinoff talks, which were apparently so amiable, turned out in a "misunderstanding", a misunderstanding on which both nations are standing. Roosevelt, and Wall Street, still insist upon the payment of debts owed by the Czarist and Kerensky regimes. This was the money, much of it, advanced by American capitalists, which was used to finance the various White armies in their unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the young proletarian government in 1919-21.

The Soviet insistence, however, is that the White House talks were of another tenor. Both debt claims, those of the U. S. against Russia, and those of Russia against the U. S. (claims which grew out of America's intervention in Russia in 1918, when the U. S. sent expeditionary forces on Russian soil and against the proletarian government) were to be mutually adjusted at a later date. Meanwhile normal trade relations were to go forward.

Since the day of recognition the American government has stood pat, making no attempts either to negotiate a settlement of the claims or to establish a basis for trade and long term credits with Russia. And Russia refuses of course to obligate herself for the payment of the

NOTICE

In last week's New Militant Comrade Louis Breier in the 4th installment of his History of the National Unemployed League dealt with the question of unity. Comrade Breier's article does not represent the position of the Workers Party. The Party's position on unity will be put forth in an article by Comrade Max Shachtman in a forthcoming issue of the New Militant.

It was not even budding in America. It bloomed and withered in Europe before its American counterpart had a chance to walk upright.

The radical political movement of American origin was first a labor reform movement, next an agrarian movement of the eighties, to be followed by a more confused and heterogeneous agrarian movement in the first part of this century. The urban middle class that has been broken by monopoly capitalism joined forces with it and produced the various hybrid movements such as the Farmer-Labor parties and the La Follette movement.

(This article will be continued in the next issue of the New Militant.)

Food Workers Bare Union's Alliance with Schultz Gang

An Example of the New Trade Union Policy of the Communist Party

(Introductory note by Joseph Zack)

The Food Workers Industrial Union (split off in 1932) by the Communist Party from the Amalgamated Food Workers) started as an "ideal" Red union. With less than 2,000 members it endorsed the Communist party and addressed demands to the bosses that could not possibly be obtained without the widest organization.

This policy brought the union close to liquidation. The food workers wanted a union; by tradition and as a result of their experience with the American Federation of Labor, they were inclined to join an independent union. The writer, then secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council, in 1931 endeavored to reorganize the union to suit the needs of the rank and file. Jack Rubin became secretary.

Today, with the C. P. swinging to the right, Rubin, along with Gold, Potash and others, wants to be in line with the party or perhaps a step or two ahead. In the name of flexibility and practicality, they are introducing class collaboration policies of a kind familiar in the A. F. of L.—a policy as sure to ruin the independent unions as the policy of Red unions did before.

It is very well to be practical and to take advantage of quarrels between bosses and labor fakers—but not at the expense of the workers and the prestige of the union. If the union is to live in the workers' interests, the Stalinist bureaucracy must be halted.

By a Group of Progressive Food Workers

Mystery, telephone conversations in Rubin's office, conferences, maneuvers—only the top fraction of the Communist Party is in on the secrets, and not all of it. Some of these "insiders" think Rubin is clever—delicate politics must be played in secret. Others are dissatisfied. The active rank and file is suspicious—a suspicion that may flare into a hurricane.

On the other side of the alliance, Concher and Co. do quite a bit of talking which permits down to the masses as element. To calm the class-conscious rumor, the mysteries are finally theorized into a "united front."

And since there are still some doubts, Stachel, of the C. P. Political Bureau, is brought to the Central Opera House meeting (Dec. 17, 1934) to declare it "kosher."

What is this United Front?

The "united front" that Stachel boasts about is a "gentleman's understanding" behind closed doors, between Rubin, Stachel, Concher, Pincus Goldstein and Co., officials of A. F. of L. Locals 302 and 16 and the Industrial Union. The rank and file know very little about it.

Why? Because it is a shady, unprincipled alliance between the leaders of the Food Workers Industrial Union and one of the racketeering gangs in the food industry in control of Locals 16 and 302, and in hand with the new Metropolitan bosses' association in the cafeteria and restaurant trade.

This racket into which the Industrial Union got hooked through Rubin and Stachel could not stand daylight because it is not in the interests of the workers.

C. P. "Unity" in 1935

Let us examine a bit the united front allies of Rubin and Stachel, Radek and Concher, A. F. of L. leaders of Local union 16, during the general hotel strike in 1933 took out an injunction against the Amalgamated Food Workers. It is naive to suppose that suddenly they have turned honest labor leaders, working for unity?

We also know that J. J. Williams and Pincus H. Goldstein, officials of the Industrial Union, after getting what they wanted three months ago forced their members in spite of the fact that the bosses had conceded the majority of the strikers' demands.

Only a year ago these officials expelled 12 opposition members who carried out inside the A. F. of L. the major part of the Industrial Union's program. In short, begin-

ning with 1929 and continuing to a few months ago, Williams and Goldstein acted as open strike breakers for the bosses' association in the cafeteria industry.

Jules Martin who acts as a politician behind the scenes for the new Metropolitan bosses' association, and is the real theoretician and inspirer of this united front, is one of the big capitalists in the trade. Dave Krumholz, organizer for the Metropolitan, is his lieutenant.

These, then, are Rubin's allies. Every progressive worker in the food industry knows that the organizers of Locals 16 and 302 are connected with the Dutch Schultz mob.

It is also an established fact that in April, 1933, the books of Local 302 showed that \$2,500 was turned over to Jules Martin, who worked hand in hand with Dutch Schultz, after a conference between the gang and Local 302 officials in a midtown hotel. To this day special monthly taxes are collected in Local 302 which go directly to the gang.

The new Metropolitan Cafeteria and Restaurant Association is the offspring of this alliance between A. F. of L. officials and gangsters. It was the old United bosses' association which inspired the creation of Local 302 in 1929 in order to break the cafeteria strike led by the Amalgamated Food Workers. The unions created by the old association are now used by the Dutch Schultz gang and Jules Martin, who want to get the real gravy for themselves and keep the International union out. By getting control of labor, and through it, of the bosses' association, they expect to work the racket both ways, at the expense chiefly of the workers.

What can you workers think of the united front policy of the C. P. if it can so easily become a cover for these maneuvers? Some will say, Beal among them, what do we care as long as we get something out of it? Now Beal, a leader of the top fraction, darling of the mobsters who was repeatedly brought up on charges of corrupt practices, and whitewashed—Beal gets something out of it. But how about the workers?

Some Pertinent Questions

Is it not a fact that in the Sherman Cafeteria settlement, the exact terms of which are not known to the rank and file, the following conditions exist:

1. The wages of the workers earning \$14 to \$16 per week have been increased in spite of the fact that they are far below standard.

2. Those who worked during the strike and were accepted into the union afterward are keeping their jobs while the militants among the strikers are being weeded out one by one? Thus far the union has done nothing about it.

3. The company hires and fires

practically at will, and gradually all companies "protected" by the Metropolitan association are being allowed this privilege?

4. As soon as the Sherman Cafeteria broke with the old United association and joined the Metropolitan, the strike was called off by the union with a 90-day period for negotiations?

Considering the past of Concher and Co., would it not be fair to allow the rank and file to decide whether it wants this kind of a united front?

What about the recent Silver Cafeteria settlement, whereby the shops are being divided 50-50 between the Industrial Union and its allies? Is this a policy of uniting the workers into one union, or is it a process of systematic division into two unions with the bosses playing one against the other and the bureaucrats maneuvering the bureaus, each group blaming the sins on the other?

If these are the methods, have we not a right to suspect the purpose for which the special monthly taxes are being collected in the Industrial Union? Is it not for the same purpose for which the A. F. of L. Local 302 collected a \$2. monthly work tax? Why don't we get a regular and aboveboard accounting?

The strengthening of inner democracy goes hand in hand with such policies. Food workers, be on guard!

WHAT TO ATTEND

Philadelphia

Feb. 10, Sunday, 8 P.M., Grand Fraternity Building—Open Forum: "Will Fascism come to the U. S.?" Speaker: Sol Feinstein.

Allentown

Feb. 23, Saturday, 8 P.M.—Card Party, Aspinewoods Workers Party, 9th Ward Unemployed League Hall, 14 No. 4th Street.

New York City

Feb. 9, Saturday, 8 P.M.—Housewarming Party, Harlem branch, 29 West 120th St., cor. Lenox Ave.

Feb. 10, Sunday, 3 P.M.—"Coming Strike Struggles in Steel, Auto and Rubber." Speaker: A. J. Munde, recently returned from a national tour.

Feb. 15, Friday, evening, Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Avenue. Forum, Aspinewoods Workers Party.

Feb. 15, Friday, 8 P.M.—John S. Wright, "To the Workers Need a Labor Party?" Brook Park Bldg., 1281 4th Street, Brooklyn.

Feb. 16, Saturday night, Germania Hall, Red Cabaret and Dance. An interesting program has been arranged. Get your tickets in advance and save 25 cents. See ad in this issue.

Feb. 17, Sunday, 2:30 P.M., Irving Plaza—Debate on "Which Program for American Labor?" Speakers: A. J. Munde and Jay Lovestone.

PHILADELPHIA

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St. Louis Socialist Finds Workers Party Is Realistic

SP is Hopeless, He Says -- In N. Y., E. Martin Leaves Weisbord Group To Join W. P.

"I am resigning from the Socialist Party and joining the Workers Party of the U. S., the only party which at the present time offers the working class effective and realistic leadership on the basis of a correct program," writes John Burfeindt of St. Louis.

Another comrade, E. Martin, formerly of the Weisbord group, joins the Workers Party because it is the only party working effectively for a new international of labor.

Their letters follow in full:

St. Louis, Mo.
January 29, 1935

Comrades:

The experience of the world labor movement since the war convinced me that social-democratic and reformism can only lead the workers to defeat and fascism. My experience in the Socialist Party has convinced me that the S. P. has not abandoned reformism; that, both locally and nationally, it compromises continually with reformists and reactionaries on the political and trade union fields and in its own ranks; and that it is hopeless as an instrument of revolution, due to its unbroken tradition of character of its so-called left wing.

I am therefore resigning from the Socialist Party and joining the Workers Party of the U. S., the only party which at the present time offers the working class effective and realistic leadership on the basis of a correct program.

—JOHN BURFEINDT

January 5, 1935

Comrades:

As a member of the Communist League of Struggle, I worked towards the creation of a new revolutionary party and a new (4th) International.

Weisbord is incorrect in saying that the fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. is similar to the entry of the Communist League of France into the S.F.I.O. In the United States a Fourth International party has been founded by the merger of two independent groups on a Marxist basis.

The "leadership" of the C.L.S. with its sectarian attitude and bureaucratic domination, tried to squelch criticism of Weisbord's interpretation of many principle questions, by saying that at this

time the C.L.S. could not tolerate any "negations" concerning them. In other words if you didn't agree with the leader your criticism was negative.

Having abandoned the position that the C.L.S. was the "one and only truly Trotskyist" group and that "Trotskyism is the Leninism of today" (see pamphlet "What is Trotskyism," by V. Bush) Weisbord now counterposes Trotskyism to Leninism, in the same way that the Stalinists do.

Only a few months ago Weisbord ran to the conference called by Gitlow for the formation of a new party. Today Gitlow is in the Socialist Party and the C.L.S. having split, Weisbord remains with his family of nine, the fruit of three and a half years of independent "mass work."

Although many comrades were in favor of sending a delegation to the Unity convention, no discussion was held on this subject and not even an observer was sent.

These are my reasons for leaving the C.L.S.

I accept the Declaration of Principles adopted by the new party convention, and apply for membership in the Workers Party. Whatever shortcomings exist in the new party can be ironed out within the bounds of party democracy. Every one claiming to work towards the creation of the Fourth International must realize that only by joining the Workers Party and becoming active in it can they contribute towards this goal.

—E. MARTIN

WORKERS' SECURITY?

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 8.—Anthony Romaglia, president of the National Unemployed League, in a talk on "The Roosevelt Security Program" Sunday evening, pointed out the effects of the "Program" on the unemployed and employed workers of the country. He showed how in each instance every step in the program meant another lowering of the American standard of living.

Romaglia explained that where the National Unemployed League was strongest as in Ohio and Pennsylvania, the relief authorities found it impossible to put over their schemes for pauperizing the workers.

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MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Abner.

MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English—F. Becker

MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Munde.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationals—M. Shachtman.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.

FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.

Ten sessions for each course; one evening a week. Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.

The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

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96 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

Late Episodes in Kirov Assassination Analyzed by Trotsky

A TRIAL BALANCE OF THE STALIN AMALGAM

By LEON TROTSKY

Conditions now permit us to elucidate briefly the latest episodes of the investigation relating to the assassination of Kirov as well as the amalgams (or more exactly, series of amalgams) interwoven with this affair.

1. The mysterious consul has now turned out to be a Latvian consul; our supposition that a petty consul of a tiny nation would be chosen for the amalgam has been fully confirmed. However, it became necessary to name the consul—obviously because of diplomatic pressure—and this necessity threatened to blast the amalgam: for, who would believe that a consul of Latvia is the organizer of world

intervention against the U.S.S.R. A new version had to be found: the Latvian consul was, as a matter of fact, the agent of Hitler. Quite possible. But how then to connect Trotsky with Hitler? Stalin did not even attempt to provide an explanation. He left his hirelings abroad to excite themselves as best they could. But the hirelings are incapable of giving more than nature has endowed them with.

WHY WAS ZINOVIEV ARRESTED?

2. The Zinoviev group was arrested in connection with the Kirov assassination. Yet the indictment does not so much as let out a peep concerning a single one of the Zinovievists arrested in Moscow. But

why then are they arrested? The foreign lackeys now besmirch Zinoviev with mud as shamelessly as in 1923-25 they crawled on their bellies before him.

3. What charge, politically, may be brought against Zinoviev, Kamenev and their friends? Their capitulation. By this act of political cowardice, they drove the revolutionary youth into a blind alley. The youth has been left without perspectives. At the same time, under the ponderous lid of bureaucratic repression, the youth is not permitted to think, live, or breathe. Under precisely those conditions, the terrorist moods breed. Only the growth of genuine Bolshevism, on a world scale, can instill new hopes into the Soviet revolutionary youth and safeguard it from taking the road of despair and adventurism.

1926 PLATFORM OF RUSSIAN OPPOSITION CITED

4. The gap between the terrorist group and Zinoviev and his friends was to be bridged by the "platform of the Left Opposition" of the year 1926. Citing one of the accused, who obviously mouths the formula of the G.P.U. examining magistrate, the indictment proclaims the "ideological" succession from the "new opposition" of 1926 (the Zinoviev faction) to the Nicolaev group. But how to link this up with the consul, intervention and the terrorist act?

The "platform" of 1926 has been published in every language. The attitude towards the U.S.S.R. was there set forth with exhaustive clarity. The lackeys, it is true, do not have to bother pondering over this. But class conscious workers, even at this date, can profit much by acquainting themselves with the 1926 document. Upon acquainting themselves with it, they will draw the specific conclusion that while the bureaucracy did appropriate the most progressive measures from the program it had vilified, the Leninist terrorists could never derive from this Marxist document any justification for senseless adventurism.

5. There is a specific historical stretch to this attempt at connecting the Left Opposition with the idea of intervention. In 1917, Milukov, Kerensky and Co. accused Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks of being agents of the German General Staff, and serving the interventionist plans of the Hohenzollern. In its time, this moronic calumny made a tour of the entire world. Stalin has been unable to think up a single new word. He slavishly repeats the hoary calumny about the leaders of Bolshevism. He is only the pupil of Milukov and Kerensky.

6. When, in March 1917, I was arrested by the British naval authorities and incarcerated in a concentration camp in Canada, Lenin wrote in Pravda (No. 34, April 1917):

"Can one for a moment believe in the veracity of the dispatch which the British government has received, and which purports that TROTSKY, the former chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in 1905, a revolutionist, who has unthinkingly devoted himself for decades to the service of the revolution—that this man is involved in a plan subsidized by the German government? This is indeed a deliberate, and unheard-of, and unconscionable vilification of a revolutionist!"

These words were written before I joined with Lenin, prior to my election as chairman of the Bolshevik Soviet in 1917, prior to the October revolution, the civil war, the creation of the Third International, and the founding of the Soviet state. Today, after a lapse of eighteen years no agents of British counter-espionage, but Stalinists are repeating this very same "deliberate, and unheard-of, and unconscionable vilification of a revolutionist!" This simple juxtaposition reveals best of all the poison of lies, vilification and fraud which the Stalinist bureaucracy is pouring into the world working class movement!

"WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE INDICTMENT"

7. The fourteen who were accused in connection with the Kirov assassination were all shot. Did they all participate in the terrorist act? The indictment answers this question in the affirmative, but does not adduce even the semblance of proof. We do not believe in the indictment. We have seen with what brazen and cowardly tendentiousness it has injected the name of Trotsky into its text; and how deliberately it passes in silence over what happened to the consul's provocation regarding the "letter."

It is much easier to implicate in an affair a dozen or so impenetrable Y.C.L.s than to implicate Trotsky. Who are these Y.C.L.s? We do not know. There is not much difficulty in executing unknown Y.C.L.s. Among the number there must have also been G.P.U. agents: the very ones who had arranged to bring Nicolaev together with the "consul" and who had prepared the amalgam, but who, at the last moment, proved negligent, and allowed Nicolaev to fire the fatal shot. The physical elimination of these agents became necessary in order to remove embarrassing participants in, and witnesses of the amalgam. But, among those shot there may also

have been Y.C.L.s who were simply critically minded. The task of the amalgam was: to terrorize completely the youth, which was thirsting for independence, by showing it that the slightest doubt about the divine blessings which flow from Stalin, or about the immaculate conception of Kaganovich would meet, hereafter, with the same penalty as terrorist acts.

8. The foreign agents of the G.P.U., who often pass themselves off for friends of the U.S.S.R., and who compromise the real friends of the U.S.S.R., accuse everyone of being in sympathy with (!) the terrorists, who has a critical attitude towards the repressions which have taken place. A revolutionist can feel nothing but contempt for these feeble methods. It is indubitable that the enemies and stealthy opponents of the October revolution utilize the utmost, for their own aims, the confused and contradictory statements, as well as the summary measures of repression. But this circumstance should not at all impel us to blind ourselves to the dual role of the Soviet bureaucracy, which, on the one hand, guards (in its own fashion) the conquests of the October revolution against the class enemies; and which, on the other hand, tigerishly defends its own economic and political privileges against criticisms and protests by the advanced workers.

G.P.U. IS TOOL OF BUREAUCRACY

As a tool of the bureaucracy, the G.P.U. directs the weapon of terror both against the counter-revolutionists, who threaten the workers' state, and against the Y.C.L.s who are dissatisfied with the absolutism of the uncontrolled bureaucracy. Identifying itself with the workers' state—in accordance with the ancient formula, "I am the state!"—the bureaucratic upper crust portrays the terror against the party and the Y.C.L.s as terror against the counter-revolution. This is the very goal that the venomous amalgams are intended to achieve.

9. What is here involved is not so much the struggle of the Soviet bureaucracy against Trotsky and the "Trotskyists"; but the question of the moral atmosphere of the world working class movement. The vile amalgam constructed around the "consul" who, apparently, was in the simultaneous employ of three governments, stands today as one of a number of ordinary and normal measures utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the struggle for its caste positions. In 1921, warning his most intimate comrades against electing Stalin as general secretary, Lenin said, "This cook will prepare only peppy dishes." At that time there could, of course, be no reference as yet to the poisoned dishes of the amalgams. To whom are they being offered today? To the workers. The Stalinists are systematically poisoning the world proletarian vanguard with lies. Can the interests of the workers' state possibly be damaged by this? But this is demanded by the rapacious interests of the uncontrolled bureaucracy, which seeks to guard at all costs its prestige, its power, and its privileges, by means of terror against everyone in the ranks of the proletariat who thinks and acts differently.

REAL DEVIATION TO SOVIET UNION MEANS STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

10. However passionate may be one's devotion to the Soviet Union, it must not be blind; or else it is worthless. The development of the workers' state proceeds through contradictions, internal and external. The forms and the methods of the workers' state have already changed several times, and they will continue to change in the future. The bureaucratic stage, for which there were objective causes, is exhausted.

The absolutism of the bureaucracy has become the greatest brake upon the further cultural and economic growth of the Soviets. The lackeys of the bureaucracy who deny its regime play a reactionary role. The Marxists—revolutionists set as their task to free the world

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE PLUNDERING OF CHINA

GERMANY—REARMED

The Plundering of China

The sequence of events in the East makes perfectly clear that the denunciation of the Washington naval treaty by Japan was merely a way of serving notice to the imperialists that the militarists of Japan intended to go forward more rapidly in their plundering of China. The attack on Chahar is a further step in the encirclement of China and advances the Japanese army closer to Inner Mongolia and the caravan route along which China might secure help from the Soviet Union. Following the brazen assault on Chahar, there came the "conversations" in Nanking between Japanese Minister Arimoto and Chiang Kai-Shek. The demands made on the Chinese hangman of the proletariat are exact repetitions of some of the notorious twenty-one demands made in 1915 with the purpose of reducing China to the status of a Japanese colony. China must withdraw from the League of Nations (so that it cannot appeal for help to the other powers), she must substitute Japanese advisers in place of the American and European military, economic and engineering advisers, the Chinese army must be "remodeled" and all military equipment bought from Japan, Manchukuo must be recognized, and the Chinese must accept a new railroad loan from Japan. These are the demands made public. In addition it is required that

China see "eye to eye" with the Japanese militarists in regard to the international situation in the Far East. The coming war against the Soviet Union is too close at hand for the Nippon generals not to seek in advance to guarantee themselves against attack from the rear. Every move made in China thus takes on the character of preparation for the war against the workers' state.

A Victory for Hitler

It was a foregone conclusion that with the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, the fascists would commence a program of rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty. For fascism, the outright and most violent form of the dictatorship of finance capital, can only retain power nationally by waging war internationally so as to expand its markets and thereby preserve the decaying national capitalism.

The protests of the powers victorious in the last war fell on deaf ears while Hitler proceeded with the program of militarism in Germany. At first quite hidden, the war preparations became more and more an open diplomatic "secret" that created consternation in the chancelleries of France and Britain. The meeting in London between the premiers of these two countries has resulted in a substantial victory for Hitler. Flandin has agreed with the British to abrogate the arms clauses of the Versailles Treaty, except that which calls for the demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine. Germany will have to rejoin the League for this forced concession, a meaningless gesture which Hitler will not find difficult to make. Hitler can now devote his sole attention to the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union.

What effect all this will have on the relations between Soviet Russia and imperialist France remains to be seen. All the great diplomatic victories of Litvinov—at the expense of the world proletariat—may soon crumble to ashes.

proletarian vanguard from the fatal influence of the uncontrolled bureaucratic clique, in order subsequently to aid the workers in the U.S.S.R. to regenerate the party and the Soviets, not by means of terrorist adventures which are doomed beforehand, but by means of the class conscious mass movement against bureaucratic absolutism. January 12, 1935.

The League Against War and Fascism

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the third in a series of four articles on war. The last, "The United Front and War," will appear in the next issue of the New Militant.)

During the past year and a half, the American League Against War and Fascism (which is the counterpart of Leagues organized in many other countries) has been presented to the American public as the means for fighting against and preventing war and fascism. Its success in enlisting popular support has not been conspicuous. Nevertheless, in a number of cities the League has made progress. After a temporary lapse in its activities, it has re-opened a vigorous campaign. What attitude are Marxists to take toward the League? It is essential to be clear on this. Not merely so far as the League itself is concerned, but with further reference to any organization of this type.

There are two different kinds of argument advanced in support of the League. The first, which is the position of the League itself and of its sponsor, the Communist Party, is that the League actually constitutes the most effective means for fighting war (in these articles I am not concerned with the fight against fascism). The second argument is put forward by those who maintain that the League, while not in the final analysis an effective means for fighting war, should be supported because through it an "approach to the middle classes" is possible. On the anti-war issue, it is maintained, revolutionists can unite with members of the middle class and can, through this means of approach, gradually win them to alliance with the revolutionary movement.

Both of these arguments are profoundly and disastrously mistaken. The argument usually heard against the League is a mechanical and sectarian manner by the Communist Party. Though this argument has some force, it is far from the root of the matter. Even if mechanically dominated by the Communist Party, Marxists would have to support and build the League if it actually were an effective instrument against war. We must analyze further.

THE FALLACIES OF THE LEAGUE

To begin with, certain organizational features of the League must be kept in mind: (1) It is a permanent organization; (2) It permits and encourages individual membership; (3) It not merely advocates certain actions to be taken against war, but puts forward a program against war; (4) This program is in part political—e.g. it advocates, in a confused way, the abolition of "the profit system."

A book would be needed to make clear all of the errors in the conception of the League. However, with these organizational features

in mind, I shall outline certain of the chief fallacies.

1. The League, in spite of the pretentious language of its publications, is a pacifist organization.

Its fundamentally pacifist character can be seen at once in the fact that the League attempts to isolate the struggle against war, to treat it as a "special" or "independent" struggle, apart from the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' state. While it is true that in certain circumstances, united actions against war, involving various social groups, are possible, it is not and cannot be true that Marxists can under any circumstances unite in program against war with any other groups or individuals. We have already seen that there is only one program for the struggle against war—the revolutionary program for the overthrow of capitalism; and to this program only Marxists can subscribe.

In addition to theory, the agitation and activities of the League make perfectly clear its pacifist nature. We find the same old pacifist hokum—loud yelps for "disarmament," support of the "munitions inquiries," "anti-war pledges," calls for "congressional investigations," and the rest. Broken down ministers and fake liberals find themselves immediately at home in the League, and are pushed as its most prominent members and speakers. Fight, the magazine of the League, publishes just the kind of pictures and articles that get across with the Women's Club Peace Societies.

And like all pacifist organizations, the League is actually aiding the development toward war. It obscures the analysis of the causes of war, diverts the real struggle against war into harmless channels, provides a safe middle class conscience troubled by the horrors of war, and prepares to leave the working class helpless—both ideologically and organizationally—when a war situation arises.

At that time, the League, built upon the sands of vague pacifist sentiment instead of class organization, will be blown away by one puff from the capitalist state. Its preachers and liberals will take the stump for the government, recruiting the masses to the new war "to end all wars" or "defend the shores of our sacred land" or whatever it may be.

2. The League is a horrible parody of the united front as Marxists understand the united front.

The united front, properly understood, is a tactic whereby working class and at times certain middle class organizations, differing in program, nevertheless unite on certain specific actions upon which all are agreed, while retaining their full organizational and programmatic independence. There is no such thing as a permanent united front, nor a "united front in program." How could there be? There is nothing in common between the Marxists and the League, and on any other important issue, or on

program of any other group or individual. The one possibility of "union" is on specific actions. Nor can a Marxist party join in a permanent united front, which would necessarily mean giving up organizational independence.

3. The League involves a complete misunderstanding of the relation of the working class to the middle class.

It does not represent a united front with middle class groups and individuals, but a capitulation to the middle class. The program, activities, and agitation of the League are precisely the program, activities, and agitation of middle class pacifism, and at a vast political distance from Marxists. In any correct united front with middle class individuals and groups, the working class goes ahead on the basis of specific actions immediately acceptable to both, but keeping its program intact, and demonstrating through the united front—not that an amalgamation, i.e. a compromise, can be reached between a middle class and a working class program, but that only the working class program, the revolutionary program, is able to solve also the middle class problems. In the League, the working class program against war surrenders to the middle class program. And, in addition, working class members are subordinated to middle class members.

4. The League, because of the kind of activities it engages in, and because of the political implications of its program, becomes a substitute for the revolutionary political party.

The political jargon of its program is the usual reformist twaddle, exactly in line with paragraphs from the Platform of Progressive Parties, etc. etc. etc. Becoming an individual member of the League and building it is just like building any kind of reformist political organization.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IS FIRST TASK

War will be defeated only by the revolutionary struggle of the workers; and this struggle will succeed only under the leadership of the revolutionary political party. The business of a Marxist is certainly not to build up a reformist group—whose historical role, we ought to know by now, is to make smooth the road to war and reaction—but to build the revolutionary party. This is the only political organization a Marxist has any right to join or support. And to build the revolutionary party is his first and greatest task.

5. The League encourages a crowning confusion by linking automatically together "war and fascism."

While it is true in a sense that "fascism means war," it is a complete illusion to suppose that fascism is the cause of war. By emphasizing the relation between fascism and war, as the League does, it suggests that the war danger from non-fascist nations is remote. But it is capitalism that causes war. Fascism means war only in the sense that the triumph of fas-

cism marks a deepening of capitalist contradictions which likewise indicates the nearer approach of war as an attempted solution.

By linking fascism and war, the League plays into the hands of the bourgeois propaganda that declares Hitler and Mussolini to be the war-makers, and "democratic" England, France, and the United States the defenders of peace. Thus is prepared the self-outlet of the workers of England, France and the United States to the next war of their peaceful democratic governments.

Furthermore, this association of fascism and war fails to distinguish the great differences between the tactics of the struggle against war and the struggle against fascism. This it is not the business of these articles to elaborate, but it is sufficiently indicated by the fact that fascism is incompatible with and involves the destruction of not only the revolutionary party but of all reformist parties, all independent trade unions, etc.; whereas war, as the last war proved conclusively, is entirely compatible with the continued existence of reformist parties and the trade unions.

Much more could be said about the confusions, errors, and deceptions of the League. But space now only to ask and briefly answer one final question: Where and why did an organization of this kind arise?

THE POLICY OF STALINISM

The answer is not a matter of conjecture. We know the record. The Leagues (here and in other countries) are the conception of the foreign office of the Soviet Union. The American League was first proposed in this country by the representative of the Communist International, to a group of non-party individuals—even before it had been presented to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. Brother himself, when he was first told about it, before he had had a little chat with the C. I. representative, rejected it as "pacifist." The League follows directly from the whole policy of Stalinism. The building of socialism in one country demands peace; peace will be secured by treaties and deals with capitalist governments, by joining the League of Nations, and, quite naturally, by pacifist propaganda.

Squarely opposed is the Marxist conception: The Workers' State will be defended by the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. This will prevent intervention in the Soviet Union, because the capitalist states will not be able to risk intervention if a strong revolutionary movement can, with the aid of the Red Army, turn the war of intervention into a class war for the overthrow of the capitalist state. And, when the revolutionary movement is sufficiently developed, it will take the offensive.

The Soviet Union is finally defended by attacking the real building of socialism will be accomplished in the only way it can be accomplished—by the extension of the revolution. This is the only direction of defense. In any other direction lies disaster, and the world-wide triumph of reaction.

Open Letter

To All Members, Friends and Sympathizers:

Two months ago the Workers Party of the U. S. was launched through a merger of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. This launching was greeted with great enthusiasm in New York by a mass meeting of more than one thousand. Subsequently the same expression of enthusiasm was reported at the Muste-Cannon meetings throughout the country.

Unfortunately however, this enthusiasm has not as yet expressed itself concretely in material assistance. At its first meeting after the merger, the National Committee outlined a Program of Action consisting of 11 points, some of which have been partially executed as follows:

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Tasks:

1. Double the Party membership in six months.

Achievements:

Gains made in New York City, Minneapolis and Boston almost doubled. Philadelphia increased by ten; also Chicago and Los Angeles. Reports from other branches not in yet.

2. Raise \$5,000 in sixty days.

Only about 35 percent raised thus far.

3 and 4. Build the circulation of the New Militant and the New Internationalist.

A six-months campaign for each of the publications is now in progress. Lack of funds greatly hampering the promotion work.

5. Organize two coast to coast tours and two as far west as Minneapolis and Kansas City.

Muste and Cannon just completed a short tour. Response very good but financial returns only sufficient to cover their expenses. As soon as sufficient funds are on hand, another national tour will be organized.

6. Establish Party concentration district organizers in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, the South and the South.

Two organizers were sent to Detroit and have been maintained on a minimum basis until they could get work in automobile shops so as to become rooted in the industry and therefore more effective in their work. One organizer is being maintained in the silk area of N. J. and Eastern Pa. Chicago is getting a full time organizer and one is maintained in the steel section.

7. Organize a national Party educational system—including the first semester of a resident school in New York.

The New York resident school begins February 18, with twelve courses scheduled. Plans for a national training school for workers to begin May 1 if the funds permit, have been completed. The term is to be eight weeks with scholarships to 20 different units of the Party. Maintenance per student will cost about \$5 a week. Anyone particularly interested in this phase of our work, can contribute for it and the funds will be kept for that specific purpose.

8. Publication of at least one popular agitational pamphlet per month, elaborating some point in the declaration of Principles or dealing with some urgent political question of the day.

The first of this series in preparation is a pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, on the Kirov assassination. Lack of funds has made it impossible to get out others dealing with American problems, such as the trade union and the unemployed questions. Send your contribution for this fund, and the Party promises at least three pamphlets to follow in quick succession.

9. Build and consolidate a National Youth Organization.

The Party has appropriated a subsidy for this work and the Youth reports progress—slow but sure.

10. Help to launch an organization of the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions.

Progress made, but public information cannot be given at this time. In Minneapolis however, definite steps have been taken for the constitution of a "national organization of militant and progressive union forces", as indicated in a resolution adopted at a conference of the Northwest Unity Conference, consisting of 50 delegates representing 10,000 workers. The conference met at the headquarters of Drivers Local 574. There are other possibilities for this work in other parts of the country. But without the necessary funds, even this part of our Program will remain on paper only.

11. Extend and strengthen the National Unemployed League—and work toward united action by the unemployed and final unification in one solid organization.

On this, the final point of our Program we can report that the NUL has decided to issue a weekly paper which will probably be called FREEDOM'S CALL within two weeks. A number of our comrades are the leading force in this organization, and are giving good account of their activities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, the south-western states from Kansas to Texas and in the deep South. Imagine what could be done with a few more dollars!

Every Party member who is employed is pledged to pay two days' pay toward the Party Foundation Fund and every unemployed member a minimum of twenty-five cents.

How much can we expect from every sympathizer?

The Program of Action, good as it is, will remain on paper only, unless we raise the full \$5,000.

If you have not yet made your contribution, or if you can make an additional one, won't you do it TODAY? Help realize the program in full. You may make your contribution for any special point and the funds will be used according to your wishes.

OUR NEEDS—CONCRETELY

We need at least \$500 in the treasury before we can begin to organize a coast to coast tour; \$40 per student before we can offer any five field organizers for the next two months; and a few hundred dollars to execute the other points in the Program. We will however feel content if our sympathizers contribute these immediate sums. The rest of the money will come from our own members.

We plead with you—help us NOW. Don't delay. Fill in blank below. (Space does not permit a report of the receipts this week. A full report will appear next week.)

Workers Party of the U. S.
2 West 15th Street
New York City

Enclosed find \$..... to help fulfill the Program of Action, especially point No.....

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

EVERY FRIEND,

EVERY SYMPATHIZER

AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT

That Is Our Aim.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
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Vol. 1 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1935 No. 9

Danger in Sacramento

DANGERS threaten the Sacramento defense. We must be on guard.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, since its entry into the case, in support of all the defendants has pursued a clear, principled and straight-forward policy. This policy has been based on the following platform:

1. Win acquittal for the defendants. 2. Fight out the case on its real issue—the right of labor to organize—and prevent the State from hiding the real issue by turning the trial into a Red hunt. 3. Thereby draw in the support of the trade unions and the working class generally. 4. Maintain a solid working class front before the capitalist court.

As a result of the vigorous efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the case was raised from the dump where the International Labor Defense had left it, bail was secured for defendants who had been lying in jail for six months, and the case itself was brought publicly before the working class. A united front agreement, embodying the N.P.L.D. position, with the Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party all participating, was formally entered into, and had an excellent prospect of broadening rapidly.

In the midst of the trial, the Stalinists broke the united front agreement, and are now carrying on a slanderous and vicious attack against the N.P.L.D. and the Workers Party. Nevertheless, the N.P.L.D. refused to allow the solidity of the defense to be broken.

In this trial, all the machinery of the capitalist class—from the blare of Hearst's publicity to intimidation of the jury to organization of vigilantes to testimony of the most contemptible stool pigeons—is being used to convict the defendants. The provocation is extreme, and it takes firm political judgment to stand up against it. The provocation of the State, in and out of court, must be met by a principled working class defense. If the defense attorneys allow themselves to play into the hands of the State in their conduct of the trial, they will jeopardize the fate of the defendants, prevent the real issues from being made clear, and antagonize mass support on the Pacific Coast.

Let the I.L.D. and the Communist Party, take warning. We will fight with all our strength to preserve the unity of the Sacramento defense. But we are not going to stand idly by while Stalinism leads the working class to another in the long series of Stalinist-led defeats.

For the acquittal of the Sacramento defendants!
For labor's right to organize!
For a united defense!

"Planned Economy" in the U.S.

SOON we will enter the third year of the New Deal policies pompously heralded again and again as a method of planned economy. With every step taken in this whole scheme one note is repeatedly din into our ears: Business is on the road to recovery. What do actual facts reveal?

Following upon the heels of the N.R.A. came the A.A.A., the P.W.A., the C.C.C. and all the lesser ventures. In the main they were all part of a general scheme designed to strengthen monopoly capital at the expense of the working class.

It is true there have been certain signs of what is called an upward trend in business. Most impressive is the record of net profit gains made by the monopoly corporations. The Analyst of January 11 informs us that for 190 companies representing the basic and key industries in the country, the net profits were \$320,635,000 for the first nine months of 1934. This compares with \$182,096,000 for the same period in 1933 for the same companies. Profits were almost doubled in 1934.

But what happened to the unemployed? The statistics of the A. F. of L. which cannot at all be said to exaggerate, presents the following picture, according to its own finally revised figures: It gives a total number of unemployed in November 1934 of 11,469,000 which is 429,000 higher than its figures given for the same month in 1933. Net profits are rising and unemployment is increasing. Such are the results of the business recovery under the New Deal.

Of course, this has nothing in common with planned economy. It is capitalist production for profit wrung out of the surplus value produced by the workers, those who are employed. Any expansion that takes place is on the basis only of capital investments where the rate of profit is the biggest regardless of

the need of employment and regardless of the need of food, clothing and shelter for the masses.

Planned economy means the exact opposite. It means first of all the total elimination of unemployment. But that is possible only under Socialism, only after capitalism is overthrown and the working class has taken power. That is our goal.

A Watchdog of Capitalism

JOHN L. Lewis barks again. This time he barks for William Randolph Hearst. Hearst wants to head up the reactionary forces in the country and hog-tie labor.

Mr. Lewis' yappings in behalf of the Hearst campaign appeared in Hearst's New York American, on February 9.

Nothing could reveal more clearly the true nature and worth of the President of the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Lewis fears the rank and file coal diggers. They are becoming more militant, and they are apt to get him in bad with the big business boys—the coal operators. They might even dump him overboard, should the opportunity arise! This explains why the "great leader" accepts money from Hearst and lets loose a broadside in the Hearst campaign—against militant coal miners, whom he labels agitators and Reds.

In some coalfields, particularly in West Virginia and Kentucky, sheriffs and company gunmen make a practice of bustling agitators out of the county and giving them "grim warnings." . . . Lewis recounts this with satisfaction. But to suit Hearst, Lewis lies. He tells the Hearst readers that the coal miners, not the company gunmen, are responsible for this! Less than two months ago deputy sheriffs in Harlan, Kentucky, entered a hotel and beat up two U.M.W.A. organizers who were holding a conference.

In identifying himself with the Hearst campaign John L. Lewis reveals himself again as an enemy of labor. He is, indeed, one of the well-paid watchdogs of capitalism.

On the Flying Trapeze

THE resolution adopted at the Central Committee meeting of the Communist party held Jan. 15 to 18 is an interesting, yes amazing document. It deals with three points—the trade union question, the united front and the labor party. On each of them the C. P. is executing a right about face. The "man on the flying trapeze" has nothing on the Stalinists when it comes to flying "through the air with the greatest of ease."

For years the C.P. has asserted that the A. F. of L. unions are company unions, that they must be smashed and that independent "revolutionary" unions must be built all along the line. Anybody who objected was a counter-revolutionist, social fascist, etc. Now everybody must go into the A. F. of L. and the "revolutionary" unions must be liquidated.

For years "the united front from below" was the C. P. policy and with it went the great "theory of social-fascism." But in the latest pronouncement there is not a word about this dominant tactic and leading theory of the last decade. Tossed overboard! In dealing with the Social Democrats, the comrades are now instructed to avoid "the replacement of argument by abuse."

Just last year an Independent Federation of Labor had to be built in the U. S. Anyone opposed was an enemy of the Soviet Union and conspiring to assassinate Stalin. Now "it is inadvisable to put the question of forming an Independent Federation of Labor"—delicately put at that!

For years anyone who talked of a Labor Party was a counter-revolutionist, etc. He was preventing the workers from rushing into the C. P. Now the C.P. proposes to take the initiative in forming a Labor Party, though it is hard to tell through the fog of words they use just what the concrete program is to be.

Does this amazing resolution of the C. P. in which every single one of the leading policies of the party in recent years is thrown overboard, in which, therefore, the utter failure of the party is implied, does it contain any straightforward Leninist admission of this failure? Does it have anything to say about the havoc wrought in the American labor movement, in one union after another, in the unemployed work, in the defense work, by the insane disruptionist and adventurous tactics of the C. P.?

On the contrary. On the basis of the repudiation of its entire past program, the C. P. comes forward claiming to be the revolutionary vanguard and leader of the American working class! "Everything we have done is wrong; the American workers have repudiated it, even we have to toss it all overboard now; therefore we are the only safe guides, the only revolutionary party. And anyone who now dares to stand for what we stood for yesterday is a counter-revolutionary assassin of Kirov!" That is the C. P. argument today.

In thinking that the American masses will "fall" for such an amazing performance, they once again insult those masses. The workers will not forget what destruction has been wrought these many years by the so-called Communist party. They recognize the leopard despite the tawny power he has sprinkled on his spots. Everywhere they are flocking to the banner of those who long since pointed out the destructive and ruinous role played by the C. P. They are flocking to the banner of the Workers Party of the U. S., the revolutionary vanguard of the American masses.

Father Coughlin Re-echoes Popes

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to their own good pleasure. . . .

"The Socialists wrongly assume the right of property to be of mere human invention (!) repugnant to the natural equality between men; and, preaching the community of goods, declare no one should endure poverty meekly, and that all may with impunity seize upon the possessions and usurp the rights of the wealthy."

It's More Profitable

"More wisely and more profitably (!) the church recognizes the existence of inequality amongst men, who are by nature unlike in mental endowment and strength of body, and even in amount of fortune (even!) and she enjoins that the right of property and of its disposal, derived from nature, should in the case of every individual remain intact and inviolate."

"Therein," says R. Mugglesbee, another sycophant biographer of the Radio Descon, referring spe-

cifically to the above "liberal" encyclical, "therein Father Coughlin found the nucleus for his sermons on social evils."

Father Coughlin was born Charles Edward Coughlin, of Irish parents, at Hamilton, Ontario, in 1891. He was educated in parochial schools, and later under the Basilian order of monks. During the course of his education he showed great interest in social and political problems, and doubtless regarded his mind with the above and other even more entertaining papal dictums.

It might be noted that while Father Coughlin never ceases to inveigh against "international socialism," "internationalism" and on this very date (Jan. 21) against entrance into the world court as an instrument of "international bankers," he is not himself an American citizen by birth, nor, so far as I can find by naturalization. He was born in Canada and remains a Canadian.

Father Coughlin's career begins properly with his installment as pastor of the parish of Royal Oak, a little town some twenty miles outside the industrial city of Detroit. After wandering from city

to city for a number of years he was appointed, in 1926, to the position which he still holds, by Bishop Gallagher of the Detroit Diocese.

Debate

on
WHICH PROGRAM FOR
AMERICAN LABOR

Jay Lovestone

For Communist Party (Opposition)

A.J. Muste

For Workers Party of U.S.

HEYWOOD BROWN, Chairman

SUNDAY, FEB. 17th, 1935, 2:30 p.m.

IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Place

Tickets can be purchased in advance of this date at:
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S., 2 West 15th St., New York City

Admission 35 Cents

Hearst Calls the Tune . . .



NPLD Statement on Sacramento Case

The following statement on the part it has played in the defense of the 17 workers being tried in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism laws of California has been issued by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense—Ed. Note.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, hitherto active in the New York labor movement, was called into the Sacramento case by Norman Mini, one of the defendants now facing a long term in San Quentin, who was not in accord with the policies and practices of the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense.

We responded by bringing from Chicago the experienced labor attorney, Albert Goldman, to defend Mini and to cooperate in the defense as a whole. We raised \$6,200 and liberated Jack Warnick and Caroline Ducker after they had spent six months in the wretched Sacramento jail. We began a press campaign which has brought the Sacramento trial to public attention in other states and stimulated trade unions and other organizations to voice opposition to the persecution of workers "guilty" of organizing a union. We have arranged a mass meeting in New York at which prominent union leaders, writers and

educators will speak. In many other ways we have aided the general defense cause.

On the suggestion of American Civil Liberties Union officials, conferences began several weeks ago in San Francisco, resulting in the setting up of united defense machinery, including our organization, the I.L.D., several labor unions, the Socialist Party, the Workers Party of the U. S. (to which Mini belongs), and the Communist Party. An agreement was reached covering plans for a mass meeting, a publicity campaign, fund-raising, the barring from court of factional issues, the calling of a broad supporting conference, etc.

The defendants were gratified to learn that they were to have the support not merely of the usual C. P.-ruled set-up of "innocent clubs" and paper organizations, but of a genuine and broad united defense which might appeal for aid to the whole labor movement and all progressive elements. Our organization carried out its obligations to this united defense in every respect.

The Communist Party-controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite many concessions made by other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the united defense. At a committee meeting on January 26, acting apparently on orders from New York, they violated every agreement previously made with the other delegates. This they did despite the unity appeals of Dr. George P. Hedley of the Civil Liberties Union and two of the I.L.D.'s defendants who were present. A policy frankly designed to bar the cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders, was laid down as an ultimatum. Thereupon C.P.-controlled delegates called for "a united front under the leadership of the C.P. and I.L.D." They thus drove all non-C.P. delegates out, including the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and A. F. of L. union observers present and prepared to participate in a genuine united front defense.

The Communist Party and the Western Worker, seeking to shift responsibility for this unfortunate break-up, have completely misrepresented what happened on January 26. The real truth can be testified to, not only by delegates present and free of Communist Party control, but also by three members of the Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Clark of the Oakland Labor Council, all of whom were present as observers.

ZACK TOUR

Comrade Joseph Zack, who was expelled recently from the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party is about to start a national tour. The schedule of his visits is as follows:

Thurs. Fri. Feb. 7-8—Buffalo, N.Y.
Sat. Sun. Mon. Feb. 9-10-11—Detroit, Mich.
Tues. Wed. Thurs. Feb. 12-13—Chicago, Ill.
Fri. Sat. Feb. 15-16—Toledo, O.
Sun. Monday, Tues. Feb. 17-18-19—Cleveland, Ohio
Wednesday, Feb. 20—Akron, Ohio
Thurs. Feb. 21—Columbus, Ohio
Fri. Sat. Feb. 22-23—Youngstown, Ohio
Sun. Mon. Feb. 24-25—Pittsburg, Pa.

N.Y. MEMBERSHIP MEETING

TUESDAY, FEB. 12th AT 8 P.M.

A joint membership meeting of all the New York branches of the W. P. will take place this Tuesday evening, 8 P.M., Feb. 12 at Irving Plaza Hall. The National Secretary, A. J. Muste will give an important report on his recent national tour. Admission to this meeting will be by membership book only.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

A New Militant Sub for the Best Title

Feb. 15 is the deadline for titles. Two tearful titles by Taylor: "Head 'em and Weep" and "The Weekly Weep". Among others, Ratcliffe for Brisbane, By the Way, Now that You Mention It, High Spots and Otherwise, Side-lights on the Class Struggle, Covered Wagon, False Alarms, Low-down on Highspots, Lie Detector, Unexpurgated, and the following letter:

"Dear Comrade Sherman: A hot vapor of anarchy has always hung over America. Added to this obnoxious condition was the practically free distribution of 'American Baloney'—the daily news. Today American workmen are becoming fed up with it; and the vapor is fast condensing to cold water. The atmosphere is really stimulating. Your column, a catalyst to the vapor, must have a fitting name. So I take the liberty to suggest a few names; here goes: 1. Real World. 2. World as Is. 3. America the Real. 4. True News. That's all, Comrade. N. Y. Bronx N.Y.L."

Tommy Malloy, Labor Leader

It was the largest banquet ever held in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago. Judges, police captains, and a representative of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, a representative of Tammany Hall, politicians, labor leaders, business men, gangsters, all were well represented. Tom Malloy, head of the Chicago Moving Picture Operators Union, was leaving to attend the 1930 British Trades Union Congress as representative of the A. F. of L. and his "friends and admirers" had gathered to say bon voyage and also to present him with \$26,000 for his expenses. A judge hailed Tommy Malloy as "an ambassador from the best citizens of America to the people of Europe". A special song, "Bon Voyage Tommy Malloy" was written and sung for this occasion. The Chicago FEDERATIONIST grew lyrical in describing the event. Tommy went to Europe, came back to denounce "reds" and to face an indictment for "conspiracy to murder". He could always beat the "legal rap" but two of his erstwhile gangster "friends and admirers" presented him yesterday with slings from a sawed-off shot gun, and Tommy Malloy is dead. He was one of the "same" labor leaders, a typical representative of the gangster racketeer that dominated the A. F. of L. and still dominates a large section of it. So, Bon voyage, Tommy Malloy. May your fellow paraffined labor fakers soon join you.

Well! Well!

"We know that the A. F. of L. is a workers' union and not the bosses' union" writes a steel worker in the Daily Worker. Evidently this worker doesn't believe what he reads in the Daily Worker, which for five years has reported over and over again that "A. F. of L. is a bosses' organization with Fascist leadership and not a workers' union."

NATIONAL JIG SAW

Bill Reich

BABIES: Christopher Reynolds, three year old son of Libby Holman and suicide Smith Reynolds, tobacco heir, was granted \$6,000,000 or an income of \$300,000 annually by court decree. . . . JUST BABIES: "I'll send you the Labor Department's booklet on child care" was the answer of Edward McGrady, Asst. Secretary of Labor, to the plea of a West Virginia miner's wife who described the appalling conditions of hunger, starvation and death in the feudal company towns of that state.

FASHION NOTES: "I don't spend more than \$20,000 a year on clothes," said Mrs. Harrison V.H. Hains, recently voted America's best dressed woman. . . . Sears Roebuck advertises discarded flour sacks, excellent for making underwear, children's shirts, etc. . . . Arkansas children wear shoes made of discarded auto tires.

TOY WORKERS STRIKE IN SECOND WEEK; GAINS WON

NEW YORK, Feb. 8. The staffed-toy workers have now entered the second week of their strike. The picket line is still unbroken and the flying squads are functioning with the same effectiveness as at the beginning of the strike.

Two of the largest shops, in the union before the strike, have returned to work with all their demands granted. The rest of the workers are still out, demanding: union recognition, increase in wages and a forty hour week.

The bosses' association has at last come out into the open and agreed to deal with the union.

The Association has been meeting continuously for the past few days. A few of the shops have already signed up with the union. The bosses are beginning to crack. All that is needed now is one last concerted effort to smash the bosses and make them recognize the union's demands.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

ACROSS THE COUNTRY

With Cannon And Muste

The tour is over! Comrade Muste reports herein on the final meetings and his impressions of the whole tour. Comrade Cannon, during the tour, was called to California and is now in Sacramento.

By A. J. MUSTE

DAVENPORT and MUSCATINE, Ia.—It is when one meets a small group such as the one at Davenport that one sees most clearly, perhaps, how thorough training in revolutionary theory can hold a group together in the face of the greatest obstacles and discouragement. If other branches made a showing in proportion to their membership in mass meetings, Chicago and Minneapolis would get out a thousand and New York five thousand.

At the Davenport meeting we had our first open encounter with an American Legion anti-Bolshevik propagandist, a gentleman who sought to pin "the destruction of the home" and "bloody revolution" on us and who did not consider it pertinent when we pointed out that capitalism had robbed the workers of their homes, had murdered millions in the World War, in White Guard and Fascist pogroms, etc.

At Muscatine the workers in an unemployed union seemed not a bit shocked when told that under the new Roosevelt bill project workers would get only eleven dollars per week. After the meeting I learned they were getting only five or six dollars and figured that eleven would represent a hundred percent increase in the wage standard. To this has the proud American working class been reduced!

Crowded Hours in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The standard, not to say classic, Stalinist mimeographed leaflet distributed at our public meeting gives "the new line" of the C. P. on us, at least for that day: the workers are warned to beware of "ultra-revolutionary parties" such as the W. P.

A conference with workers who want to discuss the details of the W. P. program, one with a group of progressive trade unionists, two meetings with middle class sympathizers, a business meeting of the branch, and a public mass meeting are crowded into 36 hours here.

Workers in St. Louis want to be organized, but the Federal Auto locals and others have lost membership. There is no one to give direction. A young officer in one of the new locals tells his experiences: "An A. F. of L. representative was sent in to our Local. He made a speech. I thought it was a good one. Then I got home and my wife asked me what he had told us to do. I thought and thought, and then I woke up and realized he hadn't told us a thing to do."

St. Louis Branch W. P. has added some members and has some good prospects on the list.

ILLINOIS MINE FIELDS.—Shacks, dirt, poverty. Here one realizes again that Columbia has indeed fallen low. In one mining town, P.M.A. members on strike over two years still believe in the P.M.A. which supplies them with about fifty cents worth of relief a month, and regard Allard, Pat Ausbury and Jack Battuello as union wreckers! But that will not last much longer. All the indications here confirm the reports which have been received in the National Office recently to the effect that the prestige of the militants in the P.M.A. is rising rapidly.

Meetings in Gillespie, Pana, Bullitt which takes in Tovey and Kincaid also, and Springfield. The Gillespie meeting was held in the S.P. hall. Here for the first time on the trip the C. P. turned out in force. They should have spared their pains, for their record in the Illinois mine fields has thoroughly discredited them. In both Gillespie and Springfield the most serious and active workers turned out to our meeting, asked numerous questions and urged the Workers Party to send an organizer to Illinois. That call must be heeded.

"Best Political Meeting Yet"

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The best political meeting yet held in Columbus from the standpoint both of numbers and of the level of questions and discussion. Dick Harrington was on hand. For months he posed as a non-partisan in the unemployed organizations and came

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—Business Manager

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CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

Roosevelt Held up Auto Labor Report until Code Was Renewed

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Acting on the principle of sentence first and verdict afterward, the President renewed the automobile code one week before the Henderson-Lubin report on employment and labor conditions in the automobile industry was made public. Now that the report has been released, it is easy to understand the President's suppression strategy. Joint product of the researches of the N.R.A. Division of Research and Planning and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the study demonstrates plainly:

Not one solitary advantage, large or small, has accrued to the automobile wage-slaves as the consequence of the labor provisions of their code.

Let the report speak for itself. To begin with the "speed-up", vicious and unrestrained, is the universal practice throughout the industry. "There is no set speed for a conveyor line even after production has been pushed up to what is regarded as a maximum." Workers, "at present speeds, cannot go to the toilet and cannot even get a drink of water." The "fear of lay-off is always present (in the minds of workers) even if it is not definitely brought there by the foremen. The speed-up is thus inherent in the present situation of lack of steady work and an army of unemployed waiting outside"

BITTERLY OPPOSE PAYMENT PLAN

Pass to methods of compensation. Few workers are paid on a straight hourly basis or by individual piece work. The typical method of payment is the "group bonus plan", to which method the workers are "bitterly and unalterably opposed", because of "the simple but to them all conclusive fact that they do not know how much they are receiving." The logic of the compensation is a secret, known to the boss alone, who keeps the books. "Even if the method is understood there are so many employees in a group and so many shifts in the number from day to day, that it is impossible for an employee to figure out his earnings." What is more, the group bonus payment plan acts as an incentive to the workers' speeding up one another. "The men are driven to earn a bonus and after working for weeks to reach a speed which would give them a bonus they find their rates cut so that a bonus is out of the question."

Workers must come to shop "as much as an hour early to prepare work for the day". During the noon lunch interval "material must

(Continued on Page 4)

C.P.'s Attack on Mini Decried in Sacramento

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Feb. 11.—That the prosecution's immediate aim in the criminal syndicalism trial is the crushing of trade unionism in the rich valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers has become crystal clear during the fourth week of the presentation of the state's case. As the fifth week opens, the state nears completion of its testimony and "evidence".

During the first weeks of the trial the prosecution utilized Communist party literature as a smoke-screen. Under this cover, it now begins to sneak up on the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, or its successors, since the union has been smashed by the terror.

The testimony presented by stool-pigeons, sheriffs and prosperous farmers (i.e., employers of migratory workers) is that Pat Chambers and Caroline Decker, union leaders, openly advocated the use of armed force in various strikes, and provoked violence. Many of the witnesses were obviously lying and cross-examination shot their testimony full of holes.

Stool Pigeon's Testimony

The testimony of M. Harris, a stool-pigeon who had been in the Communist party was also featured. This gentleman, who soon after joining the C. P. was made secretary to the section organizer, with access to all party records, is connected with the Associated Farmers (i.e., mortgage-holding banks), the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the State Criminal Identification Bureau.

Leo Gallagher, International Labor Defense attorney, has made no headway in wiping out from the juror's minds the prejudice which middle-class provincials inevitably

bring to such a trial. One of the jurors openly criticized Gallagher's method of cross-examination. The fact that the complaint was unjustified is less important than the fact that this and other jurors are full of resentment and antagonism against Gallagher. The effect of Gallagher's openly declared policy (now confirmed by the Western Worker) of not talking to the jury but to the 112 spectators is plainly visible.

Having, after a series of ineffectual counsels and warnings, publicly dissociated himself from Gallagher's ill-starred tactics, attorney Albert Goldman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense is compelled to sit back generally in silence while Gallagher proceeds entirely according to the conceptions of the Western Worker which calls the jury a "villainous jury".

Mini's Statement

The prosecution introduced last

(Continued on Page 4)

Warnick Defends Mini, Raps 'Western Worker'

Ed. Note: The author of the following statement is one of the 17 workers being tried for criminal syndicalism in Sacramento. Arrested on August 13 he was held out by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense after the I.L.D. had let all the defendants except one rot in jail for six months.

Warnick is twenty-eight years old, the son of a blacksmith. He worked his way through the Universities of Washington and California. In 1933 he was San Jose section organizer of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and was active in the cherry and pear strikes in the Santa Clara Valley, the Redwood City mushroom strike and the San Joaquin cotton strike.

Warnick recently criticized the Communist party for its actions in smashing the Sacramento united front. Now he speaks out against the Communist party attack on a comrade who stands in the shadow of San Quentin. His straight-forward statement is a crushing answer to the Communist Party slander campaign against Mini.

Warnick's Statement

"No brief or excuse can be held

for a class-conscious worker giving any information whatsoever to the police. That is why Norman Mini should be severely condemned for his statement given at the time of his arrest last August to Neil R. McAllister, chief prosecutor, in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism case.

"However, any attempt, such as is being made by the Western Worker, to characterize the statement of Norman Mini as a 'confession' and the act of a 'cowardly, treacherous stool-pigeon', must be equally condemned.

"I am convinced from my close acquaintance with Mini in jail and during the last months, that Mini did not give the statement with evil intent. I am certain that he neither attempted to save himself from a prison term, nor consciously gave information against his fellow-defendants. Neither do I think the information he gave is damaging to the revolutionary movement. What he said consisted of facts which we have always disclaimed to hide. The rest was merely his personal opinion.

"Norman Mini made a stupid mistake. But it is not a fatal mistake and he should not be crucified for it.

(Signed) JACK WARNICK

San Francisco
Feb. 10, 1935."

SOCIALISTS VIOLATE AGREEMENT

Now Take Steps to Launch Sectarian Defense Organization

With cynical disregard for existing written agreements binding the Socialist party to united action to launch a labor defense organization, the S. P. appears now to be engaged in setting up a "Labor and Socialist" imitation of the I.L.D.

The New Leader of Feb. 2 announced that a conference to launch a permanent labor defense organization will be held March 15 in the headquarters of the I.L.G.W.U. and that a call for that conference is being sent out to "trade union, Socialist and fraternal organizations". The announcement did not state by whom the call will be issued. The impression one gets from reading the announcement is that the call will be issued by the New York Socialist Committee for Promotion of Labor Defense. It may or may not issue the call. Some other body may do that. A number of organizations—trade union or fraternal—may sign the call. All that is important but not decisive in determining the significance of the conference.

The announcement of this conference follows by a week the announcement of the formation of a Socialist Committee for Promotion of Labor Defense as a step in the direction of the formation of such committees in other cities where the Socialist party is organized and the formation of a Labor and Socialist National Defense Committee. The conference, therefore, must be considered as a part of this policy.

A "Plan for a Labor Defense Organization" was drafted about a year ago by representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Communist Party Opposition, the Left Poole Zion, the I. Martello Group, the Workers Party and the Socialist party. The plan specified how the organization was to be launched. A Conference Committee of representatives of organizations endorsing the plan of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and leading trade unionists was provided for. Its function was to "organize and carry through a conference of invited representatives of as many organizations as are interested in the plan as here set forth at which conference the defense organization is to be set up and then publicly launched." In preparation for the conference the committee was to "draw up a draft constitution and declaration of principles", "formulate resolutions upon policy", "carry on preliminary negotiations with organizations and outstanding individuals, in order to draw them into the conference", "select a name

(Continued on Page 4)

United Opposition Needed against Tighe

Lack of Preparation Brought Present Progressive Movement in Steel to Disaster

By ELMER COPE

In defiance of an expulsion threat made by President Mike Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, delegates and members from 78 locals met in Pittsburgh February 3 in a conference called to consider steps toward the organization of the steel industry. Similarly, about seventy miners from Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, in face of ouster action by their officialdom, met in joint session to plan united action with the steel workers.

The call for the conference was issued at a meeting held five weeks previously, attended by regularly elected delegates from three district organizations of the Amalgamated Association. At this meeting six international officials also attended. Though the officials defended their policies they established the legality of the conference by promising to issue the call for the February 3 meeting.

The Leaders

The initiators of this progressive movement are by and large the same militants who took over the 1934 annual convention of the A. A. and forced through a program for general strike action, over the protest of the international officials. This original movement collapsed after a re-convened convention held two months later had—under pressure from President Roosevelt and Bill Green of the A. F. of L.—rescinded the strike action of the previous convention. Last fall the movement took a new lease on life and under the leadership of Clarence Irwin of Youngstown, and William Spang of Duquesne to-

gether with Louis Morris of Canton, Mel Moor of Weirton and others began to rally the progressives for the nation-wide organizing campaign which the officialdom had completely abandoned. The new locals were disintegrating rapidly. All organizers had been withdrawn from the field and the locals left to shift for themselves. The steel trust began a new offensive of terror to strengthen the company unions. The National Run Around was hitting on all cylinders. The labor boards, in which the Tighe bureaucrats had placed their entire reliance, failed to deliver the goods in all major cases. In Weirton, Duquesne, McDonald and Warren, the union became entangled in prolonged court action, morale was shattered, and general confusion prevailed.

The Feb. 3 Conference

In an effort to find a way out approximately 400 steel workers came to the February 3 conference. It is not known how many were officially delegated to represent their respective lodges. The fact that the bureaucrats, after first indicating that they would tolerate the conference, launched an attack outlawing it, undoubtedly kept many delegates away.

It is significant that the bulk of those attending came from lodges where unemployment is high and working conditions most desperate. The lodges with signed contracts, mostly in the tin plate divisions, were cool toward the movement and had no significant representation at the conference.

There is no doubt that the conference, although the majority of delegates came from the Pittsburgh-Youngstown-Canton-Weirton area, expressed the dissatisfaction of the workers in the industry with the inaction of the Tighe machine. The conference illustrated that the job of building a real, national progressive movement in steel has just begun. The vitally important Chicago-Gary district had one representative, no one attended from the Portsmouth, Ohio section, and the entire Michigan area was without a spokesman.

Resolutions

"The steel workers can not depend upon labor boards and other federal agencies but must rely upon their own organized strength," read the main resolution adopted. "We reaffirm our belief in the principles of the A. A. and the A. F. of L. which are principles of struggle." The resolution provided for the establishment of a committee to seek the cooperation of the executive boards of the A. A. and of the A. F. of L. for a general organizing drive.

A detailed program of action called for mass meetings, publicity, unemployed relief committees, ladies auxiliaries and a supporting committee of liberal and professional elements. Another resolution was adopted petitioning the A. A. executive board to liberalize dues payments and provide exemptions for unemployed workers in order to meet the emergency.

Tighe Goes Into Action

Hardly had the conference adjourned when the delegates were informed that Spang and his Duquesne lodge had been expelled, and that the A. A. attorney, Ogburn, had been instructed to withdraw the Duquesne case which was then

(Continued on Page 4)

SCHOLARSHIP CONTEST TO NEW YORK WORKERS

To the person who sends in the largest number of subs between this date (February 16) and March 2 the New Militant will award a free scholarship consisting of three courses in the International Workers School. These courses may be chosen by the winner subject to the capacity of the classes. Ten yearly subs or equivalent will be the minimum in order to qualify. In case of the similar scholarships will be awarded to each typing contestant.

Relief Bill Will Drive Wages of All Labor to \$12 Minimum

Prevailing Wage Clause Defeated by Order of Roosevelt

In order to understand the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee in amending the Roosevelt Work Relief Bill it is necessary to understand the financial implications of the amendment.

On Thursday, Feb. 7, the Roosevelt Bill, which provided full time employment for 3,500,000 heads of families at \$50 per month (30c per hour) at a total yearly cost of four billion dollars was introduced.

An amendment by Senator Adams, providing a continuation of the present home relief at a yearly cost of two billion dollars was defeated by a 10-10 tie. Senator Adams' amendment represents big business sentiment, as embodied in a resolution of the National Manufacturers Association several months ago, for cheap government and a balanced budget.

Prevailing Wage Amendment

At the same session of the Committee the "prevailing wage" amendment was introduced and passed by a 12-8 vote. This amendment provides for the payment of wages at rates prevailing in the locality where work is undertaken. This was calculated by the Budget Bureau to be 80c per hour as an average for all localities and all sorts of work to be undertaken.

The vote for this amendment, 12-8, is rather startling as it shows two Senators who stood out for the Adams' amendment (10-10 vote) as the cheapest method of taking care of the unemployed, switching to an amendment which on the face of it is even more expensive than the original measure proposed by Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Opposes It

How does it happen that two advocates of cheap relief and two advocates of "expensive" relief get together on the amendment? And why does President Roosevelt greet this amendment which receives support from both camps as an amendment which "defeats the whole purpose of the relief bill"?

First to take the problem of the agreement between the cheap relief and the "expensive" relief factions: The fact of the matter is that the amendment, while it provides higher wages, would not necessarily cost more than the original bill, and might even cost less!

The original bill contemplates full time employment for 3,500,000 heads of families at \$50 per month (30c per hour). On this basis total wage payments per month would be \$175,000,000. At the same time the cost of materials, according to the estimate of the Budget Bureau, would be \$160,000,000 per month, a total of \$335,000,000 per month, or approximately four billion per year.

The amendment provides "prevailing" wage payments (80c per hour) but it says nothing about full time employment. This leaves two possibilities. The first, which attracted the proponents of "expensive" relief, is for full time employment at prevailing wages. This would involve a total yearly expenditure both for wages and materials, of some six billion.

The second possibility, which attracted the proponents of cheap relief, is for part time employment at prevailing wages, part time such as to make the monthly payments total \$50 per worker. Under this plan the monthly payments for

wages would be, as under the original bill, \$175,000,000. At the same time, since the work would be part time, the cost of materials would only be \$80,000,000; the total monthly expenditure \$255,000,000, slightly more than three billion per year!

The Three Proposals

What does the unemployed worker stand to gain from each of these possibilities?

The best proposed plan is that for full time employment at prevailing wages. A plan which would cost six billion per year.

The second best is for part time (62 hours per month) employment at prevailing wages. A plan which would cost three billion per year.

The third choice is the President's proposal for full time employment at 30c per hour. A plan which would cost four billion per year.

Why does the President choose and support the last plan which is the worst so far as the workers are concerned and which is only second best so far as total government expenditure is concerned? Against the first plan, it is true, he may argue expense, as it calls for an appropriation of six billion instead of four.

But even leaving the first plan out of consideration, what argument can be advanced against the second plan, which actually will cost one billion less than the original proposal?

The Sweatshop Argument

The argument advanced by the President, through his agents, is that under the second plan, although it costs one fourth less, the government will receive in return only one half as much construction because workers will be on part time instead of full. Thus the

President of the United States, of this great Democracy, for, of, and by the people, is reduced to bargaining like any common little sweatshop boss!

The President admits that the government is nothing more than a glorified sweatshop, whose first and principal consideration is not the welfare of its workers, nor even the welfare of its taxpayers (who will pay the extra billion) but the amount of profit it can squeeze out of its citizens!

While this argument reveals the complete degradation of the state under the capitalist system, it does not fully explain the tenacity with which the President clings to his plan. There is another reason which he doesn't mention, not even in a whisper, for preferring payment at 30c per hour instead of at prevailing rates.

If the President is willing to argue like a vulgar street peddler, it is because he does not dare mention the real purpose of the bill.

Legalizing Scabbing

The bill is intended to drive down the wages of all labor, employed or unemployed, organized or unorganized, to drive all wages down to the slave level of 30c per hour, \$12 per week.

What other reason can the President have for insisting on his plan, which is least advantageous for the workers, and only second best from the point of view of taxpayers in general?

His purpose is clearly recognized in at least two quarters. Speaking for the Building Trades Employers Assn., C. G. Norman, in pleading that public works be put under private contract said, "The contractor is not averse to using labor from relief rolls." Not averse!

A.F. of L. Helpless; Strike Action on PWA Only Course for Labor

How they would welcome the opportunity to pay \$12 per week instead of the present scale of \$12 per day.

And the A. F. of L., recognizing that the bill threatens its very existence, has hastened to make its feeble and ineffectual protests. To quote the New York Times, "The full force of the A. F. of L. as represented by William Green, president, and the executive committee, was brought to bear on the Senate Appropriations Committee in an effort to have it write the prevailing wage requirement into President Roosevelt's \$4,000,000,000 work relief program."

"The Federation President declared the adoption of the relief program without the McCarran (prevailing wage) amendment would wreck the prevailing wage scale throughout the country."

The Outlook

As the matter stands at the present writing the Senate Committee, under pressure from the President, has voted 14-9 to reconsider the amendment which it passed last week. There can be little doubt that the President will finally succeed in having the amendment totally withdrawn. The ineffectual bleats from the A. F. of L. officialdom, if the past is any indication, will have less than any influence.

There is only one course for the workers, both unemployed, and employed, for both are threatened, and that is to organize militantly for strike struggle against the attacks of the Administration.

How the A. F. of L. Actually Betrayed the Automobile Workers

A Story from Detroit that Blasts Green's Class Collaboration Policy

By Special Correspondent
DETROIT, Mich.—Less than a year ago, Detroit was in the throes of a crisis. The automotive workers, who had been called "the lowest paid mechanics of America," who for five years had silently suffered unemployment, cruel speed-ups and constant wage reductions, suddenly revolted. Paralyzing the movement in steel and textiles, they knocked into the A. F. of L. federal unions by the thousands.

Last Spring
By the beginning of 1934, the federal locals in the Michigan area alone had grown to some 60,000. By March, grievances had so accumulated that sentiment for a strike swept through the industry from city to city. A general strike was threatened at Fisher Body; the plants at Flint, Pontiac, Lansing and Cleveland overwhelmingly passed strike votes. The Hudson plant at Detroit, the Buick at Flint, the Chevrolet, Hupp, Dodge, Cadillac, Chrysler, Packard, Plymouth, Nash plants—all were ready for the walkout.

The arrogant executives of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce for the first time in years had the "jitters". London editors were bombarding the Detroit papers with questions. In the White House Roosevelt was spending sleepless nights and working overtime.

Today
Today Detroit is quiet. The papers gleefully record the change and point out the "peaceable nature of the automotive worker when given the advantage of the secret ballot to express his heartfelt desires". More than 90 percent of the workers participating in the recent Automobile Labor Board's elections voted for candidates unaffiliated with any union. The A. F. of L. received only 5 percent of the total.

Does this indicate that the auto workers, grown wiser during the year, have become immune to unionism, as the capitalist press would like to convince us? Well—

By March 5 of last year, 200,000 auto workers in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and surrounding areas were waiting for the signal to strike, to battle for their demands for union recognition, 20 percent wage increase, 40-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime, reinstatement of discharged union employees, etc., etc.

When enthusiasm was at its height, the A. F. of L. agreed, at Roosevelt's request, to postpone the strike until after the hearing of the National Labor Board March 14.

Waiting tensely for this decisive date, local after local voted to strike if a satisfactory agreement was not reached then.

March 14 arrived. That very day the bosses, desperately striving to halt unionization, "voluntarily" announced the 36-hour week with pay increases. "Ford Brings Back the 36 Day," screamed the headlines.

And on that very day, the Labor Board hearing broke up when representatives of Hudson Motor Co. and General Motors walked out after reading a statement that they were not committed to accept any ruling of the board.

A. F. of L. Acts
The 200,000 men awaiting the order to down tools thought that now even the die-hards, Collins and

Green, surely must act in the face of this sham and defiance. But no! Hugh S. Johnson, still NRA dictator, was placed in charge—and again Collins agreed to a five-day postponement.

The season was drawing to a close; evidently the strike was to be negotiated to death. But the workers, inexperienced, were still hopeful, still did not see through the tricks of their leaders.

On March 20, the day before the new deadline, the Detroit Free Press blazoned a front-page editorial: "Don't Wreck America". "The issue is largely an academic one," it smugly assured the underpaid workers, "a difference of opinion over an economic-political philosophy. . . . No matter which side wins . . . the wage scale and the hours will remain the same."

Next day, March 21, the president announced he would personally take charge of the negotiations, and asked Collins for a postponement. Green wired Collins to agree. "This time the strike is postponed— indefinitely!"

Capitulation
Five days later, March 25, the A. F. of L. leaders capitulated to the administration, agreeing to the creation of the Automobile Labor Board and proportional representation, which meant legalization of the company union, and signed an agreement which made absolutely no provision for union recognition, hours, wages or anything else.

The strike was called off. . . . The workers, many of whom were having their first trade union experience, were left hanging in mid-air.

The "settlement" came toward the end of the season. With the aid of the press, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy helped the administration create the illusion of the impartiality of the Automobile Labor Board. Instead of concentrating on building a union and fighting for workers' demands, it shifted the problem to lodging complaints with Dr. Leo Wolman, head of the board, and waiting for a vote on representation.

After the sell-out, the workers left the A. F. of L. almost as fast as they had entered it a few months earlier. Thousands were reported as leaving on their membership books in disgust. Many even temporarily lost their faith in unionism. The A. F. of L. was forced to withdraw Collins from Detroit, so great was his disrepute. And the bosses made a drive for the company union.

The Anti-Labor Board
For nine months, the Auto Labor Board listened to complaints and reports of code violations—and did nothing. In January of this year, at last it got around to plant elections. Thus far they have been held at the Cadillac, Chevrolet, Dodge, Plymouth and Chrysler plants. The ground had been well-prepared by the administration. Of some 40,000 eligible to vote, 38,330 or 96 percent participated; 34,273 voted for unaffiliated representatives, 1,847 for A. F. of L. and 308 for company unions.

The answer to the bosses' campaign for company unionism is clear: the workers do not want company unions. But after the sellout of last year, they have lost faith in the A. F. of L. Fed bunk about the impartiality of the Labor Board for ten months, they have

been taught to believe in the possibility of gaining their demands without a union—through "unaffiliated" representatives. With miserable pay and the speed-up continuing, they are riding toward disillusion; trouble is brewing at the bottom.

A New Attack
The manufacturers, seeing the repudiation of their company union scheme, are trying a new attack. Elmer H. Gustavson, company union man, chairman of the elected Cadillac agency of representation, has told of plans to organize a Federation of Automobile Industrial Employees, to parallel the A. F. of L.

It is not clear whether most of the unaffiliated representatives are blinds for the company union or whether, once elected, they are won by bribes and flattery. Some idea of how they work comes from Gustavson: "The 16 members of the agency met in the council room of the Cadillac Administration Building and spent most of their day in deliberation. Their wages went on just as if they had been at work in the shop." One result of their deliberations: "They ratified an arrangement under which mutual cooperation will be exercised in a study of changes of wage and bonus rates."

It is plain that these agencies, even with the best intentions, with no organization behind them be-

Bankers Control Relief California Legion Aids Drive To Reduce Standard

BERKELEY, Cal.—In line with California's drive against militant workers, employed or unemployed, the S.E.R.A. administration is being reorganized on the basis of control by the banking interests and the American Legion. Because of the growing sentiment for organization among the workers, this change is being pushed—but in the meantime, or until March 1 at least, many relief workers probably will not be given re-assignments and thus will be deprived of relief for several weeks.

Behind the drive of the American Legion to rid the State Emergency Relief Administration of all "communists", which is, of course, being widely publicized by the Hearst and other papers, is a plan to discharge all of the present administrative force of the S.E.R.A. who are not satisfactory to the Legion and the bankers, as the simplest way to control the relief situation. "The ultimate purpose is to prevent organization of the workers, to cut relief costs and to divert relief funds to the various vigilante groups sponsored by the Legion."

In some instances relief has been cut to a pound of rice a week. At one food depot in Berkeley recently, when a group of workers who had spent 15 cents in carefree received 10 cents worth of rice as their weekly allowance, they rebelled and scattered rice all over the place.

The California Workers Association must organize the unemployed workers immediately. It must resist all efforts to make of the C.W.A. a mere social organization; it must discourage factionalism; it must organize agitational meetings and mobilize the workers against this threat to their already low relief standard and their right to fight for better conditions.

Act in Newark

NEWARK, N. J.—An overflow mass meeting of 250 relief workers demanded an open hearing on charges against two investigators who were dismissed on five hours' notice, without a hearing. The official charge was "insubordination". The discharged investigators had said that \$3.25 a month is an insufficient allowance for one person. They had also attempted to organize the investigators.

The mass meeting formed a committee.

CROWD HEARS MUSTE REPLY ARREST THREAT

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—More than three hundred workers turned out to the North Side Carnegie Library here on February 5 to hear A. J. Muste's exposition of the program and principles of the Workers Party.

A threat by the chief librarian to arrest Muste if "he said anything about the government" contributed added interest to the meeting. But in spite of the fact that Comrade Muste's speech called for the revolutionary road to socialism in no uncertain terms, the threat was not carried out.

Ted Selander, substituting for Comrade Cannon, who is in Sacramento, spoke on the work of the National Unemployed League. Louis Breier was chairman.

come tools in the hands of the company officials. This honeymoon between worker and master cannot last long.

A. F. of L.'s Dilemma

Now even the A. F. of L. is awake to the danger to its hide. It sees itself being elected out of business. The leaders are forced to eat their words of last year and repudiate the agreement they signed. Pressure has forced Green to withdraw from the Auto Labor Board and protest against renewal of the code.

The A. F. of L. was forced to refuse to participate in the plant elections or be bound by them; to repudiate Richard Byrd, its representative on the Labor Board; to demand majority rule in the plants. Dillon, who recently conferred with Green in Chicago regarding the assembling of the National Council of United Automobile Workers, is leading a big organizing campaign in Detroit, Flint and other centers; he is forced to demand that Roosevelt's agreement be abrogated, the employee representation elections voided and the board abandoned.

Unionism is at low ebb, and the reputation of the A. F. of L. so bad a few strikes may be the only method by which it can hope to organize the workers. However, the situation is in a state of flux; the workers have no partiality toward any existing union. The overwhelming number of workers employed in the industry is unorganized.

Now is the time the left wing must establish for itself a base at every point of entrance, must enrich itself in preparation for future developments.

Bankers Control Relief California Legion Aids Drive To Reduce Standard

mittee of action to demand an airing of the charges against the investigators and to protest relief cuts. Relief administration officials refused to attend the meeting. "They want to scare us so we'll accept the cuts for fear of losing our jobs," one man declared.

A delegation of 17 was elected to call on Relief Administrator Jones. He refused to meet them, but after an hour sent out word he would receive one member, Odemheim. This the delegation refused. Jones then went out the back way and escaped the delegation.

Why Progressives Must Organize

The havoc, confusion and demoralization that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy works in the trade union movement finds a glaring example in the strike of the workers of the Kartiganer Co., manufacturers of ladies hats.

Last summer the union declared the shop on strike. The workers responded to the call. The shop located in New York was closed tight while the workers in New Jersey, bribed and terrorized, remained at work.

After a few weeks some of the bosses signed the agreement with the union, but did not open their shop. The union officials, seizing upon the technicality that the strike was settled, refused strike relief.

This continued for seven months when the workers, in despair, went to the boss and asked him to open the shop, promising not to have anything to do with the union. The shop was opened and operates as before with the addition of a company union as a collective bargaining agency.

Today the bosses' association is threatening that it will break the agreement with the union if the Kartiganer shop is not compelled to come up to the same conditions that prevail in the industry. The workers in the shop, embittered by their sad experience, will not budge. The union officialdom, caught between two fires, finds a simple so-

Spiking Lies Printed In the Daily Worker About Printers Election

Under the misnomer, "RANK & FILE PRINTERS WIN UNION ELECTIONS"—Solomonick and Harfield replace discredited Trotskyites, the Daily Worker erects its customary fabric of lies as a preliminary to the destruction of the Independent Printing Employees.

What is the truth concerning the election and the organization?

1. Not a "rank and file administration" came into office but a crew of handpicked and incompetent Stalinists. They won the election through the importation of a dozen ringers whose illegal ballots determined the outcome. They brazenly voted down a motion that "only those with membership in the union at least two weeks prior to the election be permitted to vote". Not one of the ten politically unconnected outsiders present voted for the Stalinist slate. The small group of rank and fileers present, without exception, voted for the old administration, "the discredited Trotskyites".

2. Lie No. 2—"A year ago a few hundred workers got together. . . . Omit the hundred and you are nearer the truth. By the untiring efforts of these few 'Trotskyites' the I.P.E. was built up to a few hundred. . . . The leadership of the I.P.E. fell into the hands of a group of Trotskyites expelled from the Communist party as enemies of the workers, who packed the Executive Board with five of their followers." Lie No. 3. The original Executive Board consisted of three members of the former Communist League, one racketeer who was subsequently expelled, and three Stalinists.

3. The record of these Stalinists is as odious as the drive of lies in the Daily Worker. One of them, Golden, without notice to the organization deserted his post as organizer of the I.P.E. with considerable damage to the drive for membership then on. The other, Tomasek, after months of sabotage, similarly deserting the post of organizer, "escamoté" the books, membership cards and all the other vital property of the I.P.E. in the midst of its last drive. This action was defended by the present Stalinist administration when it was brought to the attention of the membership at that time. "Stupid!" was all Solomonick, the new president, could say when the issue was again raised in the discussion of the report of the outgoing Executive Committee. In effect it was his opinion that there was nothing wrong with this criminal action except that it wasn't administered with sufficient skill.

4. "Through their entire period in office they conducted only one strike, in a shop of four workers." Another half-truth in which the most important facts are omitted. This strike (which was the beginning of a strike campaign), was entered into, with the books still missing and without a single penny in the treasury. The Stalinists now in office failed to appear for a single day to organize or do picket duty, to help collect funds, etc. They sabotaged the strike in the hope that it would be defeated and thus discredit the "Trotskyites".

5. But, to their extreme consternation, a partial victory was obtained. They put an ad in the Forward and the Day that the Kartiganer shop is on strike and then they put a few pickets in front of the place. But no strike was ever won in this manner.

A Job for the Progressives
The solution of the problem is a progressive group in the union that will be able to win the confidence of the workers in this shop and cope with the threats of the bosses' association.

—B. F.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL
First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeson
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Abner
MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English—F. Becker
MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste
WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationalisms—M. Shachtman
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote
FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan
Ten sessions for each course; one evening a week.
Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.
The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

a mass meeting of the I.P.E. at which bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. spoke, he advised the pressmen to join not the I.P.E.—but Local 51. As opposed to his A. F. of L. patriotism the founders of the I.P.E. declared for a policy of genuine organization as the only way to budge the A. F. of L. fakers. Only independent effort will lead the unity of all printing workers.

Those who built the I.P.E. but were voted out by a pack of non-printers—Stalinist ringers all of them—stated at the election meeting that the policy of the Stalinists was to bury the I.P.E. either by increasing the other workers received. In the Executive Board meeting prior to the election, Harfield charged this to be a "betrayal". This slander was flung back into his mouth at the self-same executive board meeting by the Negro worker involved, who had urged a compromise so as not to jeopardize the settlement as a whole, which he considered a considerable achievement. Hardly a month later the boss again fired the Negro worker. But the prompt action of the old executive board and the action of the Altum shop committee forced his reinstatement. At the election all the Altum workers, without exception voted for the so-called "Trotskyites" and two of them spoke in their favor in the discussion.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Minneapolis, Minn.

Feb. 20, Wednesday at 8 P.M.—Open mass meeting on "Two Years of Roosevelt". Speaker: C. R. Hedlund. At new branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S.

Feb. 23, Saturday evening—Housewarming Party in new branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Dancing, cards and refreshments. Admission 15c.

Allentown, Pa.

Feb. 23, Saturday, 8 P.M., 9th Ward Unemployed League Hall—Card Party. Aspicues: Workers Party of the U.S.

New York City

Feb. 16, Saturday 9 P.M.—Red Cabaret and Dance. Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Ave. Tickets still available at 49c at 2 West 15th St.

Feb. 17, Sunday, 2:30 P.M.—Debate on "Which Program for American Labor?" between A. J. Muste for the Workers Party and Jay Lovestone for the Communist Party (Opposition). Irving Plaza. Tickets still available at 2 W. 15th St.

Feb. 22, Friday 8 P.M.—Forum, Branch 4: "Program of the Workers Party". Speaker: Max Shachtman. 20 West 120th St.

Feb. 22, Friday 8 P.M.—"How Shall the Progressives Function in the Trade Unions?" Hugo Oehler. Branch 4, 1281 49th St., Brooklyn. Friday night forums at all other branches.

March 16, Saturday night—Press Ball to be given jointly by the New International and the New Militant. Details to be announced later.

Win a Prize

Rules of the Prize Contest for Subscribers

1. Who may participate?
The contest is for individuals and branches. Any individual, not employed in the national office of this publication, may compete.

2. How are points counted?
Counting will be on the basis of yearly subs. each of which will count as one point. Two half year subs will also count as one point. Subs taken on combination offers will be counted unless otherwise specified.

3. What are the dates of the drive?
The drive started February 1 and will end on May 31.

4. What are the prizes?
(a) Each month during the drive a prize of \$2.00 in books will be awarded to the individual sending in the greatest number of subs during that month. A minimum of 10 subs will be required in this category.
(b) To the individual sending in the largest number of subs for the period of the entire drive will be awarded a prize of \$5.00 in books.
(c) To the branch getting the largest percentage score in individual subs and bundle orders will be awarded a prize of \$10.00 in books.

(d) To the branch making second place for the entire drive in the points outlined in (c) above, a prize of \$5.00 in books.
General remarks:
*All books are to be selected from the lists of the Pioneer Bookshop, 96 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

*In case of tie in any category duplicate prizes will be awarded.

*All remittances must be payable to the New Militant, 2 West 15th Street, New York. In order to be counted they must be received on or before 5 P.M. of the last day of each month (for category 4a) or on or before 5 P.M. of the last day of the drive (for the remaining categories). They must also contain:
(a) name of subscriber
(b) name of contestant
(c) name of branch (if to be thus credited)

Friends! Comrades! The goal has been set and the rules given. Remember, each sub you send in will make the position of the Party press the more secure—will help build the advance guard of the American working class. Start sending them now!

1 year \$1.00; 6 months 65c. Special combinations are listed elsewhere in this issue. For your convenience—this coupon.

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th Street
New York, N. Y.
Comrades:

Please enter my name for [] one year, 1.00; [] six months, 65c.
Name _____
Address _____
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Add 15c to above for sample copy of the New International []
I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. []

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

Debate
on
WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR
Jay Lovestone **A. J. Muste**
For Communist Party (Opposition) For Workers Party of U.S.
HEYWOOD BROWN, Chairman
SUNDAY, FEB. 17th, 1935, 2:30 p.m.
IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Place
Tickets can be purchased in advance of this date at:
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S., 2 West 15th St., New York City
Admission 35 Cents

GAMES DRINKS SUPPER
'RED' CABARET & DANCE
Dance Numbers, Singing and other Entertainment
A. J. MUSTE, Master of Ceremonies
Saturday, February 16th 9 p.m.
GERMANIA HALL
144 East 16th St., near 3rd Ave.
Tickets: 49c in advance at International Workers School,
2 West 15th Street, New York City.

The PIONEER PUBLISHERS
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Roosevelt's Open Offensive Against Labor

Nothing restores the feeling of strength and confidence to the capitalists so much as the flow of profits into the tills. The American ruling class was willing to submit to the inconveniences of the NRA and the demagoguery of the New Deal, holding out illusory promises to the despairing worker, only so long as it was necessary to tide over a dangerous period of crisis. Now that the bosses scent the possibilities of an upswing of business, they have exerted the utmost pressure on their government to sweep aside the paper concessions made to labor and to put the workers back in their places. This became perfectly clear when Roosevelt obeyed the voice of his masters (Ford, Sloan, Swope, etc.) and blocked the attempt to organize the unorganized workers in the mass production industries—steel, autos, machinery—by legalizing the company union. Roosevelt was seconded in his attack on independent unionism by the class collaboration policies of those lackeys of capitalism, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. But the next move of the capitalist government in its attempt to bring about "recovery" (of profits) in the basic construction industries, is directed not against the extension of unions into new fields, but at the very heart of the old A. F. of L., the unions of the once well-organized building trades workers. In accordance with the general internal reorganization of American imperialism with its drive on the living standards of the entire working class, Roosevelt has now taken over the task of restoring profits to the building contractors by a drastic drive on the wages of the workers in this field. This means an attack on the very existence of the unions in the building trades.

Shall the Unemployed Be Used Against the Employed?

The method to be used in this drive is to pit the unemployed against the employed workers. Roosevelt proposes that there shall be no more direct relief in the form of doles, but that relief is to take the form of pay for public construction work. Under the thin disguise that the worker is not to be discouraged from accepting private employment, it is proposed that the wage rates on public construction be considerably less than prevailing rates in the different localities involved. Actually fifty dollars a month has been set as the proper rate. The A. F. of L. has met this menace in its usual style, by attempting to use the backstairs method of congressional amendment to the Roosevelt proposal so as to establish a "prevailing rates" clause. Unless this is combined with the rallying of the entire

working class, employed and unemployed, into a mass movement of protest and militant action against this open offensive of the capitalist class, the bosses will succeed in their plot against the unions. Here is a clear-cut issue on which all workers can be united. Our Party must take a leading role in strengthening the unions of the building trades workers and aiding them to resist the concerted drive prepared for long in advance by the propaganda of the contractors and construction monopolists.

New Methods of Unemployed Work

In this connection our whole task among the unemployed assumes a new and more concrete aspect. By its present tactics the capitalist state, through Roosevelt, offers us a means of uniting the employed and the unemployed in a common struggle. It becomes clearer than ever to the employed workers that it is necessary to secure cooperation of the unemployed. The employed workers must, through their unions, offer every help to organize the unorganized in relief workers' unions as auxiliaries to the regular unions. Our answer to the attempt of the bosses to destroy the building trades unions by utilizing as tools the unemployed in the form of relief workers, must be the complete organizing of the unemployed as well as the employed to secure higher wages for both. The recent militant strikes of relief workers in Arkansas for higher pay give us excellent reason to believe that our task is one that will meet with ready response. Already the organizations of the building trades workers are seething with revolt against the direct blows aimed at them by Roosevelt.

The Workers and the State

It is clear that Roosevelt no longer finds it necessary to even appear to cater to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. When it becomes necessary in the eyes of the capitalist class to make a drive directly forward against the A. F. of L. unions, the A. F. of L. "leaders", only yesterday sitting at the same table with the bosses and their government representatives, are unceremoniously shown the door. The resulting outcry of "Judas" on the part of the labor fakers is quite understandable. But the workers face a problem more difficult, but more educative, than ever before. Their enemy now becomes the combined force of the capitalist class and its political expression, the capitalist state. The building trades workers will find themselves more and more in conflict with the state itself. It becomes clear that the government must take on a more and more repressive character to achieve the bold and undisguised aims of American imperialism.

THE UNITED FRONT AND WAR

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the last in Comrade West's series of four articles on war.)

The firm understanding that the fight against war is the fight for workers' power and a socialist society is the key to all the "anti-war" activities of Marxists. It is the Marxist, participating actively and constantly in the class struggle, who is carrying on the only genuine and effective fight against war. All the fine phrases and noble sentiments and even the deep sincerity of pacifists are powerless against war, when not actually of aid to the war-makers.

The knowledge that this is true is hard for many, even for some Marxists, to accept. Surely, they feel, there is something important in common between us and the non-revolutionary millions from both the working class and the middle class who oppose war. At least we agree in our opposition to imperialism, in our realization of its barbarous cruelty and horror, and in our earnest wish to put an end to it. Can we not all unite on this basis, leaving other differences aside? Thus we may not only have greater forces to defend ourselves against war and its destruction, but we will come into closer contact with these others and win them gradually to our side on other questions.

Unfortunately, this feeling is mistaken. Whatever the appearances, Marxists have in fact nothing in common with these "war-opponents". The reason for this is that the war-opponents do not really oppose war at all. They do not, because they do not oppose the causes of war, and are not willing to take steps to remove these causes—that is, take revolutionary steps. Their "opposition to war", therefore, is in the last analysis only a screen to satisfy their consciences.

AN ENTRY TO THE MINDS OF PACIFISTS

However, this is not the whole story. There is one advantage which even a vague feeling of opposition to war, so long as it is sincerely held, gives, and this is of great importance to the growth of the revolutionary movement. It provides what might be called a psychological meeting point between Marxists and non-Marxists. In the resolve to end imperialism war, pacifists and Marxists share in common an idea. This gives Marxists, if they make proper use of it, an entry to the minds of pacifists. It gives them an audience, a chance to say: "You believe you are opposed to war. Very well, we will take you at your word. If you are opposed to war, you must want to get rid of the causes of war. We will show you what the causes are..." And Marxists can go on to demonstrate how real opposition to war must lead to a revolutionary position.

Many persons have come to a revolutionary position after starting with a feeling against war. And many more will do so, if Marxists make an intelligent and clear approach to them. The logic of an anti-war stand, if carried out, must lead to the revolutionary movement. Too much should not be expected: economic interest, the powerful propaganda on the other side, will, in the majority of cases, prevent pacifists from accepting the full logical conclusion. But not in all cases. And Marxists cannot afford to neglect any avenue of approach.

WAR ISSUE

BASE FOR AGITATION

Thus the "war issue" is correctly a powerful base for Marxist education and agitation. This is particularly true in approaching intellectuals, professionals and others from the middle class, whose alliance with the revolutionary movement often follows more from psychological and moral considerations than from immediate economic interest. A factory worker who wants security and a better standard of living can be shown how only a workers' state can provide them. A teacher or writer honestly against war can be shown how only socialism will eliminate it.

It is, therefore, correct and necessary for Marxists to participate in "Conferences against War". Their business at such conferences is, of course, not to form permanent "alliances against war", not to tell pacifists that "we are all engaged in a common fight", but to present openly and unequivocally the Marxist analysis of war and to show why all other analyses are wrong. It is likewise important to speak and write about the Marxist position on war as widely as possible, before both working class and middle class audiences. For example, this is often an excellent opening for the statement of the revolutionary position before meetings of trade union or unemployed league members.

MAKING MARXIST POSITION CLEAR

The Marxist position, moreover, should not be left in the abstract. It is the duty of Marxists at all times to expose concretely the war plans and maneuvers of the imperialist governments. Immediate an-

alyses of treaties, "conversations", armaments, "war games", exchange and tariff struggles, border encounters, arms limitation conferences, naval races, etc., must be given by the Marxist press, in order to make clear to the working class the exact progress of the war danger, and to pierce through the fogs of the "peace talk" of the capitalist statesmen.

Such agitational and educational efforts are all part of the fight against war. Nevertheless, none of them includes anything in the nature of a "united front against war". Even a conference against war participated in by several parties and organizations is not a united front. A united front is constituted when several parties or other groups set up machinery to carry out certain specific activities in common.

We have already seen that there is no such thing as a "programmatic" united front, either against war or on any other matter.

It is moreover true that no united front of any kind can be constituted against war in general. This follows from the fact that only the revolutionary party is actually against the whole social institution of war and it cannot have a united front with itself.

APPLICATION OF THE UNITED FRONT

Is any sort of united front possible in the fight against war? The truth is that the application of the united front is more limited in the fight against war than in any other phase of the revolutionary struggle. It could not be too widely. The fight against war is too deadly and sharp. In the face of it only the firmest Marxist position can stand up. The last war proved this beyond question. Before the war crisis, not only the bourgeois "internationalists" and the pacifist organizations but the great Social-Democratic Party itself collapsed. Any compromise whatever with the capitalist state—and only the Marxist position does not compromise—means weakening when the state is confronted with a war situation. However, there remain certain

possibilities for united front activities, and these should not be neglected. For example: If a revolutionary crisis arises in Cuba, the question of United States intervention will be immediately raised. It is quite feasible that a broad united front, including both working class and middle class organizations, should be formed to fight intervention. Or, in the case of a war between Japan and the Soviet Union, a united front might well struggle to prevent the sending of munitions and supplies to Japan. There would be dangers, however, even in such a united front. It might be utilized to support entrance of the U. S. government into the war, against Japan. Since the U. S. would enter only for its own imperialist ends, and could not properly defend the Soviet Union, Marxists would be required to oppose the U. S. government in such an eventuality as implacably as in any other war. The defense of the Soviet Union can come only from the working masses, not from the capitalist state.

United front agreements might be properly formed on other occasions to support colonial struggles, whether of U. S. colonies or of others—to prevent U. S. capitalists from aiding the imperialist home countries. But in a major war crisis any united front would inevitably be a narrow one. At the start of a major war crisis, the capitalist state is at its strongest, seeming to rise above internal conflicts and sweep the whole nation into its embrace, as at the entry of the U. S. government into the last war. The strength and very existence of the state are bound up with the war, and an act against the war becomes an act directly against the state. The act against war is almost automatically a revolutionary act. And only the Marxist party is consciously prepared to advocate a revolutionary act.

This is the reason for the deceptiveness of the slogan, "a general strike at the outbreak of war," put forward by socialists and even pacifists. A general strike at the outbreak of a major war would be a revolutionary strike; only those

who are prepared to carry it through to the revolutionary transfer of power to the workers can genuinely advocate it. It presupposes, furthermore, a tremendously advanced working class, ripe for power, and without this would either evaporate or go quickly down in the uselessly spilled blood of the strikers. The imperialist state, staking its existence on its greatest gamble—imperialist war—is scarcely going to give up and accept defeat from abroad because of pressure at home—unless the pressure at home is a revolutionary force which is itself prepared to defeat and overthrow the state.

But though the united front is thus strictly limited in the fight against war, narrowly understood, the analysis of war shows that actually every successfully carried through united front is an advance in the fight against war.

This is the answer to those who say that we must have an approach to the middle class and to middle class minded workers; and conclude therefrom that we must build pacifist leagues to publish pacifist literature and make pacifist speeches. By no means. Marxists approach all groups with their own Marxist program intact. Marxists join them, where it advances the cause of the workers, in common action.

United fronts to defend civil liberties, to protect workers' rights, to resist vigilantes, to free class war prisoners and defeat lynchings by courts or mobs, to force through a workers' security program, to build an effective non-partisan labor defense league—these are united fronts broad enough to include all groups who are honest in their protests against the excesses of capitalism and their desire for a better social order.

These, moreover, provide in action approaches to the middle class and to the working masses, without at the same time capitulating to the illusions of a middle class program. And these, properly understood, like every advance in the workers' movement toward power, are real and genuine actions in the fight against war.

WORLD IN REVIEW

FASCISM DEGRADES ITALIAN WORKERS TO FEUDAL SLAVES

MILAN, Italy.—Neither Mussolini's bombastic declaration that the long-announced Italian corporative system has finally been ushered in, nor the creation of numerous new fascist organizations has improved the lot of the Italian workingman.

At the end of 1934, Italy had more than 1,200,000 unemployed. Unemployed agricultural workers increased from 118,000 in the summer of 1933 to 144,000 for the corresponding period of 1934. Due to the fascist trade union regulations of 1926, which safeguarded the employers, wages have sunk constantly to lower levels. Collective bargaining means in practice only the regulation of wages by the state. According to figures published in the November issue of *Lavoro Fascista* the average wage decreased 20 percent in 1927, 10 percent more in 1928, and in 1930 a further 8 percent.

Mine Wages Decline

Since 1930 wages are no longer regulated on a country-wide basis, but according to the needs of the employers' groups in the various districts. The organ of the Federation of Italian Industrialists, *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, states that the wage level in the mining industries declined 23 percent from November 1930 to June 1934, and 19.4 percent in the building industries. The reduction of wages has been greater than the decline in living expenses.

Return to Feudalism

Agricultural wages even in the most fertile centers are so miserable that the government has been compelled to create the "Compartecione" Under this system the landowner turns one-half to one acre over to the worker, with implements and seeds. The worker tills the land in his free hours, and keeps one-third of the crop. Two-thirds go to the employer, who has no wage obligation. In other words, the corporate state has brought about a return to a feudal system.

In the political arena, opposition reaching far into the ranks of government officials is evident. Organized labor which fought fascism tooth and nail for more than six years, is not dead, as is clearly shown by the steady increase of political trials before the special Fascist tribunals. During October the terror tribunals were in session almost daily. Many socialist workers were sentenced to long prison terms for their efforts to resurrect old political organizations and distribution of illegal literature.

by shells and ammunition. But the comparison does not hold water. Because a material gain even in relation to the capitalist is just so much spent, while in relation to the workers it is a material gain. Let us see. If the vanguard of the workers moves up and intrenches the class behind the material gain (reform and not a spark) it is already a NEW PROBLEM and especially a totally different struggle if the capitalists try to retake what they gave, and not what we won, it is no longer a question of reform in the sense of immediate demand (offensive struggle) but a problem of defensive struggles of our class.

How many material gains (regardless of how they came) were retaken and are being retaken by the capitalist in the present crisis? Any thinking worker can answer this fairly well. In this case if the vanguard does not measure up to standards we can say, the greater the number of these gains through reforms and social reforms, the easier it is for capitalism to retake them and those that come to us as material gains as sparks toward revolution, the harder it is for the capitalist to retake.

One only has to look at the sick coal industry (favorable to the capitalist) with past gains primarily through class struggle and compare it with other healthy capitalist industries (favorable to the workers) where gains were mainly reforms and realize the difference between the two. A comparison will show reforms are relinquished easier than the gains through class battles unless the vanguard's right or wrong policy alters the problem.

Can we lay down definite plans to prevent our action from following the reformist camp? We can lay down principles in general, but it is impossible to lay down a line of march that is fool proof. Each concrete struggle must have its tactics formulated on the basis of Marxian analysis. A line of demarcation between reformist action (reforms) and revolutionary action can be made in every struggle but every developing struggle will have forces and action of both. It is up to the Marxists to move these struggles out of the channels of REFORM into the channels of deeper class struggles. A spontaneous struggle (made in the office of the bureaucrats) is just as wrong (isolated) as to enter movements which are organizationally part of the enemy forces (Parliamentary action—charity organizations, etc.)—the latter will not be isolation from numbers but will be isolation from the role of the Marxists as the vanguard of the revolution.

The Party Fund

THE Party Foundation Fund Campaign is coming to a close. According to the report listed below we have received close to \$3,000. This leaves another \$2,000 to be collected in the remaining period.

CAN WE DO IT? YES! PROVIDED THAT—

Every member of the organization

Every friend and sympathizer of our Party gets busy NOW.

Comrade Muste who just returned from a trip as far west as Minneapolis and Chicago and down south into West Virginia, gives a hopeful picture of the possibilities for quick growth of the Workers Party.

The immediate need, according to Comrade Muste, is a few capable organizers in the field.

If we collect the balance of the \$5,000 we can fulfill our Program of Action.

WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER? MAKE IT TO-DAY!

Respond to the circular letter sent you a month ago, if you are a sympathizer.

Complete payment on your pledge if you are a member.

Don't delay. Let us prove that we are able to make sacrifices for our convictions. Pinch your personal budget. Make a small loan if necessary. Make it possible for us to announce that we have been able to rise to the occasion and complete our first task.

WE ARE WAITING FOR YOUR ANSWER! WHAT SHALL IT BE?

RECEIPTS

Previously reported	\$1,483.50
From Individuals	
Our friend who promised \$1,000 if we can raise a similar amount from others completed her payment and sent the balance of	\$600.00
Mae Allen, Ky.	1.00
A Friend, Minneapolis	10.00
Jeff Hall, Bryan, Ohio on list	3.00
H. H. Weaver	\$1.00
A. Youse	1.00
Rail	1.00
Herman Dudeck, Ohio	1.00
A. Brumz, Northville, Mich. (for point 10 of Program)	5.00
Jane Hartford, Cal.	1.00
Anonymous, Warwick, N. Y.	1.00
A Friend, N. Y.	1.00
Dan, N. Y. C.	1.00
L.C.R., Utica, N. Y.	1.00
Alexander, Leonie, N. J.	1.00
Jean Paul, Camden, N. J.	3.00
B. Weisbroth, Coney Island	3.00
Allentown, Pa.	2.50
Benj. Dunzer, Ashland, Wis.	.25
Fritz Jensen, Easton, Pa.	2.00
N. Woelfel, N. Y.	3.00
E. Stutzer, N. Y.	3.00
A Friend, N. Y.	1.00
From Branches	
Newark, N. J. (Roberts)	100.00
Columbus, Ohio	14.75
Cleveland, Ohio	12.00
(\$9 from br. \$3 from Keller)	
Waukegan, Ill.	15.00
Washington, D. C.	2.00
Philadelphia, Pa.	31.60
Davenport, Iowa	2.70
Kansas City, Mo.	11.00
Pittsburgh, Pa.	9.46

New Castle, Pa.	4.00
Los Angeles, Cal.	8.50
Minneapolis, Minn.	75.00
Chicago District	75.00
New York District	188.20
At Muste Dinner raised for Party Fund	300.00
Total	\$2,988.95

Workers Party of the U. S.	
2 West 15th Street	
New York City	
Enclosed find \$..... for the Party Foundation Fund.	
Name	
Address	
City	

GOT ANY LABOR BOOKS TO SPARE? WE NEED THEM

CHARLESTON, West Va. — We are starting a workers' library here and would like the assistance of all other branches of the Party, or of individual comrades. We can use old pamphlets, old books, papers, everything! We are starting weekly classes and can use outline material for teaching these classes. The workers are flocking into the Unemployed Leagues. We need lots of labor books!

LAWRENCE CONWAY
2334 Kanawha St.
Charleston, W. Va.

Should Revolutionists Build a Labor Party in America?

By HUGO OEHLER

(continued from last issue)

The question of the Labor Party must be considered within the framework of our general program of parliamentary action. If we hold to the theory that we can vote the capitalists out of office then a Labor Party may be the ideal instrument to sneak up on the capitalists. But since this is the height of folly the Labor Party falls from grace. On the other hand, it is not difficult for the ultra-lefts who swing to the other extreme and refuse to participate in parliamentary action, to dismiss the Labor Party with one stroke of the pen.

The revolutionary Marxists utilized parliamentary action only as an auxiliary activity and to win backward layers of the masses in the process of exposing the enemy and their agents in elections, etc.

Because we work in reactionary unions and help build trade unions of the workers, some draw the conclusions that we can help build a Labor Party. But there is no comparison between the elementary union organizations on the economic field and the Labor Party on the political field. It is important to obtain a proper relationship between the elementary economic organizations of the class which are the instruments for immediate demands and the political party of the class.

The political party is the instrument of the vanguard and its main objective is the struggle for power. Only a revolutionary Marxian party can lead the masses and fulfill this purpose. A Labor Party can only be an instrument of reform.

Reforms and Immediate Demands

The question of a Labor Party

is bound up with the question of immediate demands and reforms. Let us consider the question of reforms.

All working class organizations claiming to fight for the class have stumbled on this problem to a greater or lesser degree. Outstanding in the Marxian camp are De Leon and the S. L. P., which, unable to find a way out, just threw the whole question of immediate demands overboard and denied it all except in the trade unions. But since practical needs of the class today are material things and not ghosts their denial was to no avail. The P. P. to this day, is following the footsteps of the S. L. P., on this vital class question. Both of these organizations have taken a negative position while the S. P., swinging to the opposite direction, has transformed every struggle for immediate demands into reforms of the worst kind. In the Communist currents, sad to say, we find them handling the question with kid gloves.

We Marxists cannot borrow many dictionary words and use them to define things and conditions in the class struggle. The word reform is one such word.

Is there any difference in the material gains or practical needs of the day for our class "given" by the bosses or their labor leaders or won by our class in struggle? To every Marxist we know there is a fundamental difference for our class position. Only by understanding the class forces and causes for the way our class receives these material gains from "day to day" can we (after explaining) use the word "reform" in a "revolutionary sense". This understanding enables us to label the kind of material gain to denote reformist or revolutionary action in the struggle for immediate demands.

If the practical needs of the day are "given" by the bosses or their government they are reforms; if they come from the bosses' labor leaders, trade union or political, they are social reforms and if these gains are won by our class in struggle led by its vanguard they are sparks for revolution. Practical needs of the day for our class cannot be abstracted from the class struggle and the organizational and ideological position of the class. If we could abstract these immediate demands or gains from the position of battle of the class forces we could say all these gains are reforms. But such an abstraction is false while other abstractions, such as are explained in "Capital" are not false.

We know that reforms or social reforms do not come from the big hot hearts of the bosses and their flunkies. We know they are granted from above because the class pressure from below compels them to relinquish this material gain for

our class in order to stem the tide and check the growing opposition. It is more profitable to "kill with kindness" than to kill through white terror, providing the position of the bosses enables them to carry out the former. The degree of class pressure determines, in the majority of cases, if the practical needs will be direct from the bosses or from their flunkies or from the class itself through correct leadership. Reforms can be said to result from class pressure but class pressure without or with wrong pressure of the class vanguard means a disproportion in the relation of class and party.

The growth and decay stage of capitalism will cause a big variance in this disproportion. In the growth stage of capitalism, the objective factors favor the capitalist and reforms while the decay stage gives the objective factors to the revolutionist to a far greater degree. This brings to the fore the subjective factor, the vanguard as the vital determining factor of the problem as Trotsky points out, not only in revolutions but also in the struggle for immediate demands.

The degree of class pressure does not always determine the success of reformism, as the above will indicate. The stage of capitalism we live in as well as its ebbs and flows, and also its uneven capitalist development, is no abstraction in the class struggle. In the growth stage of capitalism, crumblings in response to class pressure were the least evil for the bosses, because the very expansion and new markets more than made up for the loss. In the decay stage reforms are bitter concessions from the capitalist, knitted to a higher degree not only to the class pressure but more so to the policies of the vanguard.

If capitalism grants reforms (beats us to our point of advantage) this has its ideological influence upon our class or section of the class as well as a negative organizational result, scattering our forces and at the same time driving these class forces into some form of capitalist controlled organization. Such prevents the crystallization of our class ideology and unless the vanguard is wide awake and capable we lose even the possibility of retrenching ourselves for the next struggle. In this sense, as a class problem and not as an abstract material gain our class, which only learns by experience, has lost by the bosses' coup and with it the vanguard loses.

With the capitalist coup in reforms, the class line reforms with the bosses at a more advantageous position than before. A material gain given by capitalism as a reform is just so much labor power (controlled by capitalism) spent as it would be spent on the battlefield in destruction of the enemy forces

Other features will be gypsy fortune telling, card tricks and a chess and checkers table. Supper and drinks for all the hungry and thirsty.

NEW YORK.—Arrangements have been completed for the "Nite Club" revue to take place at midnight on Saturday, Feb. 16, as one feature of the dance to be held at Germania Hall, for the International Workers School. A last minute change will be the appearance of A. J. Muste as master of ceremonies in the place of Max Shachtman.

There will be three Spanish numbers by Anita Case, Russian airs by Fred Nash, violinist, a Mexican peon dance and Siberian folk dance by Sylvia Stone, songs by Blar Ottefahl, and three gypsy numbers by the Settlement Dance Group. The dance music will be played by "Ozzie" Caswell and his band, starting at 9 P.M.

NEW MILITANT

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Socialist Party Adventurism

IN two most important fields the Socialist Party of the United States now seems bent on demonstrating that when it comes to betrayal of the united front, "mechanical domination by paper organizations" and all the rest of it, they are not to be outdone by the Stalinists.

In March it is proposed by S. P. elements to hold in Washington a "convention" to form a "non-partisan national unemployed organization". Each state organization of unemployed is to have fifteen votes in this "convention", regardless of its membership. Even at that the fifteen need not be present; one "delegate" can cast the entire fifteen votes on behalf of the unemployed of his state! The unemployed have never even acted on this proposal, either in local meetings or in state conventions. The National Unemployed League has repeatedly challenged the S. P. leaders who are trying to pull off this raw maneuver, which has not been and cannot be the means of building a really solid unemployed organization.

"Let us bring the bona fide unemployed organizations of the country together in a convention of delegates from the local leagues on the basis of proportional representation, and thus form a national organization. The N.U.L. will not stand on ceremony in such case. Its forces will merge in such a body."

The S. P. elements in the unemployed field will not accept that simple and straightforward proposal. Instead, in the most approved Stalinist manner, they seek to gather a few top officials, many representing only paper organizations, and so to erect a dual organization. Why?

As indicated elsewhere in this issue of the New Militant, the S. P. seems about to set up its "own" so-called "Labor and Socialist Defense Organization" in much the same arbitrary fashion, after the N.E.C. and the Labor Committee of the party had formally gone on record for a sound non-partisan defense proposal and had for months been negotiating with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, the W. P. and other organizations on that basis.

What becomes, in view of such outrageous actions, of the stock S. P. charge that a united front is impossible because the Communist Party "always wants

to dominate and capture, brings in paper organizations, breaks agreements, in short, cannot be depended upon for honest united action?"

Revolutionary Marxists have never been duped into believing that Socialist right wingers, "labor lawyers", trade union bureaucrats, would participate loyally in united mass struggle actions, in the course of which their own impotence and traitorous character would inevitably be exposed.

But it is the Militants and left-wingers in the S.P. who must give an account of themselves now. They claim to be Marxists and revolutionaries. Do they line up with the S. P. right wing in these matters? Are they going to play a typically capitalist confusionist role which is in effect more harmful than that of open and avowed reactionaries? Or are they going to fight uncompromisingly for a principled united front for struggle?

At all events, once again the crying need for the leadership of a sound revolutionary Marxist party is demonstrated. Without it, there will be no clear and vigorous united action in the many fields which need it today.

Bootlickers

A MEERK and humble "worm", according to a well-known rhyme, finally turned upon his tormentor and said: "It was all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me down stairs?"

The A. F. of L. Executive Council seems incapable of showing even that much self-respect and healthy resentment in its dealings with President Roosevelt. Roosevelt, as was pointed out in the New Militant last week, rebuffed and insulted the A. F. of L. by renewing the automobile code without including any of labor's amendments and then rubbed it in by making a public statement charging, on the basis of elections conducted by the anti-union Auto Labor Board, that the A. F. of L. had no members in Detroit. John L. Lewis, Bill Green et al. howled with rage, talked about the NRA "betraying" the workers, etc.—as indeed it has done in every one of the basic industries.

Within one week the whole Executive Council marches to the White House in its best bib and tucker and "organized labor and the Roosevelt administration reestablished an entente cordiale". Roosevelt in honeyed phrases said he recognized the A. F. of L. as "one of the great and outstanding institutions of the country". Green in equally honeyed language said the A. F. of L.'s criticism was not against the NRA but against "those clothed with administrative authority in the NRA".

What results! Roosevelt and his big business get out of this love-feasting between the capitalist government and the trade union bureaucrats was shown a couple of days later when the A. F. of L. gave up its fight for the prevailing rate of wages under the new public works bill, accepting a typical Rooseveltian compromise.

Union officials who expel militants who try to organize and kick the boots of a capitalist politician even when the latter has openly sabotaged efforts of the workers to organize, and who then turn round and agree to a new cut in the wage standard by this same capitalist henchman, are the most dangerous and shameful traitors of the masses.

Let the honest and militant forces in the unions organize to smash the power of this pious and traitorous officialdom!

Greetings from the New Manager

The confusion caused, of necessity, by the combination of merging and moving is beginning to subside; that is to say, system is being restored and the new business manager is able to take time out occasionally to breathe, eat an occasional meal, and, incidentally, to write this brief greeting to all friends of the New Militant.

During the past several weeks Cara Cook and myself worked hours and hours so that things should be in good order when the fatal day arrived upon which she would no longer be able to postpone her departure. In her "last will and testament"

S.P. Violates Defense Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

to propose for the organization". This plan was twice endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. It was incorporated into the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of last September and published in the Socialist party press. The Labor Committee of the Socialist party was instructed to proceed with the work of the Conference Committee. For six months on one pretext after another the Socialist party, through its negotiators, delayed action. Now it is proceeding with the policy announced in the New Leader. Although the S. P. has been formally committed to the plan of the Provisional Committee, it announced its new policy without previous notice or discussion with the organizations which had endorsed the plan.

Does this change of policy signify only a change in the method of launching a permanent labor defense organization? Not at all. The real significance lies deeper. The plan of the Provisional Committee provides that "the organization's chief activities for the defense of class-war prisoners shall consist of . . . (3) organization of pressure campaigns enlisting broad masses of worker and sympathizers in meetings and public demonstrations. . . ." To make this possible the plan provided for a structure which included in addition to affiliation of trade unions, local branches on a national scale, along the lines of the I.L.D. in its good days.

Will this be the policy adopted by the conference launched and controlled by the S. P.? What reason is there to think so? All the indications point in the opposite direction. To begin with, the old policy was agreed to by the Militants when they were in control and riding high. The new policy is announced by August Claessens

in issue number 8 she forgot to mention that she bequeathed to me a set of records in excellent condition and well-arranged for efficient working. To tell the truth I do not believe she forgot; I think she was just too modest to say so. However, I wish to express appreciation on this score and to say that if all your friends out in the field will cooperate to the same extent, especially in seeing to it that bundle payments are kept right up-to-date, bundle orders increased as rapidly as possible, and as many new subscriptions sent in during the drive and thereafter as it is possible to get, we will soon have an even better paper than we have now; and I think that is saying something.

On with the drive!

Fraternally,
HAWTHORNE WINNER

as secretary of the New York Labor Committee, subsequent to the capture of that committee by the right wing and the ousting of the Militants from it. Moreover, this policy is announced at a time when the right wing in the party is advancing and the Militants are in retreat. Claessens himself defines the function of "a powerful and effective Labor and Socialist National (Defense) organization" as immediate action in response to "calls for strike relief, emergencies (?), arrests and preparation for trials and for appeals in cases of conviction". In short, the Labor Defense policy of the right wing is an efficient organization on a legalistic basis plus the present strike relief activities which the S. P. is conducting. It is reformist through and through. That will be, as the thing stands now, the policy of any defense organization controlled by the S. P. especially today. The Socialist party appears to be heading in the direction of launching a sectarian defense organization. The March 15 conference is being organized on that basis and to accomplish that end. The Socialist party is violating its agreements with other working class organizations. It is still further dividing the labor and defense movements. It is sabotaging an opportunity to take a significant step forward in the direction of unity.

That is a responsibility which we do not care to share. As before, the Workers Party stands for a broad, inclusive, representative, non-partisan labor defense organization. It is ready to enter into united action to build such a movement. Is the Socialist Party now going to read itself out of such a movement? Above all, what are the Militants going to say and do about the proposed betrayal of the policy to which they have for months stood committed?

Decry Attack Against Mini

(Continued from Page 1)

week a statement made in August to the district attorney by Norman Mini. In this statement Mini openly declared himself a member of the Communist party and a believer in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The existence of the statement has been known ever since the Sacramento papers headlined it in August. Mini was a member of the C. P. as late as December when he left it to join the Workers Party.

Prosecutor McAllister offered Mini's statement as a "confession". Attorney Goldman immediately objected, pointing out that the defendant is ready to stipulate that he belonged to the C. P. and believed in what he understood to be its doctrines, but that he could not "confess" these things since they are not crimes. The judge blandly admitted the statement as a "confession".

The Communists, who are well aware that Mini has repeatedly refused offers of immunity (as reported several weeks ago by the N.P.L.D.) has joined the prosecution in characterizing Mini's statement as a "confession", adding that Mini is a "stool-pigeon". But immediately after the statement was read to the jury, many of the defendants, led by Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and Nora Konkila, rushed up to Mini to inform him that the statement was a "flop" as far as damaging the case was concerned. All expressed readiness to sign a statement expressing solidarity with Mini and denouncing the prosecution for calling this document a confession.

At this point however, Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P., appeared and ordered everybody to withhold their signatures. Despite this, Jack Warnick has issued a statement over his own signature defending Mini and denouncing the slander campaign against him.

Unable to divert attention from their disruption of the united front several weeks ago, the C. P. is now trying to confer attention on a crusade against Norman Mini. A similar attack is planned against Jack Warnick. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense is active, although laboring under great disadvantages due to the slander campaign of the Hearst press on the one hand and the Communist party press on the other against Mini. The Socialist party state secretary has sent out a statement accusing the C. P. of disrupting the united front, and appealing to all branches to contribute to the N.P.L.D. Sacramento fund. A resolution on behalf of the defendants has been received from Local 574, famous truckdrivers union of Minneapolis.

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

(Continued on Page 4)

be (got) ready for the afternoon". Quite in the same spirit, "the line is run past the noon hour and also past the quitting time". We find, to add the final touch, "the practice of requiring men to report for work every day and sometimes waiting around for hours before being told that there was no work for them". Unless the worker "shows up" when there is no work to be done, he will find it difficult to get a job when work does come along.

BOSS DIPS IN PAY ENVELOPE

No sooner does the worker earn his wage, however, than the boss begins to dip into the pay envelope, extracting little deductions here and there, for the support of "group insurance" and "group welfare" plans. These plans, the report informs us, "are in effect compulsory even though theoretically voluntary". As for the workers, "they have nothing to say about the conduct of the plans and of their management. They do not know what happens to their money. They consider (these plans) a publicly device which the employee pays for".

Not only do the employers fail to recognize seniority rights—the one sure safeguard against discrimination—but deliberately pursue the policy of scrapping workers over 40 years of age and replacing them with fresh recruits imported from the South and elsewhere. The situation of the older workers, the report tells us, "is terrible. They are doomed to idleness. These men have 15 or 20 years of life ahead of them. They are not really old—they are from 40 to 50 years of age. Their savings may last a couple of years. Some of them may be fortunate and have grown children who can take care of them. The others must fall back on public relief and, after a time, to the poorhouse".

Safety and health do not concern the employers. "Men on the line cannot leave their jobs to get medical treatment for hours after an injury occurs." In many plants, "the machines have not been kept in good repair and as a result accidents are more prone to occur". Many workers are "subjected to occupational diseases because of the failure of the management to furnish modern devices for drawing off fumes of various sorts, particularly in the paint shops where the lead hazard is great". As for the ventilating systems, they are often broken-down, decrepit, repaired at long intervals.

CODE IS VIOLATED

Violations of the code labor provisions (innocuous though the provisions be) are by no means infrequent. Production workers are required to labor more than 48 hours per week (the code limit) and when they complain, are informed "an exemption" by the NRA. Highly skilled employees have been placed "on a salary basis in order to get complete exemption from hourly provisions for them". Piece rate earnings have been "averaged over an entire pay period", although on quite a number of days "the earnings may have been less than the code minimums".

As for the code provision which permits the averaging of hours, it has "denied reemployment to many who have been without work for months and given greater force to threats of summary dismissal directed at those who might express an unfavorable remark about the speeding up of production. It tends to maintain the length of the waiting line of job seekers", which is one of the principal devices by which the bosses smother grievances and complaints. The tool, die, jig and fixture workers, and all the maintenance employees—whose maximum hours in any one week, the code fails to limit—are worst off of all. "Everywhere we are told that during the busy season they worked 70, 80, perhaps 90 hours a week. And always they contend, and are willing to prove, men who had worked in their departments were idle".

EXPERTS SPEAK OF RATIONAL WORKERS

But what do the experts who gathered all these data recommend as a practical solution? The simplicity of their scheme staggers the understanding. Instead of having one single prolonged seasonal peak in automobile production, the annual show of new models should be advanced to the autumn, thus making for two shorter seasonal peaks! But what more should we expect from a group of experts who on the face of their own findings, can blandly remark:

"The impression we gathered from the attitude of the rational (!) workers was that they were more hopeful for what the future of the code might bring them than satisfied with any salutary effects on their interests up to the present."

BRONX OPEN FORUM

"Two Years of Nazi Rule"

Speaker:

LUDWIG LORÉ

(Noted Columnist)

FRIDAY, FEB 22, 8 P.M.

Hollywood Gardens

163rd St. and Prospect Ave

United Opposition Needed against Tighe

(Continued from Page 1)

pending before the National Steel Labor Board.

In the next few days Irwin and Morris got the axe, and instructions were sent to all lodges that attendants at the conference should be immediately expelled. Failure to do so meant the withdrawal of the charter. Indications are that some 78 lodges are affected.

A committee led by Spang which attempted to see the International officials was met at the door of the union building by a squad of police and detectives, and was refused admittance. A statement by secretary Louis Leonard declared that the A. F. of L. is through with the progressives.

Attempts of the progressives to gain a hearing before the executive council of the A. F. of L. have not yet been successful, although it is reported that President Green has met with the committee. It is obvious that the A. F. of L. big shots will not give the progressives any measure of genuine support. However, it may be that this august body will attempt to string them along with half-promises and much delay.

Job Before Progressives

It is obvious that the progressives can only build a union in steel if they completely wipe out the entire Tighe official family. Organization will never be established in the steel industry except by a determined and courageous battle. Mike Tighe cannot and will not fight such a battle. Neither will Bill Green. The progressives can do it only if they constitute an independent, organized force in the union, functioning on the basis of a clear program.

A successful fight against the steel barons depends, furthermore, upon a united progressive movement of militant labor in all industries.

The progressives must realize now that they had not done the necessary spadework in the local lodges. The militants had not formed an organization of their own and were not solidly organized into a disciplined force. They had depended almost exclusively on informal conferences of leaders of local lodges or districts. But, as was so tragically demonstrated in the re-convened convention last June, this constitutes an inadequate and hopelessly undependable base. There must be organization at the bottom.

The Tighe machine and influence can be destroyed only by developing a powerful, coordinated machine in opposition. Failure to do this has not forestalled a wholesale expulsion policy by the Tighe ma-

chine, nor has it secured effective aid for organizing work from the A. F. of L. The miners who attended the joint conference were also placed in a hazardous position. They had even less of an organized progressive movement with which to combat the wrath of the much more powerful Lewis-Fagan gang.

No Compromise With Fakers

On the other hand, there was evident in the Pittsburgh conference at times a "rightist" attempt to conciliate and white-wash the A. F. of L. bureaucracy which can only confuse the workers and cannot advance the cause of a militant organizing campaign. The A. F. of L. leadership must be challenged to get to work, to furnish support to the progressives; not tondied to in hypocritical fashion. The Communist party is now doing this sort of thing as part of its latest unprincipled zig-zag to the right. Their example should not be copied by honest trade union militants.

Similarly, the red hysteria must be fought not as was done in the Pittsburgh conference by crying "Do we look like Communists?", but by insisting on the principle that a union man is judged by his union activity and by showing that Tighe and Company raise the red scare only to cover up their own inaction and reason.

The real revolutionist has and can have no other program than the building of a powerful fighting industrial union in steel and a strike against the steel corporations to compel them to deal with their workers. The Workers Party stands for this program. The C. P., which has pursued an adventurist and disruptive role in steel for years, with its S.M.W.I.U., is incapable, in the absence of a revolutionary policy, of anything but the same adventurism and disruption now.

What's the job for the progressives? First and foremost is the task of building a strong, disciplined and united movement in opposition to the Tighe machine. Expulsions must be fought to the last ditch. Every attempt at red-baiting by that machine must be exposed and vigorously fought.

A vigorous campaign for reinstatement of expelled lodges and members must be organized. The lodges in "good standing" must be won to support this campaign.

The fight to force the A. F. of L. to undertake a national organizing campaign in steel must be pushed to the limit. This must lead to general strike action against the steel trust for only in this manner can a strong union be built.

Action Training School Opens

"Send us a comrade who can help in the Unemployed Leagues." "We need someone to conduct elementary education in our progressive group." "All our comrades are busy in the trade unions, can you send a comrade or two to act as organizer of the Workers Party branch." "Excellent possibilities for growth of the Workers Party. Need trained forces to take advantage of the situation."

These are typical requests which come in regularly to the national office of the Workers Party. With the growth of the party and the increased preparations for strike action in many industries skilled militants will be in ever greater demand throughout the country. Intelligent preliminary training in the class room is invaluable for effective leadership in the class struggle. New York will be called upon to supply a major part of the forces.

With this in mind, the first semester of the International Workers School in New York includes such courses as American Labor History, Instructor A. J. Muste, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, Instructor Arne Swaback; Organization Principles, Instructor Martin Abery; Workers Party Fundamentals, Instructor Ben Borkeston. Other courses include Marxist Economics, American History, Elementary English, History of the Three Internationals, Philosophy of Marxism, History of the Youth Movement, A B C of Marxism, and History of the Russian Revolution.

Classes open this coming week, February 18. Registrations will close after the second session. Register immediately. See page 2 of the current issue of the New Militant or send for School bulletin.

ON TOUR

(Continued from Page 1)

to the N.U.L. convention at Columbus last summer supposedly as the representative of numerous unemployed bodies in several states of the Pacific Northwest. He has found it possible to leave the unemployed in that great area to their fate these many months and to busy himself in a vain effort to dislodge Unemployed Leagues in Ohio and turn them into Councils. He was given the floor and indicated that he was going to demolish "Trotskyism". After one sentence he was off on a typical demagogic appeal for "united front in the struggle for bread" which netted him exactly nothing except applause from half a dozen "stooges" he has brought with him. And even these all gathered after the meeting around Sam Pollock of Toledo who happened to be present and listened for nearly an hour to his exposition of what a "united front" is and is not!

The mass meeting was followed by a three hour meeting of the Branch devoted to a serious discussion of how a revolutionary party functions in mass organizations.

An Old American Custom

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Here the revolutionary party holds its meeting in the Court of Common Pleas of Kanawha County! This is because the Unemployed Leagues

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

TITLE CONTEST ENDS
With titles still rolling in, the contest approaches its conclusion. Feb. 15 is the last day. At sun-up, or thereabouts, on Feb. 17, the court of editors will meet in solemn session to judge all titles. It will be a strenuous job but the editors are sworn to arrive at a final decision before midnight. What will the new title be? Today none but the gods know. In a week from today it will be the property of the entire world, for the column will appear with its new masthead. We want to thank all readers who sent in titles and we hope that they and many others will continue their interest by contributing items that will help make the column worthy of its new title and also representative of the entire country.

A Voice from Philly

"Dear Bill: It is very simple to get an interesting title for your column. Merely reverse the words and presto—the title appears like a C. P. Labor Party decision from this air—"Renewing Your Views".—M. P."

Other Titles

Left Jabs, Red America, In the Red, Journal-Analysis, Butting In, Looking 'Em Over, I Read It Myself, Billionaire (and that from an S.Y.L. female), Check and Double-check, Between the Lines, Perpetual Commotion, Political Pi, What's What, and What's Not, Column Left, and a host of others.

OBITUARY NOTE

The Daily Worker announces that the T.U.U.L. is now going to be dissolved. The obsequies will be held at those funeral parlors at which numerous other corpses have recently been embalmed, namely, the Red Peasants International, the National Miners Union, the Dry Pretzel Polishers International Industrial Union, and others. We are reliably informed that a typographical error in the Daily Worker omitted the important initials: S.A. P.T.B.S.N.F. (Shed a furrow tear but send no flowers.) The rank and file Rabbi, Goldstein, and the rank and file God, Divine, will officiate at the ceremonies, assisted by Sexton Stachel.

Investigating a Company Union

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York decided to give their employees a union. Being a very "generous" company they decided to write a constitution, publish membership books and to make things still easier, run the union for the employees. Some of the men applying to the Consolidated the old adage "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts", decided to investigate the company's "wooden horse". A committee was duly elected by the Chemical Dept. They took an office in the company building, printed stationery and set out on their investigation. It wasn't the kind of work the company expected from the nice spick and span new union which they had set up. The committee wanted to know who authorized the expenditures. They wanted to know how decisions were arrived at. They quizzed the members of the "General Council". They mimeographed detailed reports to their investigation and passed them around. They found the only gains to the employees from the Employees Representation Plan were: "Six thousand little yellow company union books". In their final summing up the committee denounced the "union" as a tool of the company and called on the workers to set up a real union free from company control.

Labor Proves Gratitude

That was the headline in a New York paper over the story of the gift of ten thousand dollars by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stabmen and Helpers, through its president, Dan Tobin to Postmaster General Farley to help pay off the Democratic Party deficit. It might be well to recall that when Local Union 574 of that International was struggling against the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, backed by all kinds of Democratic agents, the only help they received from Tobin was a stab in the back.

A Warm "Fascist" Smile

From the Daily Worker, which for five years denounced Bill Green as an "outright Fascist", we clip the following: "Despite Tighe's telegraphed insistence that the committee be denied recognition, Green again received the committee (Steel Workers Rank and File Committee) today. Green implied that they would be included in the Executive Council's Organization Plan. Green smiled warmly. . . . Is that the way to speak of an 'outright Fascist'? Or does a change in the 'general Stalinist line' also change 'Fascists' into 'warm smiling' friends? According to the same issue of the Daily Worker, 'Browder spoke with warm brilliance'. . . . 'Green smiled warmly'. . . . Come, come, this is too much.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

New Deal Is Bankrupt...
Wagner's Labor Bill...
Social Security...

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON.—It is easier to understand the Roosevelt legislative program or 1935 than it was to understand the programs of 1933 and 1934. The New Deal is intellectually bankrupt. It has come to the end of its rope in high-minded social experimentation, in absurd pretenses at economic planning, in the diversity of quack stimulants to keep production for profit alive. What is more, all the romantic illusions and the glamour of fervid idealism have been stripped from it; what remains is a series of legislative contradictions superimposed on the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the U.S.A.

The proposed Work Relief bill represents the scrapping of the high wage, mass purchasing power pretense of the NRA. The government, under the guise of carrying forward public works, intends to drive building trades wages down to the level of \$50 a month. It does so in the conviction that what holds back revival in the capital goods industries is high labor costs. The answer: deflate wages upon the pretense of giving work (which is a moral "tonic") rather than the dole (which is a moral "dope") to the unemployed.

PRESIDENT IS CONSISTENT

In standing against the "prevailing rate of pay" amendment (upon which the Senate revolvers insist), the President is consistent with his past behavior. OWA was scrapped because it paid wages which operated to make effective the nominal wages set forth in the code. The bottom was later cut out of the FERA relief payments for the very same reason. The government, under the terms of the Work Relief bill, must not "compete" with private employers in the labor market. This means that the government must relinquish the one and only device which might conceivably force employers into complying with the code labor standards.

At the same time, however, the President requests Congress to renew the NRA for two years. Concretely, this can mean only one thing: a continuation of the cartelization tendencies already long operative before the Recovery Act, and to which the Act gave the official blessing of the law. More monopolies; more price fixing; more production curtailment; more allocation of output quotas—in short, jamming down upon the economic system the rule of the Code authorities. On really and truly raising wage rates; on really and truly shortening the work-week, the President is altogether silent. As for Section 7a, he contents himself with a brief pious hypocrisy.

WAGNER'S LABOR BILL

Senator Wagner's newly-introduced Labor Disputes Bill—which would outlaw the company union—is not an Administration measure. It could not be an Administration measure, for the President is the last man in the world to expose big business to the pressure of genuine collective bargaining. The bill, so far as it outlaws the company union, will not pass. So far, however, as it clears the path for the progress of compulsory arbitration, there is every reason to believe that the Administration will find certain features of it worth saving.

SHADOW BOXING

The so-called "Social Security" program is slowly moving through the legislative mill of committee hearings. These hearings are mere shadow boxing. The President and his advisers know what they want and are determined to get it: not security for the unemployed, the aged, and the sick by levying taxes upon the rich, but rather compulsory saving by which wage earners are compelled to pay for the hazards and risks inflicted upon them by a capitalist system.

Despite all the President's loose talk about "redistributing wealth and income," no plans for changing the present taxation system are being contemplated. Neither income and corporate profit taxes, on the one hand, nor inheritance taxes on the other, will be raised; at least not to the detriment of the Mellons, the Du Ponts, the Gracys and their ilk. If we can expect anything new on fiscal policy, we may shortly expect a reversion to the "balanced budget" ideal. When this comes it will mark the final retreat from the

(Continued on Page 4)

TO ALL SUBSCRIBERS!

Due to the moving of our printing shop the February 23 issue was omitted. All subscribers are assured, however, that they will not miss an issue. The next one will be numbered 11 so as to avoid confusion and thus your present expiration number will carry over an extra week. More subscriptions will help us get the paper out earlier in the week.

—The Business Manager

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

NEW MILITANT

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N.U.L. Plans Caravan to Washington

Mini on Stand Gives Lie to 'Stool-pigeon' Charge

Further proof of the degeneration of the leadership of the Communist Party is the campaign of slander and vilification it is now carrying on against Norman Mini, one of the 17 defendants on trial in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism laws of that state. Mini has been labeled a counter-revolutionist, a renegade and a stool pigeon by the Communist Party press. It is outrageous testimony in court has been deliberately falsified and his character has been attacked in the Western Worker and the Daily Worker in such a manner that it must make even a William Randolph Hearst feel like a piker.

What is the reason for these gutter ethics of the C.P.? Norman Mini is a member of the Workers Party. He left the Communist Party to join the Workers Party. That is all the reason there is.

How much longer will the honest and decent members of the Communist Party permit their leaders to slander and vilify such courageous revolutionists as Norman Mini? How much longer will they give their loyalty and devotion to a party that fosters such leadership?—Ed.

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Feb. 15.

Defiantly countering the efforts of Special Deputy Attorney General McAllister to heap slander and misrepresentation upon the revolutionary movement, and equally defiantly giving the lie to the campaign of slander against him being conducted jointly by the Hearst and Communist Party press, Norman Mini yesterday expounded from the witness stand in the Superior Court of his native county the revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin, and affirmed undying

loyalty to the cause of the working class.

As soon as Albert Goldman, noted Socialist and labor attorney retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, completed his examination of Mini, first and only witness on his own behalf in the criminal syndicalism trial now in its seventh week, Mini's co-defendants gathered about him to praise his courageous stand.

Again when McAllister, wrathfully indignant at his inability to trap or bulldoze the witness, completed a four-hour cross-examination, the defendants hailed their comrade. One openly expressed the hope that he would be able to express with equal clarity, dignity and force his determined opposition to the capitalist system and the government which is its chief administrative arm.

Thomas Quits New Leader; SP May Split

By Special Correspondent

The Socialist Party is in turmoil. So far it is still the Right wing, led by the New York State Executive Committee, under the leadership of Waldman, which is on the offensive, but the Militants and the Lefts are beginning to fight back.

Some days ago the Indiana State S. P. initiated a referendum to repudiate the Detroit Declaration and to withdraw from the national organization if it did not similarly repudiate this declaration. The N.E.C. of the S.P. took charge and "reorganized" the state. The Right workers have now incorporated as The Socialist Party, Inc. The other group is trying to get an injunction against them, prohibiting the use of the name "Socialists."

Withdrawals

The California S. P. has placed the question of withdrawal from the national party on the agenda of its next convention.

The Oregon S. P. has left the national party.

The Militants, it is reported, will shortly issue their own weekly paper, the Socialist Call. Norman Thomas has withdrawn his column from the New Leader and presumably will write for the left-wing weekly. Militants are now heard declaring a "split is inevitable."

In so far as this indicates a recognition that there are real issues within the S. P. which must be settled on a principled basis, this is a sign of progress in the developments within the party.

The Militants have in the past been weak because they have let

(Continued on page 2)

WP to Hold Conference

It is "hard to hold back a California delegation" from trekking to Pittsburgh, writes Comrade James P. Cannon, for the Active Workers' Conference of the Party to be held there March 16 and 17. Beginning on the 15th and lasting through the 18th the National Committee of the W. P. will also be in plenary session in Pittsburgh. All branches not too distant are sending two members to the Conference. All Party members who can get to Pittsburgh are eligible to attend.

Reports on the "hot" situations of Fargo, Sacramento, Akron, in steel, rubber, automobiles etc., and consideration of the growth of the Party during the first three months since the merger of the former A. W. P. and C.L.A. will have a prominent place on the agenda.

The National Committee will have the task of analyzing the developments which are taking place in other parties, C.P., S.P., etc.; the significance of the agitation for a labor party; the drift of the Roosevelt administration and its bearing on the trade union and unemployed work of the Party; international developments; and other problems.

Comrade James P. Cannon will come to Pittsburgh with detailed reports of his trip to California.

AFL to Aid Akron Bosses Fight 'Reds'

By JACK WILSON

A burning example of what workers can expect from the current and much ballyhooed A. F. of L. unionization drive in auto and steel industries was seen in the "great offensive drive" of William Green which began in Akron Sunday, Feb. 24 for the rubber industry.

Green's son-in-law, William Shepler, attorney for the Akron rubber unions, openly told the Akron rubber workers at a mass rally which started the campaign, that the "A. F. of L. knows it can and will help management keep Communism from rising and that industry is slowly beginning to realize it."

High praise for President Roosevelt followed the attack on Communism, Shepler saying that "We are fortunate in having a President whose government we know is on the side of the workers!" This, despite the open break with the A. F. of L. which Roosevelt made when the auto industry code was continued recently!

Coleman C. Claherty, special organizer for the rubber industry and close associate of Green, then urged the rubber workers to join the A. F. of L. and quit being "dumb" by remaining in the company union.

In other words, he blamed labor for the deliberate betrayals he had made in the past.

The Firestone local, containing about 2,000 members (formerly it had 8,000) has threatened to split

(Continued on Page 2)

16 Sentenced for 'Riot' In Fargo; Labor Aroused

The strike of Drivers Local 173, Fargo, N. D., which has been on since Jan. 22, is still going strong despite the most diabolical legal trickery on the part of the bosses' "law and order" machinery.

Local 173 has developed some rather unusual weapons in its latest fight. On Monday every highway leading into Fargo was picketed with immense signs reading: "16 FARGO STRIKERS HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO 44 MONTHS. DON'T TRADE IN A SCAB TOWN!"

To raise funds to continue its fight, Local 173 is sending a troupe of Union boxers and wrestlers to nearby communities, where performances will be given several nights this week.

The Special Strike Bulletin continues to appear on Fargo's streets despite Judge Paulson's whims that "Statements published in the strike bulletin... were in defiance of the court."

By ROBERT WHITCOMB

ST. PAUL.—While sixteen of the 60 Fargo strikers indicted on the "crime" of "riot" have been found guilty and sentenced to from two to six months, the strike goes on with increased fury, bigger picket lines, and renewed vigor. Meantime defense meetings are being pushed, a special one at General Drivers Hall, Minneapolis, Sunday, March 3. Myles Dunne will speak before the Minneapolis Farmer-Labor convention the same day.

The Bosses Make a Mistake

The greatest tactical error on the part of the opposition (employers, police, banks and Chamber of Commerce—all connected with the Twin City reactionaries who fought Local 574 last summer) was the bombing of the Union Hall two weeks ago, when the tear gas was aimed at men, women and children by a mob of police and deputies, in an effort to make the strikers give up their leaders. The women and kids were piled into the cellar, but the gas forced out the men, who were lined up on the sidewalk and marched to the county jail—95 of them.

This stirred popular indignation against the authorities more than anything else in the history of Fargo, even more than when the I. W. W. raids were going on during the after the War. All sorts of workers were present during the gas attack—a dance was being held—and news of the police terror spread among working people of all trades. Now the public of Fargo is predominantly in favor of a strike for the first time.

Outside of Cass County, militant members of the Farmers Union and Farmers Holiday Association are not only with the strike—they have assisted in spiriting strike leaders away from the police, especially the Minneapolis leaders who are quickly spotted and tracked down. Myles Dunne recently made such an escape, when his life was in danger.

But the unemployed are also with this strike. Having no definite unemployed organization, leaders nevertheless have persuaded the unemployed to aid their striking brothers, and the first signs of an unemployed organization is making its appearance largely because of the strike situation. Unemployed men are helping on the picket line, even employed men from Moorhead, across the Red River in Minnesota.

Meantime the trials of the 60 men indicted from the 85 arrested, which started last week and have resulted so far in the sentencing of sixteen of them, have been post-

poned pending the arrangement of adequate defense.

Adequate defense will come only from outside the strike area. Defense meetings in Minneapolis will start the ball rolling. A provisional committee is being formed which will get new members from the unions and Farmer-Labor clubs. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, just starting here, is being interested in the case, in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union. A Chicago lawyer has been approached.

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Mother of 5 Leads League Relief Fight

WAPAK, Ohio.—All their efforts to get clothes and other necessities unfilled. On Friday, Feb. 15, the unemployed League in Wapak, Ohio, county literally swamped the relief offices, presented their demands.

The main ones were:

1. The right to go to any physician, at any time, for medical care. (Granted)
2. Free transportation to and from relief jobs. (Granted)
3. No discrimination on any account against any worker. (Granted)
4. Publication of a list of all available surplus foods and immediate distribution. (Granted)
5. Immediate distribution of adequate clothing to all in need. (Granted)
6. Direct relief to all on work relief until the first check is received. (Granted)
7. That no one be required to work for payment in kind—that is, payment in direct, supplementary or surplus relief. (Granted)
8. No one to be cut from relief while the need for relief exists, to be determined in every case by a thorough investigation. (Granted)

Seven additional demands were made but not acted on. The eight demands above were granted AT ONCE. It was the first time the unemployed had stormed the relief offices.

In 1934, prior to the Columbus convention of the National Unemployed League, there was one lone League in the county—five lone members. The driving force has been Mrs. Katie Miller, mother of

(Continued on Page 2)

To Get Out Nat'l Paper For Jobless

A Caravan to Washington in May, before Congress adjourns, to present its nine-point program embodied in a Workers' Security Bill, is announced by the National Unemployed League from its headquarters in Columbus, Ohio. Plans for the caravan are getting under way.

The N.U.L. also announces that beginning soon after March 1 it will issue a national weekly paper for the unemployed, in accordance with a mandate from the last national convention. The office of the paper will be in New York.

In Columbus, the N.U.L. has moved into new headquarters, room 500, 232 North High Street. Calling attention to the rapid expansion of the League into new states, the League urges all workers interested or active in the unemployed movement to communicate with the N.U.L. office for details on the program of action for the coming six months.

Protests against the administration's attempts to kill the "prevailing rate of wage" amendment to the work relief bill were sent by the N.U.L. to Senator Carter Glass of the Senate Appropriations Committee and other prominent senators. The League, which has 1,000 branches in 22 states, warned of the coming Caravan to Washington, "by men and women from all parts of America whose patience is fast reaching the breaking point because of the apparent determination on the part of the government to destroy the American standard of living and reduce us to Chinese coolie conditions."

"We hold that all persons have the duty and right to employment," the letter continues, "performing socially useful work, under decent working conditions and for adequate wage standards, with sufficient working hours to maintain decency and health. We hold that all useful members of society are entitled to adequate sustenance without the stigma of charity; that it is the first duty of government to provide for the health and happiness of the people of the nation."

The Caravan to Washington is the outgrowth of the National Unemployed Day demonstration last Nov. 24. When the Demonstration Committee presented demands, on Nov. 27, to Secretary of Labor Perkins and Relief Administrator Hopkins, the casual reception gave new proof of the necessity of mass pressure as the only means of obtaining action.

The nine-point program for National Unemployed Day has now been incorporated into a Workers' Security Bill, with these four points as the basis:

1. The 35-hour week for labor.
2. A \$10,000,000,000 public works program, with work on the basis of the 30-hour week at \$30 per week.
3. Unemployment insurance (the London Bill).
4. Proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers pending establishment of a satisfactory social insurance system.

In announcing the new paper, the N.U.L. explains: "Competent research men will give an analysis of the administration's relief program, rules and regulations governing the relief, decency and health standards, who pays the relief bill, etc., so that you will have facts and material at your fingertips to meet all opposition in your fight to raise the living standards of the unemployed in your community."

SUBSCRIBERS, ATTENTION!

Watch the number after your name on the wrapper in which your paper is mailed. When the number after your name is the same as this number—11—it means your sub has expired and this is the last issue you will receive until we receive your renewal.

If you will send your renewal several issues in advance it will save work and expense in the office and insure your receiving the paper without interruption. No subscriptions can be back dated. Back issues will be supplied at the regular rates plus postage.

Please cooperate!

—Business Manager.

Use the renewal blank appearing elsewhere in this issue.

The New Press Is Here; We'll Do Our Part If You Do Yours!

HONESTLY, we really don't believe in miracles.

That is, we didn't until now.

Lets start with history. That's the best way for a writer to get out of a jam. When the idea was first advanced we were somewhat intrigued. But we must admit that we were also somewhat skeptical. Yes, to be sure we needed a new press. A mountain of literature to turn out. The New Militant every week, and that wants a couple of additional pages. The New International every month. Young Spartacus just as often. A raft of pamphlets and God knows what else our ambitious party leaders are cooking up.

There had to be a new press. The old rattletrap—God bless its memory—it did its work faithfully, if not so obediently for five years. It gave birth to an issue of the Militant every week. Trotsky's immortal pamphlets were conceived on it. From its sturdy bed the New International saw the light of day.

But that's all reminding. It's the warm glow in our heart thumping in retrospect for the old master. The cold and brutal truth is that every press, like every dog, has its day. Now progress demanded that it take a back seat. (How's that for mixing metaphors?) Mathematically computed the old junk, running at high speed could only produce 1,000 impressions an hour. At that rate our overworked but uncompromising pressman would have to keep his nose to the grindstone twenty-four hours a day. And then the work wouldn't be done. Taking all this in account the party brain trust got together and decided for a new press. Yes, but how? Where were the cocoanuts to come from? Since Moscow had turned cold on us and Hearst had stopped making donations the doubting Thomases said it couldn't be done. But the impossible did happen. And

the notion became steel and iron.

The riggers got to work up to our new printing house. The moving van drew up and hoisted the whole business through the window. They loaded all the parts on the floor and for all the world it resembled a pile of junk. Not for long, however. The machinists got to work and before our very eyes the blasted thing grew up. When it was done it stood up three times the size of our old model.

And built for action—and plenty of punishment. Here it was. A grand thing to look at.

But no juice. The power trust was sabotaging the revolution. What is the puny power trust to the invincible power of Marxism, said the manager—and the juice streamed through. Now we could see what the new press could do. Its fast rolling cylinders could turn out the paper in less than half the time required on the old paper. It could print all four pages at one time. It could out the paper while in motion. An improvement? No, a miracle!

Better take another slug out of the old oxygen belt, because we're not through with you yet. The old saying that it never rains but it pours is really revolutionary—in case you didn't know. We have some more machinery to knock you wind out of your sails. First a Laddow machine. Just a technical name to the non-printers. But it means mountains to the boys in the shop. All our famous headlines will now be set by machine. No more hunting for spaces or brasses. No more worn and busted letters. No more waiting for forms to come off the press to find a missing letter. The Laddow machine means the twentieth century has come to our printshop.

Then there is something that will warm the heart of the laymen in New York. A folding machine! Two days

hand labor involving twenty comrades who should be out boosting the party will be eliminated by this machine. It folds the New Militant down to mail size. It folds the International. It folds all pamphlets.

And that's not all. A stitching machine has been purchased which will make the labors of our shop complete and turn out our work completely—a finished product. A mechanical saw run by electricity to eliminate the ridiculous efforts of our printers who until now have chipped and chipped on an old hand saw sometimes hit and sometimes miss. That's all over now and we can do the job in the good old American labor saving custom.

All right, catch your breath. The story is almost over now. But stick with us a little longer. The most important part of the story is yet to come.

The dream has come true.

But it's really not ours, because we don't own it. And because we have to pay a raft of debts to get it running.

This is where you come in. We'll give you a bigger paper with a new press. You give us what it takes to put it out. Fair exchange, eh?

Machinery debts, rent, electric bills, gas bills, paper bills. Our past is here to plague us. And our present troubles to hold us back. The new press is indeed a new advance for the revolutionary movement. To make it secure, to hold on to it we need your assistance.

Crudely, bluntly and without the trimmings—we need money. So shell out generously and immediately.

Dig deep into your pockets and your purses and send your donations, your collection lists, your filled quotas for the party foundation fund pronto to the New Militant, 2 West 15th St., New York City.

We'll do our part if you do yours...

Organized Left Wing Task of Real Progressives in Silk Workers Union

Strike Vote Sabotaged By Delay of A.F. of L.

By FELIX GIORDANO
HAZELTON, Pa.—Three weeks have elapsed since the Allentown Conference of Silk Workers. This conference went on record calling for a second conference in Rhode Island for Sunday, Feb. 17, and approved a national strike in silk which would not be handed over for settlement to any Government board. The second conference was not held but instead was suddenly postponed for a week. Thus the entire activity of the Allentown conference remains on paper.

In the meantime the situation in the silk industry has altered considerably, and not in the workers' favor.

During recent years silk has become perhaps the most seasonal industry in this country, with the periods of slack and inactivity becoming longer and longer, while the "busy" seasons grow shorter and shorter. Three weeks ago our industry was at the peak of one of its busy periods. Had a strike been called at that time, it would have been in all probability of short duration. In any case, the chances for a successful conclusion would have been all in favor of the workers because the bosses needed the workers and the workers could have commanded their own terms.

Slack Season Is Near

But today, after the passage of three invaluable weeks, the period of intense activity is on the decline. By the time the complex machinery of a strike can be set in motion a few more weeks would have to go by, and then the silk workers will be at the beginning of the slack season.

Obviously, a strike call now would mean a long drawn out struggle, with the chances for success uncertain. Moreover, the very existence of the union would be put in grave jeopardy. A long struggle under the best of conditions, with the most militant and trustworthy leadership, puts a terrific burden on the workers. When the possibility of demoralization exists—and such a possibility cannot be denied in view of the last textile strike—a defeat might well break the present organization.

The line of strategy to pursue is clearly to prepare for a strike which should be called and put into effect at the very first signs of a real revival in the industry.

Security on the Job

The industry, we repeat, has become extremely seasonal. The principal objective of the silk workers must be to make it more steady. This can be achieved only through the establishment of the 80 hour week, and the definite limits

to the machine load.

To achieve a decent level of wages on a graduated scale and to enjoy any amount of security on the job the silk workers must win the 80-hour week and the closed shop. Every worker understands the seriousness of such a struggle.

In the face of such a serious struggle—how are we to estimate the course pursued since the Allentown conference? It is a maneuver of the leadership to cover up its unmitigated and unrealistic policies which play directly into the hands of the bosses. Such maneuvers will continue so long as a strong and militant left wing is not consolidated in the silk industry nationally. We must guarantee a successful strike, and the existence of our union, the American Federation of Silk Workers, by immediately crystallizing such a left wing.

The Paterson Election

Last Saturday the silk workers in Paterson elected a general manager to succeed Bill Keller, "the progressive" who was forced to save his face by resigning three weeks ago; they also elected four organizers in the Plain Goods Department. The left wingers in the union succeeded in electing a slate of three organizers (the fourth one, Sam Sheber, deserted the ranks before the election and went over to the right wingers), but failed to elect their candidates to the office of general manager.

In Keller's place today there is Williams, an outright right winger with a none-too-clean record. Sarkis Phillian, left wing candidate for general manager, was defeated by 84 votes in an election in which some 1,800 votes were cast. He was the candidate of the largest department in the union, and very popular in his own department as well as in the joint board. His record as a left winger and a militant is clear cut. Yet he was defeated. Just a short time ago Keller the "fake" was elected and the right wingers did not even dare run against him because of the obvious left tendency among the workers. Yet the right wing in this election was victorious and rolled up an impressive vote. Why?

Why Militants Failed

The Daily Worker, which broadcast in its headlines the victory of electing three organizers out of the four for a department, slurs over the enormous vote and the defeat of the election for the key post in the union by claiming fraud in the victory, and by blaming Keller for the enormous vote received by the right wing.

How does it happen that a strong left wing could have fallen victim

to such petty fraud as might have been perpetrated under the circumstances? But more important still, how well based is the claim of the Stalinists that the strength of the reactionaries is due to Keller's underhand tricks?

Every silk worker in Paterson knows how discredited Keller is. In the largest department of our union, the Plain Goods Department, the Keller clique a few weeks ago failed to elect a single man to the executive board of fifteen. Keller's strength in the union does not amount to the proverbial row of pins, certainly not among the militant workers who are in the predominance as proven by the elections and the victories of the militants in the Plain Goods Department. The reasons for the defeat in the union as a whole are not quite so simple as the C. P. pretends.

The reason for the victory of the reactionaries lies in certain policies, or rather lack of policies pursued by the present dominating group among the militants.

No Clear-Out Program

In the first place, the present "left wing" is in reality a loose bloc with no clear-out program and policies, a bloc that places stress on catching votes rather than on crystallizing a genuine left wing movement. As a consequence the Stalinists pushed to the fore many elements whose function was to serve as a screen but who in reality played with the Stalinists for their own personal advantage, as for example Sam Sheber, who was pushed to the fore as a "militant" and who at the last moment came out for Williams. How many other Shebers are there among those with whom the Stalinists are maneuvering?

At the same time, the C. P. spares neither wind nor effort to discredit those militants who proved themselves in the activities of the United Silk Workers Club—who as a matter of fact did yeoman's service in the fight against Keller, who were expelled by Keller, and who were kept out of the union at the time when the Stalinists were accepted.

Secondly, the activities led by the C. P. members were concentrated primarily in a single department, the Plain Goods Department. This short-sighted policy, whose goal was to get immediate results, could not fail to isolate the left wing and tend to weaken it.

Thirdly, the sentiment the Stalinists primarily cultivated was a negative one: against the Keller clique, as if the entire problem could be settled on the single issue of Keller. The lack of a positive alignment of militant forces is illustrated in the fact that the workers in the Plain Goods Department gave the Stalinists bloc as high as 900 votes in the elections for the department executive board, while the elections for organizer received some 650 votes—a drop of almost one-third.

Results of C. P. Policy

In short, Sarkis Phillian and the left-wingers were defeated because Phillian was endorsed not by a genuine left wing with a clear cut program but by the C. P. bloc. The reactionaries were able to capitalize on the fact that many members of the union still remember the dual and splitting tactics of which the C. P. was the torchbearer up to a very few months ago. Williams received a great many "negative" votes: many votes cast for him were votes against the Communist Party, and cannot be interpreted otherwise.

The defeat is all the more dangerous because it gives new ammunition to those "militants" who have long howled for the "independence" of the Plain Goods Department, who have long preached the hopelessness of achieving any progress within the union as a whole, and who aim to establish more firmly the craft divisions in the local—And there is no lack of such muddleheads among the figureheads in the Stalinist bloc.

A genuine left wing is needed and must be built.

We repeat what we have said time and again: the basis for the left wing is a policy and not a vote catching bloc; the left wing must be built in the union as a whole, and the industry as a whole and not in a single department. And above all: BEWARE OF ADVENTURISM!

NBC BUSE FAILS

NEWARK, N. J.—A barrage of missiles smashed truck windows and a number of scab drivers were rushed to a hospital here when the National Biscuit Co. attempted to run out a fleet of trucks loaded with "dummy" loads, a maneuver to break the morale of the strike, now in its seventh week. The maneuver failed.

"Gorillas" are paid \$8 a day by the company to take care of scabs and trail NBC trucks in high-powered cars. Picketing continues night and day, both at the factory and in the markets. Many local merchants have discontinued selling NBC products, due to the pressure of the boycott which the 250 strikers have spread through the city.

Thirty strikers have been arrested.

Fargo Rallyes To Aid Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ed for adequate legal defense, both in the appeal of the case of the sentenced sixteen, and in the trials of the remaining 44 men.

Leaders Picked Off

Bill Cruden, president of Local 17, of Fargo, was singled out as one of the first sixteen. So was Secretary Austin Swalde, and Hugh J. Hughes, another union official. Cruden will be one of the speakers in Minneapolis Sunday. The other strikers on trial consist of printers, carpenters, bricklayers and unemployed, as well as truck drivers, including the victorious milk strike drivers who won their demands of higher wages under the leadership of this same Local 17 last fall.

Julius Emme, Secretary of the State Industrial Commission, and Bob Cramer, editor of the Labor Review, also will speak this Sunday.

Meanwhile the Fargo Central Council of Trade Unions passes resolutions. It does nothing in the way of positive action. But that is more than the American Federation of Labor, of which Local 173 is a member, is doing, for the A. F. of L. is in reality sabotaging by being conspicuously absent. It is even rumored that Green and Tobin may try to act against the strike.

It is perhaps noteworthy that until last year Fargo had no unions of any strength except the printers, and during the present strike the leaders of these printers' unions tried to turn down the job of printing a strike leaflet because it would "antagonize the police". Now the Drivers' union alone has 400 members.

Fear of antagonizing the police has disappeared in the city of Fargo. Even the back-biting, reactionary, red-baiting paper, the Fargo Forum, is being forced to tone down its open strike-breaking.

Stalinists Attack Worker Opposed To Union Policy

Joseph Fox, member of the New York Food Workers Industrial Union, was slugged and beaten up by an organized mob of Stalinists after inciting speeches made by Kramberg, Beal and other officials of the union at a membership meeting held on Monday night, Feb. 18.

Because comrade Fox's speech was enthusiastically received by the great majority of the rank and file when he pointed out his position in favor of trade union unity and against arbitrary dissolution of the union, a mob was organized which met him downstairs coming out of the hall and slugged him on the head and the neck. One C. P. member, Lieberman by name, a member of the trade board, threatened worse violence to Fox if he attended another meeting.

The officials are using every despicable means of terrorizing the membership into accepting the dissolution policy of the T.U.U.L. The basis for unity, comrade Fox pointed out, must always rest on our fight for the adoption of a class struggle policy as against class collaboration and unity of action of all the workers in the industry. Against the proposal of dumping the membership into the "Dutch Schultz" controlled local 302, comrade Fox moved in favor of negotiating directly with the "International" on the basis of local autonomy and separate charter, thus maintaining the bona-fide basis for the organization of the unorganized.

Revolutionists and sincere workers can only look at such manifestations of hoodlumism with disgust, as aid to the enemies of the working class, the bosses.

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AFL Starts Drive in Akron With Anti-Strike Ballyhoo

(Continued from Page 1)

from the A. F. of L. unless something is done. The other two big unions at the Goodyear and Goodrich plants which combine with Firestone to make the basis of the rubber industry, have lost over half of their 15,000 membership, and does aren't coming in.

Most important of all, all three of the big locals planned a strike vote. Claherty hopes to divert the energy of the workers into a futile campaign. He completely ignores the fact that Akron labor dropped out of the A. F. of L. because of its inaction and that it would flock back if strike action was taken against the arrogant rubber barons.

The Willoughby Strike

The militant strike of the Ohio Rubber Co. union at Willoughby, Ohio, about 45 miles from Akron, is having an effect here. There 400 workers are facing 450 scabs and 200 gunmen directed by the notorious strike breaking agency from Cleveland, the Associated Industries.

The brutal beatings of 12 strikers, the terror caused when strike breakers and professional gunmen threw tear gas bombs at school children in a "playful" mood, not only aroused the populace of Willoughby, which is backing the strikers, but caused resentment in Akron.

After Claherty and Shepler left the meeting, a misguided but sincere A. F. of L. field organizer, George Roberts, who is leading the strike at Willoughby spoke briefly and aroused the rubber workers into a fever pitch when he told

Thomas Quits New Leader; S.P. May Split

(Continued from Page 1)

The right wingers hold the offensive. This tendency to play a weak, defensive role has in turn been due in large degree to the fact that they themselves have no clear consistent position. This has again been evident in recent discussions among the militants on the question of the "road to power", some standing for proletarian dictatorship, some for "workers' democracy", without defining, however, what this means.

At present the majority seem to favor "a mass labor party organized on a federated basis", some on the ground that "the alternative to a labor party is either armed insurrection or fascism!" Some favor a labor party with a "minimum program of socialization of basic industries". Others assert that it is the business of revolutionists to build the revolutionary party—not a reformist party.

Thus on top of the cleavage between the Old Guard in the S.P. and its opponents, fresh cleavages develop immediately among the latter. The most crucial question for the future is whether out of these developments a substantial element standing on an uncompromising Marxist and Leninist program will crystallize.

574 BOYS SUPPORT ALBERT LEA PICKETS

Several of the men who helped make labor history in Local 574's Truck Drivers and Teamsters International, far-reaching strikes of last summer, were in Albert Lea last week to add their strength to the picket lines which surrounded the Potter foundry.

The Minneapolis picketers were Carl Skogland, Hiney Strand, George Wilson, Frank Hall, Harry Brethren, Lee Glynn, Clifford Westlund, Hank Klose, and Glasen.

"They certainly were a lot of help to us," declared Frank Ellis. "There wasn't the slightest bit of doubt about our picket lines whether these strike veterans were on duty. They knew what they were doing and how to do it."—From the Austin (Minn.) American.

League Wins Relief Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

five children. The work to organize the jobless over a period of months was almost heartbreaking, but the reward came on Feb. 15. Sam Pollack, vice-president of the Ohio Unemployed League, was sent into Anglaise county, at the request of the League in Waynesfield, to help organize the demonstration. When the unemployed flowed into the town of Wapak, the county seat, and elected spokesmen to call on the relief officials, nobody wanted to stay behind, everybody went with the committee to the court house. The relief officials were caught with their pants down. Not knowing what to do, they immediately began distributing clothing and adjusting individual grievances.

Today, as a result of this first success, more Leagues are forming in the county. Bill Groff, special organizer of the O.U.L., is in charge.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Mass meetings . . . and new Leagues. This is the formula for success, to judge by the experience of Local 1 of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. Mass meetings everywhere, including school buildings. But—

They Got Suspicious

Ben Graham, superintendent of schools, got suspicious. Suspicious of radicals. The School Board got suspicious. Also of radicals. The politicians, with the aid of "substantial" people, suddenly started an organization called the Community Councils and the school board decided to close all school buildings to "radical organizations"—if it could.

Meeting in the same schools where the P.U.L. meets, the Community Councils operate on the theory that movies lectures and popular songs will aid all classes in dissolving their differences, and cause the workers to forget that their children are half-starved and will continue to starve.

Local 1 is fighting to retain its school-meeting permits . . . not hat in hand, but by militant action. The old locals of the P.U.L. are growing and new locals are formed every week following mass meetings.

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Contest Note

IN SPITE of a bad start due to moving the offices the New MILITANT building campaign is well under way. Minneapolis stands first in number of new subs sent in and the Central Branch in New York City second. Davenport, Iowa stands highest in percentage of fulfillment of quota, having already reached the 80 percent mark. Philadelphia is also making noticeable progress toward the achievement of its goal. There are a number of branches from which we have not heard as yet. Akron, Buffalo, Charleston W. Va., Cleveland, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Minneapolis, Oakland, Plentywood, Salt Lake City, Springfield, Staunton, Washington and Waukegan are on this list. Let's have some word from you in the next week!

Certain branches are doing an excellent job on bundle payments, keeping them right up to date. Among these are Los Angeles, Oakland, Tonawanda, Cleveland, Dickinson City, Allentown, New Castle, Northampton, Salt Lake City and Riverview. All other branches should make immediate arrangements to settle on bundle accounts at once. This is vital and your bundle will not be counted in the circulation drive unless paid in full.

And now, another week of concentrated effort to achieve our goal of 10,000 circulation by May 31. Send subs today! Build up the bundle orders!

RULES OF PRIZE CONTEST FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS

1. Who may participate?

The contest is for individuals and branches. Any individual, not employed in the national office of this publication, may compete.

2. How are points counted?

Counting will be on the basis of yearly subs, each of which will count as one point. Two half year subs will also count as one point. Subs taken on combination offers will be counted unless otherwise specified.

3. What are the dates of the drive?

The drive started February 1 and will end on May 31.

4. What are the prizes?

(a) Each month during the drive a prize of \$2.00 in books will be awarded to the individual sending in the greatest number of subs during that month. A minimum of 10 subs will be required in this category.

(b) To the individual sending in the largest number of subs for the period of the entire drive will be awarded a prize of \$5.00 in books.

(c) To the branch getting the largest percentage score in individual subs and bundle orders will be awarded a prize of \$10.00 in books.

(d) To the branch making second place for the entire drive in the points outlined in (c) above, a prize of \$5.00 in books.

General remarks:

*All books are to be selected from the lists of the Pioneer Bookshop.

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*In case of tie in any category duplicate prizes will be awarded.

*All remittances must be payable to the New MILITANT, 2 West 15th Street, New York. In order to be counted they must be received on or before 5 P.M. of the last day of each month (for category 4a) or on or before 6 P.M. of the last day of the drive (for the remaining categories). They must also contain:

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(c) name of branch (if to be thus credited)

Friends! Comrades! The goal has been set and the rules given. Remember, each sub you send in will make the position of the Party press the more secure—will help build the advance guard of the American working class. Start sending them now!

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

American Imperialism Arrives At A Decision

When Roosevelt granted recognition to the U.S.S.R. his move was interpreted correctly as being aimed at Japanese imperialism. Undoubtedly it gave pause to the Japanese militarists in the ruthless plundering of China. For to them it meant the prelude to a military alliance, a view that was made highly plausible by the fact that recognition was soon followed by the sending of military and naval attaches to the Soviet Union by the U. S., by the fact that even prior to recognition the Curtis-Wright aircraft concern had been granted permission by the U. S. Army (naturally with the consent of the State Department) to conclude a technical assistance contract with the U.S.S.R. and to build airplane factories in Russia, etc. Only a few weeks before open announcement of recognition the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Japanese aggression in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway had undergone a distinct change; the tone of Soviet diplomacy hardened and became less conciliatory. Temporarily the Japanese generals, faced with the possibility of two such foes, whose interests ran parallel only momentarily in common opposition to Japanese aims, uniting against them, were forced to wait and move more cautiously. But since then the international situation has taken new form, new alignments are in process of achievement, and the American capitalists have arrived at a decision. This decision, to make perfectly plain to Japan that there would be no military alliance between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R., is unquestionably related to the stand taken by England in support of the rearmament of Hitler Germany. Thus the whole international situation has become threatening to the Soviet Union. The signal for the war of intervention may be given at any moment.

American Policy

The question of the debts owed by Russia to the U. S. played only a minor role in Roosevelt's decision to withdraw military attaches and consuls from the Soviet Union. It provided merely the plausible diplomatic excuse for justification of a provocative act before the masses. For such an act will be (and has been) interpreted by Japanese militarists and German fascists as a guarantee that they may proceed with the attack on the Soviet Union without fear of interference by U. S. imperialism. The German "Tagblatt" thus stated that "Apparently Washington intends to demonstrate that there is no military alliance between the two powers." Washington feels that the interests of American imperialism will be best served by pushing Japan into war against the Soviet Union and then waiting till both countries have become exhausted by the con-

Militarizing of the Pacific

Meantime Roosevelt pursues the "New Deal" policy in the Pacific. That is, he is completely militarizing the Pacific coast and the island "possessions" and laying the necessary foundations for properly carrying on the colossal naval battles of the future. The preparations involve political changes as well as physical ones. Thus the New Deal as applied to Hawaii means the change to a "mainland" governor completely under instruction of the U. S. navy. Millions of dollars are being poured out to construct in Hawaii the largest air bases in the Pacific. In addition air bases are being set up rapidly on certain of the Aleutian Islands which form the northern and the safest approach to the Japanese Isles. The Philippines will undergo a similar process at the first opportunity. The propaganda for tightening the military grip on the Philippines is already evident in the announcement by American business interests in the islands of the "discovery" of rich chromite deposits, valuable in war time. Thus it is clear that he U. S., under the guidance of a President who, under the cloak of liberalism, pursues the ends of imperialism, is embarked on a course directed against both the U.S.S.R. and Japan. War between these two countries would afford Roosevelt the full opportunity to go even further in "mechanizing and modernizing" both the army and the navy, and in building the largest navy in the world to carry out the greedy aims of world hegemony of the American financiers.

War and Fascism

An unforgettable lesson that the capitalists learned in the last world war is that the ruling class must protect itself not only against the rival imperialists abroad, but also against the working class enemy at home. For just as the capitalists carry out similar policies of exploitation at home and abroad, so the working class under proper leadership pursues internal and international policies directly antagonistic to those of capitalism. During war in particular the workers are apt to learn the lesson that no nation can be free at home that exploits other peoples abroad. Hence the capitalist class attempts to guarantee its rear (at home) in wartime by suppressing all working class liberties and wiping out their revolutionary organizations. Thus war breeds fascism and the working class must oppose both.

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Five Join Workers Party Protesting C.P. Bureaucracy

Calling on other members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League to follow them, five Philadelphia comrades have joined the Spartacus Youth League and the Workers Party. The new members are Milton Preen, S. S. Colton, Nat Cohen and John Bruckin, all from the Y.C.L., and Jed Davis from the C.P.

In a statement addressed to "Communist Comrades, Fellow Workers," these comrades protest against the bureaucracy of the C. P., and cite in particular the change of policy on the trade union field, the united front and the building of a Labor Party without reference to the party convention or free discussion by the rank and file.

Cite Lack of Democracy

"For months already we have witnessed the swift destruction of the last semblance of party democracy," the statement reads, in part, "and the robbing of the rank and file's revolutionary right to freedom of discussion on all major changes in the party line. . . . It was ruled at the last convention, 'in the name of several hundred thousand workers,' the party must conduct a sharp struggle against any liquidatory tendencies, and expose the slanders and maneuvers of the renegades who call for the liquidation of the T.U.U.L. because they wish to strengthen the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, of which they have become a part."

"Without warning, as if there had never been a party congress, the Central Committee not long after startled the whole membership with a series of decrees (Daily Worker, Jan. 26, 1935), completely reversing the unanimous decisions of the convention. The C.C. commands us: 'The existing revolutionary trade unions and their locals join the A. F. of L. or its unions wherever there exist parallel mass A. F. of L. trade unions, or the Red trade unions can join the A. F. of L. directly.'"

"Even if the C. C. claim—that the objective conditions have forced

this sudden turn in trade union policy—were correct, still nothing can justify their refusal to recognize the party members' elemental right to democratically decide what the party's proletarian policy should be! . . .

"After we had been taught year in, year out (1929-35) that social democracy and fascism were twins, after it had been drummed into our heads that no united fronts against imperialism and fascism could be carried out with the treacherous socialist leaders but only with the workers from below—after all this, the executive committee of the Comintern (and there has not been a world congress of the Comintern for seven years!) wholly upset our old united front policy. . . . Are we to honor the impotent united front of the C.P. and S.P. of France as a model for our future united front tactics? Never! . . . It is a united front of speeches and parades, and not of organized struggle against fascism. It is a united front from above! We stand for the united front of all working class parties and leagues from top to bottom, with unrestricted right of mutual criticism in the course of the fight for common aims. Go back and read the records of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and learn what Lenin meant by the united front!"

"The idea that the major political task of the communists today is the launching of a Labor Party came like a thunderbolt to us! We have learnt from history that a Labor Party is a reformist petty-bourgeois party, what we once branded a 'social fascist' party. As Lenin once pointed out, all so-called labor parties inevitably become imperialist (social imperialist) instruments against the revolutionary Marxist vanguard."

"We call on all comrades who are in sympathy today with our viewpoint to follow us and join strength with the rising ranks of the only revolutionary Marxist party and youth league in America, the Workers Party of the U.S. and the Spartacus Youth League."

THE TRUTH ABOUT SACRAMENTO

How C.P. Tactics Hurt Defendants

By JAMES P. CANNON

San Francisco, Feb. 11.—The "Criminal Syndicalism" trial at Sacramento had every right to become a central issue of the advanced labor movement throughout the country. The reasons for the failure are now clearly established and it is time to speak out loud about them.

Behind the familiar smoke screen of the "Red scare," the prosecution is patently aimed at militant trade unionism; concretely it is an attempt to take revenge for the strike movement of the cannery and agricultural workers, and to head off further activities of this kind. This contention was fully substantiated by the nature of the evidence introduced by the prosecution throughout the past week of the trial which I had the opportunity to attend. The big banking and industrial interests which stand behind the prosecution at Sacramento are out to "get" Chambers and Decker and their immediate associates. At the same time they are aiming a deadly blow at militant unionism which the defendants represented and carried into practice among the most oppressed and deprived section of the California working class, the agricultural workers.

A great working class movement could have been organized around this issue. Nothing of the kind happened, and the responsibility for the failure—which jeopardizes the defendants as well as the advanced labor movement in general—rests squarely on the Communist Party. Indeed, facts are already piled mountain high to prove that the Stalinists did not simply fail to take advantage of the opportunity which was in their hands; they worked deliberately to "play down" the case and to wreck every attempt initiated by others to put the defense movement on a broad working class base.

Sacramento is not merely a repetition of the neglect and incompetence for which the Stalinists are sufficiently distinguished; the story of Stalinism in the Sacramento case is a story of perfidious betrayal of the interests of the labor movement and of the defendants on trial. On this point argument is unnecessary and superfluous; the facts which make up the shameful record speak for themselves.

Sabotaging the Case

The arrests occurred last July. The trial began in January. Thus the C. P. and its defense organization, the I.L.D., had a period of six months to prepare the case, alarm the labor movement and set a big defense movement into motion. But they did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, the case was completely neglected and ignored. Practically no publicity was given to it in the Daily Worker. No attempt was made to enlist the cooperation of the Socialist Party and other organizations on a national scale. Nothing was attempted even in the State of California beyond the usual perfunctory "united front" of the C. P. and its satellite organizations.

The capitalist reactionaries were fully awake to the import of the case. The opening of the trial found them mobilized and firing away every day in the press against the "red menace" on trial at Sacramento.

S.P. on Sacramento "United Front"

The breakdown of the "united front" defense in the Sacramento trial of workers and labor leaders is laid directly at the door of the Communist Party, in a statement issued in Stockton, Cal. by the Socialist Party of California.

Under date of Feb. 5, the statement says, in part: "On the suggestion of the American Civil Liberties officials, conferences began weeks ago in San Francisco, resulting in the setting up of united defense machinery including the Socialist Party, Workers Party of U. S., Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, I.L.D. and several labor unions. An agreement was

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mento. But it produced hardly a ripple in the labor movement of California. As for the advanced workers throughout the country, they didn't even know about the case until a series of articles in the New Militant called attention to it.

The defendants were allowed to remain in jail the whole six months before the trial, despite the fact that bail for each of them was set at only \$3,200. Chambers and Decker the leaders of the union, are effective and popular agitators. If they had been at liberty during the six months before the trial they could have done much to arouse labor and liberal support for the case and to procure bail for the others. But they never had the chance.

Were they allowed to remain in jail because the I.L.D. was unable to procure bail for them? Nonsense! They had been in conflict with the party bureaucracy over questions of union policy. Because of that bail was withheld from them and they were deliberately kept in jail for six months by their own party while a whispered campaign of slander was carried on to discredit and isolate them. As one over-zealous and somewhat indiscreet Stalinist remarked when questioned about the matter: "The party is keeping Decker in jail to discipline her."

Proof that the failure to provide bail was not due to lack of means and resources was supplied when the Non-Partisan Labor Defense intervened in the case at the request of several of the defendants. The N.P.L.D. offered to attempt to raise bail. At first the prisoners were forbidden by the I.L.D. to accept the "counter-revolutionary bail" of the N.P.L.D. This was going a little too far, however, and Jack Warnick made application to the N.P.L.D. His bail was procured within a week. A few days later the N.P.L.D. took Decker out on bail, and collected the bail funds for a third defendant. Put to shame by this demonstration the I.L.D. woke up and suddenly discovered that they also could raise bail if they wanted to. They deposited bail for six defendants on one day after the N.P.L.D. had forced their hand. They didn't have to hunt for this bail. They had it all the time. They didn't use it for six months because they didn't want to use it.

Making and Breaking United Front

As stated above, the trial began without the semblance of a united front defense movement. When the N.P.L.D. entered the case as the representative of Norman Mini, one of the defendants who had left the C. P. and joined the Workers Party, it made concrete proposals for the organization of a united front to mobilize the mass movement in support of the defense. Under pressure of the defendants the C. P. finally agreed.

The Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the American Civil Liberties Union and several other organizations participated and a united committee was constituted on the basis of definite agreements in writing. Everything was set to build up a broad supporting movement even at this late date. Prospects were good to organize a real counter-offensive against the capitalist reactionaries and red baiters and to penetrate the trade union movement with the appeal of the Sacramento prisoners.

Then orders came from New York: "Break it up!" At the con-

Statement by N.P.L.D.

Fifteen men and women are now on trial in Sacramento, facing 6 to 84 years imprisonment each for their activities.

That the trial is an onslaught on labor unions is proven by inclusion in the indictment of the organization of picketing, as specific proof of criminal syndicalism.

Even more revealing is a statement made to the Sacramento Bee, on February 4, by F. J. Palomares, manager of the San Joaquin Valley employment agency:

"This trial is of the utmost importance to them (the bosses) because they believe the defendants responsible for the San Joaquin Valley strike of 1933—the first serious one in that section's history." If convictions are obtained in Sacramento, the next step will be a state-wide—and eventually a nation-wide attack on labor unions. Mini and to offer aid to the other prisoners. We raised the bail.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense was called in by Norman Mini, one of the defendants. We dispatched a field representative to Sacramento and Albert Goldman, noted labor attorney, to defend (\$6,400) for Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick, co-defendants of Mini. By our appeals to trade unions and other means, we popularized the Sacramento defense movement. We have helped provide the prisoners with relief funds and literature needed by them for the trial. We have begun an investigation to impeach State evidence. In New York, we held a great mass meeting protesting Hearst's anti-labor campaign and in support of the Sacramento prisoners.

All this has been done by us without any general appeal for funds.

Now we must have funds. Rush donations. Help smash the attack of the California bankers on the elementary rights of labor.

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE NOVACK

Chairman, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense Room 731, 22 East 17th St., N. Y. C.

ference on January 26 they tried to do so by the simple device of insisting on the inclusion of their satellite organizations. When they got enough votes in this way, they sailed ahead and, in violation of written agreements to the contrary, adopted a motion which drove out of the united front every non-Stalinist organization.

The Communist Party has said and written much in recent months about the desire for a "united front" with the Socialist Party. The State organization of the S. P. in California participated in the short-lived united front on the Sacramento case with the C. P. and with the Workers Party. The testimony of the Socialist Party of California as to the cause of the disruption of this attempt therefore has an exceptional interest and importance. I quote from an official circular of the Socialist Party of California addressed "To Members of the Socialist Party of California" under date of February 5, 1935:

"The Communist Party controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite concessions made by the other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the united defense. At the conference on January 26, acting apparently on orders from New York, they violated every agreement previously made with other delegates. This they did in spite of unity appeals by Dr. George P. Hedley, of the A.C.L.U. and two of the I.L.D. defendants who were present. A policy frankly designed to bar cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders was laid down as an ultimatum. Thereupon, the C.P.-controlled delegates called for 'a united front under the leadership of the C.P. and I.L.D.' Having driven all non-controllable delegates out, they got it."

The result of the Stalinist united front policy was predicted by our San Francisco branch in a leaflet, for distributing which our comrades were physically attacked by the Stalinists on the night of Feb. 3. The Stalinist "united front" conference assembled on Feb. 10. It was a complete success—I.L.D. delegates were present from various cities and they never once disagreed with each other or with the C. P. delegates. As a matter of fact, even the I.W.O., the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the League Against War and Fascism cheered every decision to the echo. As for trade unions and other genuine mass organizations, they stayed away in droves.

Stalinist policy which, for six months, prevented the development of a mass movement, has now smashed the movement which might have been built out of the genuine united front committee including the S. P., W.P., N.P.L.D. and other non-Stalinist organizations. For this the C.P. will have to answer sooner or later to the defendants and the workers of California.

Defense Policy in Court

As previous editorials in the New Militant have indicated, the Workers Party stood for unity and cooperation in the courtroom. Despite the deep and irreconcilable differences which separate us from the Communist Party we considered unity before the capitalist court a

self-evident duty and necessity. The N.P.L.D., representing Norman Mini, brought Albert Goldman from Chicago to conduct his defense and sought an agreement for cooperation between him and the attorney of the I.L.D., Leo Gallagher. The attitude of the C. P., however, made even this cooperation impossible. The I.L.D. attorney has never been willing to confer with Goldman over courtroom tactics, to say nothing of coming to an agreement with him.

The conflict over courtroom tactics, which at one point flared into the open, brought out two conflicting theories of labor defense which I do not believe can be reconciled. Our theory is that you engage a lawyer to safeguard the legal rights of a worker on trial, to take advantage of all legal technicalities and to try to convince a jury that he acted within his legal rights. This does not mean compromising principle. On the contrary, in the courtroom the attacks of capitalism on the workers' standards and workers' rights, the suffering of the masses, the principles and tactics of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the workers—all are clearly and sharply brought out. "Mass pressure," which is undoubtedly the decisive factor in labor cases in the final analysis, has to be realized by means of publicity and agitation to mobilize mass support and protest outside the courtroom. For this, a united front and a mass campaign is needed. A lawyer's soap box speeches in court cannot be substituted for it.

The attorney of the I.L.D. has proceeded in this case as though it were lost before it started; as though there had been no hope of securing an acquittal, or even a hung jury. Consequently, he has tried the case for the benefit of the courtroom audience, which consists of exactly 112 people when all the chairs are occupied, about one-half of whom are sympathetic to the cause and the other half prejudiced supporters of the prosecution. This is the perverted Stalinist conception of "mass pressure." This is the way they try to compensate for their failure to organize a real mass movement in support of the defense.

Gallagher even went so far in antagonizing the jury and applying "mass pressure" in the courtroom that on one occasion, when a woman juror interrupted to ask him not to shout so loud because it made her nervous, he retorted: "I am not talking for the jury, I am talking for the people in the courtroom." (Western Worker, Feb. 7). How can anyone who has a decent regard for the fate of men on trial support or acquiesce in such tactics? It was at this point that attorney Goldman, after repeated warnings against such methods, made the statement that he did not associate himself with the tactics of Gallagher.

Frame-up Against Norman Mini

If the Stalinist leaders here have shown themselves to be helpless and impotent before the assaults of reaction, and unable to organize any serious resistance to it, they display great energy in the crusade against what, after all, they regard as the "real enemy"—"Trotskyism." Considering the case lost before it started, and the defendants as good as in San Quentin—and losing very little sleep on that score—they are concerned now to find a scapegoat upon whom they can unload the responsibility for the results of their own incompetence and perjury. They have selected "Trotskyism" for this role. The fact that "Trotskyism" in this instance is represented by a defendant who himself is on trial and facing a prison term does not deter them.

Norman Mini, one of the defendants, quit the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party. That made him, forthwith, a coun-

ter-revolutionist of course. And now, according to the official propaganda, he is also a "stool pigeon". But what's new about that? Is it not well known that anyone who disagrees with the policy of the Communist Party is ipso facto a police agent as well as a social fascist? Who is going to be impressed by this new discovery in regard to Norman Mini? True, such an attack on one of the defendants while the trial is going on and the repetition of the Hearst press lie that Mini made a "confession"—implying that some "crime" was committed—is a blow at the defense. But why should people who deliberately kept their own party members in jail for six months worry if they get six years on top of it? The important thing is to deal a blow at "Trotskyism".

But in this case, also, I think the Stalinist generals have overreached themselves and that their attack will turn out to be a boomerang. For the accusation against Mini is a frame-up which has already called forth the protest of Jack Warnick. And I venture to predict that when Mini's day in court comes, and he takes the witness stand to speak for himself, the blackguards who blithely denounced him as a stool-pigeon will be put to shame.

When he was arrested last August Mini, then a member of the C. P., gave a statement in which he openly admitted his membership in the C. P. and openly proclaimed his revolutionary beliefs. He also answered questions regarding the party affiliation of well known officials of the C. P. and their revolutionary beliefs as he understood them. This, of course, was a mistake and a very serious one too, for which Mini deserves severe criticism. A revolutionist should know better than to give any information of any kind to the police or the prosecutor. Naturally, the Workers Party, which had never even heard of Mini last August cannot take a particle of responsibility for his statement. It reflects the woeful lack of revolutionary education as well as the spirit of leftist bravado of a young member of the Stalinist party. We educate our members differently.

I heard the statement read in court. It fell flat; there was nothing in it that was not commonly known. The capitalist press blazoned it as a "confession". This it was not in any sense of the word, for the essence of Mini's statement was that he had a right to belong to the C.P. and to believe in a revolutionary program, and did not consider this a crime. But the Western Worker, over-anxious to strike a blow at Mini, even if thereby a blow was also struck at all the defendants in the case, enormously exaggerated the import of the statement and, following the lead of the capitalist press, declared it to be "the most dangerous weapon on the railroad machine has brought into use against the defendants to date."

That is false from beginning to end. As a matter of fact, the statement cannot harm the case of the defendants in the slightest degree except on one theory: that they intend to give up the fight for the legality of the C. P. deny membership in the C. P. and deny the revolutionary program.

Jack Warnick, who made an open break with the C. P. in protest against the frame-up of Mini, gave the answer of a revolutionist to the slander of the Western Worker: "Neither do I think the information he gave is damaging to the case or to the revolutionary movement. What he said consisted of facts which we have always disdained to hide." Other defendants said the same thing in substance when the statement was read in court.

The Western Worker characterizes the document as a "stool pigeon statement". That is not true at all. No person of integrity would support such a slanderous accusation. The very people who make it known that Mini has repeatedly been offered immunity if he would testify for the State and that he refused all such offers and remained in solidarity with his fellow-defendants.

The slander campaign against Mini is a shameful attempt to take revenge on a young comrade who had the intelligence and courage to break with the Stalinist party and join another more worthy of the allegiance of a revolutionist. That is his real crime. For that they want to assassinate him. But they will not succeed. We will not let them do it. We would not deserve the name of revolutionists if we yielded an inch to such an infamous frame-up.

Beginning with the next issue the New Militant will start a Questions and Answers department. Comrade A. Weaver who conducted the Question Box in the old Militant will have charge of the new feature. Readers are requested to address their questions to "Questions and Answers" department.

The next issue of the New Militant will carry Caroline Decker's own statement on how the Communist Party at first denied her and other defendants the right to accept bail from the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and other questions.—Ed. Note.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SACRAMENTO

Speaker:

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary of the Workers Party

SUNDAY, MARCH 3, at 8 P.M.

Germania Hall, 16th Street and Third Ave.

QUESTIONS

ADMISSION 15c

DISCUSSION

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The Reason for Hearst

WILLIAM Randolph Hearst and his yellow press howling for blood of foreigners and "reds", among whom one finds prominently listed in his latest broadside such pale pinks, with names that clearly reveal their foreign origin, as President Chase of New York University, President Graham of the University of North Carolina, and President Hutchins of the University of Chicago.

Leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union on trial in Sacramento, California, for strike activities last year, and agricultural workers being shot in another strike a few miles away.

Imperishable share croppers and their leaders in Arkansas terrorized by vigilantes and the courts.

Sixteen members of the Drivers Union in Fargo, N. D. found guilty of rioting on the basis of a picketing incident in which police manhandled several strikers, but no one else suffered a scratch.

A new barrage of injunctions against unions and strikers in all sections of the country.

The state of Arkansas, proposing to pass a law under which the mere possession of a radical book or pamphlet by an individual would subject him to a long term in jail, and its possession by a school such as Commonwealth Labor College would mean its dissolution.

Bills in state legislatures requiring teachers and even students to take "oaths of loyalty".
Bills in Congress to finger print everybody. Bills to deport aliens.

Private organizations such as the American Legion and the Elks openly organizing vast propaganda campaigns against all progressive and radical ideas, and secretly organizing vigilante squads.

Against whom and what is this widespread campaign of terror and red-baiting aimed?

Against individuals and organizations which have revolutionary aims and carry on revolutionary activities? Only in a secondary sense; and any radical party which encourages the notion, as the C. P. tends to do, that it by itself is the sole or chief object of this attack, is playing straight into the hands of the reactionaries.

The trade union movement is the object of the present campaign of the reactionaries. They are determined to smash the unions if possible and in any event to keep them from getting a foothold in the basic industries.

The attack is aimed at the entire working class, at the farmers, at the professional and technical workers, at the small business people.

Why has the attack upon the unions, upon all forms of progressivism and radicalism, broken out just now?

First of all, the New Deal now stands forth in all its nakedness. The masses see that it is not a way

of salvation for them. It has, for the moment, saved and strengthened monopoly capitalism. Corporation profits have grown under Roosevelt, friend of "the forgotten man". But in this period of capitalist development profits can be maintained only by forcing down the standards of the masses. Thus Roosevelt himself now leads a new drive to force the unemployed to work for an average of eleven dollars a week. How can the rebellion of the masses, of the unions, of the unemployed leagues, be kept down? Make it appear that it is unpatriotic to offer resistance, that only "reds", foreigners, agents of enemy powers, are inspiring opposition to the slave wage standards.

Thus the Roosevelt Administration itself, since it will not fight big capital on behalf of a higher standard for the workers, is chiefly responsible for the present anti-union terror campaign, despite its liberal professions and despite the fact that it may be "embarrassed" by some of the cruder attempts to put down labor rebellion.

In the second place, the international situation is tense. Stick a pin into the map at random almost anywhere and you are likely to hit a spot where war may soon break out. The masses must be psychologized and terrorized into submission to war-plans. They must not be permitted to stop the schemes of the war-mongers for making profits out of the manufacture of battleships and munitions. But the masses don't want war and they don't care to help the munitions makers coin profits. What is the answer? Again, obviously, put the "red" or the "foreign" label on any opposition to imperialist schemes.

Thirdly, a showdown is coming on the question of union recognition in the big industries. A new strike wave has begun. The leaders of the A. F. of L. themselves are compelled to mean that Roosevelt has betrayed them, though the next moment they fondly embrace him. How stop the organizing work in the basic industries? How prevent strikes? How smash strikes when they break out?

Vigorous organizing work and the strike struggles without which the workers in the basic industries cannot get strong and militant unions will be carried out only by the progressive, fighting elements in the unions. Pin the red label on every progressive and militant, therefore. Try to prejudice the workers against them. Isolate the militants from the masses. This is the game of the wage-cutters who are trying to force the workers into complete slavery.

How combat the capitalists' attack and thwart their schemes? The best defense is a strong offensive.

Build the unions in every trade and industry!

Build the left-progressive movement in the unions, since only thus can the unions themselves be built! Build the Unemployed Leagues! Bind the unions and the leagues closely together!

Strike and demonstrate militantly—against wage cuts, for wage increases, for the 30-hour week, for the right to organize!

Build a great nation-wide Non-Partisan Labor Defense movement which will tell the boss class in unmistakable terms to keep its hands off militant workers.

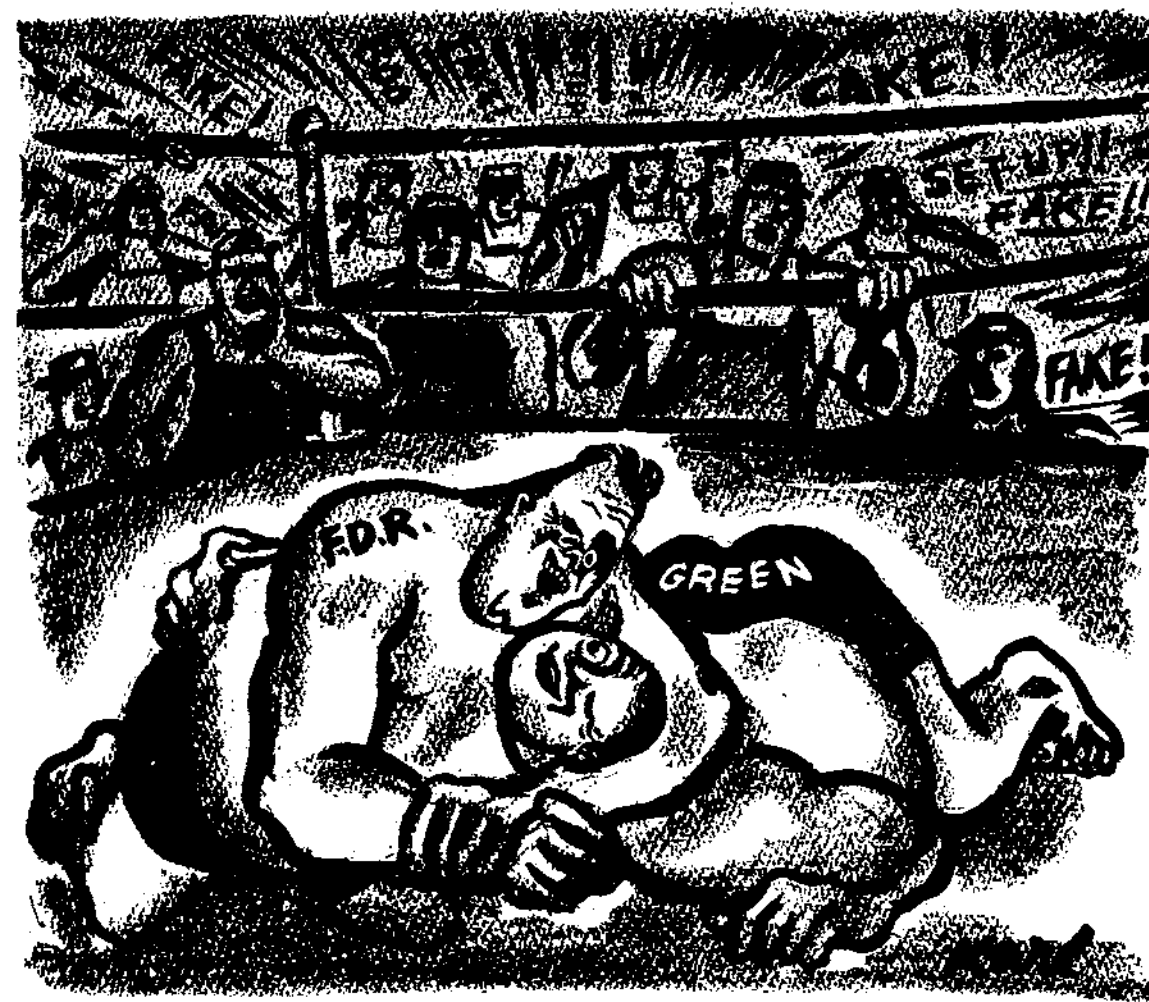
Build the revolutionary party of the workers! For in the showdown there is no alternative but to let the capitalist reaction establish Fascism or for the workers to take power and build a new world.

There is where help is needed and where help counts.

The answer to Hearst, the answer to the war-mongers, the answer to the Roosevelt wage-cutting campaign, is organization in steel, rubber, automobiles, textiles, the onward movement of the organized masses of the workers!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKERS!

The Set-Up



Bill Green: "Am I getting too rough, Franklin?"

Elevator Strike History In Newspaper Headlines

NEW YORK. — The elevator strike has been postponed—this is the latest news, and has been the latest news for the last three months. A short history of local 32B of the Building Service Workers International Union is given in the headlines:

Oct. 17—Tie Up Threatens Garment Center.

Oct. 27—Walkout Looms.

Nov. 1—Strike Plans Put Off.

Nov. 2—Strike Called in Garment Center.

Nov. 3—Strike Called Off Under Pact.

Nov. 4—Strike Planned in Financial and Home Zones.

Nov. 6—Strike Threatened in Hotels.

Nov. 9—Strike in Garment Area Postponed.

Nov. 13—Strike Likely in Garment Area.

Nov. 14—Strike Again Postponed.

Nov. 15—Strike Threat in Commercial and Apartment Buildings.

Nov. 19—Sudden Strike Call Expected.

Nov. 20—Mayor LaGuardia (the friend of labor) Bars Strike.

Nov. 21—Arbitration Pact Signed (it was not signed by the union)

Dec. 29—Hambrick Threatens Strike.

Jan. 9—Strike Held Near.

Feb. 14—3,000 Out On "Unauthorized" Strike.

Feb. 15—City Wide Strike Planned.

Feb. 16—City Wide Strike Voted Over Hambrick's Protest.

Feb. 17—Ed. McGrady arrives from Washington to Arbitrate!

Feb. 18—Elevator Strike Set for 10:30 A.M. in 1,000 Buildings.

Feb. 19—City Wide Strike Called Off After All Night Conference.

Feb. 20—Six Months Truce Signed.

Feb. 22—Call For Walkout Monday Expected.

Feb. 25—Walkout Postponed When NLRB Intervenes.

What can be said of this history? The constant use of the strike threat serves one purpose, it helps keep the union in the public eye and gives an impetus to organization.

But! The same constant threat, keeping the workers at a high pitch of expectancy, can have the most destructive reaction, unless the threat is actually carried out. There is a certain point beyond which the enthusiasm of the workers turns cold, and they quit the union, if it remains inactive, as rapidly as they joined it.

That time has come!

Washington News Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

so far ineffective program of "spending our way back to prosperity".

The lunatic policies of A.A.A.—crop curtailment, plowing under, driving share croppers from the soil—will be continued. The Department of Agriculture, it would seem, is slowly coming to realize that the drought of 1934 is driving up prices to the point where it may be expedient to desist from continuing wanton destruction. But what the Department's experts may think will have little effect upon the President and his inspired advisers. They are still in the grip of the "overproduction" fallacy; to induce revival you must starve wage earners and pay the farmers for performing the task. The policy has the added merit of driving a wedge between the interests of farmers and workers who might otherwise come together for revolutionary action.

Foreign trade? A few more treaties of negligible import; but complete neglect of one vast market—Russia—where big scale transactions might be carried on. Banking? Increased centralization of credit in the hand of a government-dominated Federal Reserve Board to the end that monopoly finance capitalism may function with fewer restraints. Military affairs? More, bigger and costlier battleships with an eye to imperialistic war in the near future with Japan.

But at least the Brain Trust is henceforth out of the picture. That is something the President will no longer be able to pretend that he acts on inspirations which come to him from on high.

severest grilling. Mini revealed that, while the Communist Party did not train him for the practical class struggle, his self-obtained socialist education is not deficient.

The perspectives are admittedly poor. A prejudiced jury; a judge in league with a venomous prosecution; the ill-advised tactics of the I.L.D.; the lack of a mass protest movement, glaringly revealed by the complete failure of the C.P. "united front" conference held in San Francisco on February 10, justifying little optimism as to the outcome.

No serious turn in the situation can be expected during the next week or two. Were a verdict to be given today, there is little doubt that it would be against all the defendants. Should sufficient protests come in from outside the state, things may brighten up a bit.

Whatever happens, the working class can be sure that in Norman Mini, it has an incorruptible advocate. We must do everything in our power to prevent him and his co-defendants from being railroaded. Should they go to San Quentin, it will be the duty of the working class to launch a great fight for their freedom.

Asked whether he had ever heard of a thrifty class, Mini answered that he had—"in connection with bank failures".

McAllister made repeated but vain endeavors to get Mini to state that he favored having the workers seize industries or banks in advance of the revolution. Under the

leer of satisfaction, a vulture sensing a meal in the offing, Red Hynes, (beefy Los Angeles Red Squad captain) could not contain his glee. Sam Darcy rubbed his chin contemptuously. By all odds this "stool pigeon" was a very strange bird!

Mini's testimony opened with a brief outline of his life story. Born in Sacramento, he went to the public schools and was a member of the National Guard. He won an appointment to West Point in a competitive examination but was expelled for anti-militaristic views which he developed through study while at West Point.

"Last summer you told me that while you were at West Point you were ashamed of your parents. Will you explain that?" ask McAllister.

"Sure," answered Mini. "They are ordinary workers and the propaganda the officers fed me at West Point made me think that workers are scum; so sometimes I felt ashamed of my father and mother, but now I know better and I am proud to be the son of a proletarian!"

Was Active In Strike
Expelled from West Point, he sought a job in New York, where he experienced life on the breadline. He then returned to Sacramento, wrote a novel satirizing military life and studied the socialist classics. After witnessing several instances of police brutality against unemployed demonstrators, he joined the Communist Party early in 1933. He was assigned to no work, but managed to go to Chow-chilla, and there helped to organize a successful farmers' strike against the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.

In responding to questions which were in reality thinly-disguised stump speeches on behalf of the glories of private property, rugged individualism and a system "which enabled Charles M. Schwab to climb from the bottom of the ladder to the top", Mini pointed out that there had BEEN great developments under capitalism, but that the system has entered the stage of decay. "There must be an overturn or a collapse into chaos," he added, "and only the proletariat can save human civilization."

Asked whether he had ever heard of a thrifty class, Mini answered that he had—"in connection with bank failures".

McAllister made repeated but vain endeavors to get Mini to state that he favored having the workers seize industries or banks in advance of the revolution. Under the

Mini in Court Reaffirms His Views as Revolutionist

(Continued from Page 1)

information and misinformation as to the views of the defendants with respect to religion, racial questions and other matters not directly connected with the indictment. But he now ruled that Goldman could not ask Mini questions relating to the same matters.

Even where Goldman endeavored to ask Mini questions concerning his understanding of revolutionary principles connected directly with the matters in the indictment, McAllister interposed objections at every point. These objections, combined with the judge's rulings, constituted a steady barrage of interruptions so that for the most part Mini's voice came to the jury through a din of competing remarks.

Not until Goldman turned the witness over to McAllister did Mini really get a chance to voice his views. The judge now loosened up again, letting McAllister go into subjects which he had closed to Goldman. Lemmon's entire attitude during these two days has completely given the lie to his earlier laborious endeavors to appear as the embodiment of perfect justice.

Perhaps the tensest moment of Norman Mini's day in court was just after he frankly stated that, at the time of his arrest and down to some time in November 1934, he had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mini Risks Contempt
"Who were the other members of your unit?" asked McAllister.

"I won't tell you," came the firm reply.

"Why not?"

"Because it's none of your business!"

Attorneys and court attaches, aware that Mini had put himself in contempt of court, gaped. The judge was visibly embarrassed, as he apparently would not have related the publicity and protests which would have resulted, had he edited this young revolutionary for contempt. He intervened with a remark designed to save his own face:

"Suppose I put the question this way," he said. "Were any of the defendants in your unit?"

Norman Mini slowly turned his

gaze from one to another of the defendants with whom he has stood solid against the state all these trying months. "No," he answered.

Another tense moment came with the conclusion of the cross-examination. McAllister sneeringly put the following question:

Would Try Capitalists
"And would the Sacramento workers council give a trial to those capitalists who refused to accept the new government and fought to defend their property?"

"It would," answered Mini.

Raising his voice to a shout and waving his finger in the air, McAllister threw out a final remark as he took his seat:

"They don't give trials in Russia!"

Judge Lemmon felt obliged to label this crude remark "misconduct" and to order it stricken from the record, the theory being that the jurors would also be able to strike the remark from their minds. Not believing in magic of this kind, Attorney Goldman was on his feet at once:

"Your Honor, the improper remark has been made and on behalf of the defendant Mini, I ask that he be permitted to give his answer. He is ready to state what he thinks about the question of trials in the Soviet Union."

"I have ruled," said Judge Lemmon.

Affirms Marxist Position
The major portion of Mini's testimony, especially under cross-examination, was devoted to an explanation of the Marxist-Leninist idea of revolution. He explained to the jury, in simple terms the concepts of the vanguard party; struggles for immediate demands; the culmination of partial struggles in a general struggle; the conditions under which a successful revolution might occur; the role of workers' councils; the idea of workers' control of production; the crisis of the paralysis of capitalist state power; the seizure of power by the workers' councils in the name of the majority of the people; the taking over of all state functions by these councils; the proclamation of the new order; the promulgation of its first laws respecting the expropriation of the means of pro-

duction, transportation and communication; the defense of the proletarian state against sabotage and open counter-revolution; the role of force in securing the will of the people against the will of the exploiters and in defending the conquests of the only progressive class in society, the proletarian class.

"What will you do if a majority objects?" demanded McAllister.

"The revolutionary party will not consider the time ripe as long as a majority objects," replied Mini.

"But suppose a majority of capitalist objects, that is of property?"

"Oh! You mean the three percent of the population who own eighty-three percent of the wealth?" Mini shot back.

"That's right," said McAllister. "their places," answered Mini.

People Versus Property
"We'll just have to put them in 'Suppose they refuse to submit. Suppose they won't turn over their property?"

"The workers' councils will use all the necessary force to carry out the law of the workers' state," answered Mini.

"Suppose the Board of Directors of the Sacramento Telephone Co. meets and informs the workers' council that it refuses to turn over the property?"

"That's a hypothetical telephone company," Mini answered. "The Sacramento Telephone Co. is run by a board that meets in Wall St. and never saw Sacramento."

"Well, suppose the local manager refuses to get out?"

"He won't refuse!" answered Mini.

"How do you know?" asked Mc-

Allister.

"Well, he will have heard what's going on and he'll be on a boat going places fast."

"Now what do you mean," asked McAllister, "when you say you will use force if necessary? Do you mean like a bank robber who wants to steal the money but won't shoot unless somebody tries to stop him?"

At this point Leo Gallagher leaped to his feet, to object to the question. Attorney Goldman, who has throughout the long weeks of the trial striven to steer the defense fight along principled and effective lines, informed the judge that Mini would not object to answering the question. Gallagher mumbled more objections, but Mini went ahead as follows:

"The bank robber, like any other capitalist, is engaging in an individual act for his own benefit. The proletarian movement has nothing

in common with his method or his goal. We use force if necessary to enable the vast majority of the people to take back from a tiny minority the property which that minority has stolen, and to make it available for the benefit of all mankind, so that the race may advance and develop itself and terminate a condition in which millions starve while a few live in luxury."

Differs With C. P.
An interesting light was cast upon those conditions inside the C. P. which result in the political backwardness of even its most devoted militants. It was lack of education which caused, for example, the foolishly gesture Mini made last August, when he gave McAllister an open statement of his beliefs and affiliation.

He disclosed that he had never read a single Communist Party pamphlet or Communist International document until after the indictment!

Before Mini stepped down from the witness stand, he had made it plain that the beliefs he was expounding he had acquired from the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, before he joined the Communist Party.

"When I studied the C. P. documents, I began to understand that I differed and eventually I got out."

McAllister now took up the program of the Communist International, adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. From it he read the last paragraph:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

Is this the part of the program you disagree with?" McAllister asks.

"Why no," answered Mini; "that's the part I agree with. That's right out of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels!"

Mini added that the C. P. appears to regard a revolution as an earthquake, to be predicted rather than as an historical occurrence realizable under certain conditions if human beings act properly. He affirmed the necessity of "an active preparation by the conscious elements" for every aspect of the struggle.

McAllister turned away with a

leer of satisfaction, a vulture sensing a meal in the offing, Red Hynes, (beefy Los Angeles Red Squad captain) could not contain his glee. Sam Darcy rubbed his chin contemptuously. By all odds this "stool pigeon" was a very strange bird!

Mini's testimony opened with a brief outline of his life story. Born in Sacramento, he went to the public schools and was a member of the National Guard. He won an appointment to West Point in a competitive examination but was expelled for anti-militaristic views which he developed through study while at West Point.

"Last summer you told me that while you were at West Point you were ashamed of your parents. Will you explain that?" ask McAllister.

"Sure," answered Mini. "They are ordinary workers and the propaganda the officers fed me at West Point made me think that workers are scum; so sometimes I felt ashamed of my father and mother, but now I know better and I am proud to be the son of a proletarian!"

Was Active In Strike
Expelled from West Point, he sought a job in New York, where he experienced life on the breadline. He then returned to Sacramento, wrote a novel satirizing military life and studied the socialist classics. After witnessing several instances of police brutality against unemployed demonstrators, he joined the Communist Party early in 1933. He was assigned to no work, but managed to go to Chow-chilla, and there helped to organize a successful farmers' strike against the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.

In responding to questions which were in reality thinly-disguised stump speeches on behalf of the glories of private property, rugged individualism and a system "which enabled Charles M. Schwab to climb from the bottom of the ladder to the top", Mini pointed out that there had BEEN great developments under capitalism, but that the system has entered the stage of decay. "There must be an overturn or a collapse into chaos," he added, "and only the proletariat can save human civilization."

Asked whether he had ever heard of a thrifty class, Mini answered that he had—"in connection with bank failures".

McAllister made repeated but vain endeavors to get Mini to state that he favored having the workers seize industries or banks in advance of the revolution. Under the

left jabs

By BILL SHERMAN

The New Title

The column appears today under its new title, Left Jabs, sent in by A. D. Philadelphia, who wins the prize of a year's subscription to the New Militant. We again wish to thank the many readers who sent in suggestions for the title, and trust that all will continue with contributions that will make LEFT JABS the best column in the New Militant.

"My Country 'Tis of Thee"

"We Communists yield to no one in our love of our country. It is because we love our country that we support the Workers Bill."—Earl Browder, Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1935.

A Governor, Child Labor and Bolshevism

Gov. John M. Slaton of Georgia came "up North" to speak to the President of the Federation of the Bar. The Child Labor Amendment was his chief topic, and the "Southern gentleman" got blue in the face denouncing it—"It is hard to trace a difference between this suggestion and the extremist decrees of Bolshevism under Lenin, which destroyed the integrity of the family and made children the wards of the State," declared the Governor.

Our Hope and Strength

"Roosevelt is our hope and strength," says President Bill Green of the A. F. of L. Dan Tobin of the Teamsters Union presents Jim Farley with a check of \$10,000 "as a mark of appreciation of what the Roosevelt administration has done for labor." President Roosevelt's new relief scheme calls for wage cuts and provides a maximum of \$30 per month per family. "Gawd, what 'ope and strength!"—Bill Reich.

The Cuckoo Clock

A peasant presented Stalin with a clock which signals the hours with music, as Stalin's picture pops out in front. A very appropriate gift.

Religion, A Moral Force

Holy Mount Athos, a monastery on a mountain rising 6,000 feet from the Aegean Sea, possesses more pieces of the True Cross than any other shrine. . . . Dr. Reinhold Krause, Nazi churchman, says "God cannot be against Hitler, he alone has God's orders for the Fatherland."

The Goodwin Plan by which American churches, Ladies Aid Societies, etc. may raise money for foreign missions and preachers' salaries, proposes to market in 5,000 towns such products as BYD's, Northern Toilet Paper, Zemo Ointment, Champion Spark Plugs, and Winget Kickers. Excluded are wines, cigarettes, poker sets, contraceptives and bust developers. . . —Bill Reich.

Theory and Practice

Educator Walter Pitkin says that a knowledge of psychology is essential for success in business. . . . William McDougal, foremost American psychologist, who studied the hereditary characteristics of 37 generations of rats, was awarded of \$20,500 by oil stock promoters.—Bill Reich.

Arms Control & League of Nations

The Arms Traffic Committee of the League of Nations was holding one of those endless discussions on arms. Article 2 of the American draft was the subject. A Fascist admiral said that Italy prefers the 1925 convention because it "provides for the suspension of all of its few restrictions in war time." Mr. Wilson for the U. S. "stressed the moral importance of the question." He held that "birth certificates should be given for cannons just as for men." The French delegate thought the birth certificates should go into "the pre-natal stage." A British Lord thought such certificates required too many statistics. So the question of "birth control" for arms versus "birth certificates" was debated. Nothing was settled, no conclusions reached, and the League of Nations called it a day. —Reviewing the Crisis, 1929-35, by M. L.

'Til Death Do Us Part

The English Parliament has passed a regulation making it criminal for dolt recipients, of which there are 17,000,000 not to make "honest efforts" to find work. . . . To save expenses, the aged inmates of the Yellowstone County (Montana) Poorhouse were sent out to dig their own graves. None have yet died.—Bill Reich.

WE NEED A LARGER PAPER

Because of lack of space a number of important articles had to be omitted from this issue, including the third installment on "Should Revolutionaries Build a Labor Party?" by

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NRA BATTERS DOWN WAGES

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER
WASHINGTON.—Judge Nields' decision in the Weirton case put the finishing touch to the National Run Around to which the iron and steel workers have been subjected ever since the summer of 1933. Section 7a, the DuPont henchman discovered, was not constitutional. Congress has the power to regulate "interstate commerce". But the manufacture of iron and steel does not involve "interstate commerce". Thus although the iron and steel employers are free to make whatever use they can of the monopoly features of the code—price fixing, basing points, production quotas—they are exempt from the force of the collective bargaining requirements.

At the same time, the court ruled, it was an outrage to maintain that H. T. Weir has "imposed" the company union upon his employees. They participate in the company union of their own free will. It is an ideal little device, all within the family, for settling grievances and getting justice done. Even if Section 7a were constitutional, the labor boards have no right to annoy this good and benevolent employer. The language of the decision is a beautiful illustration of how class loyalties and class interests determine the supposed logic of the law. To say that workers and employers have interests at variance, the learned judge advances, is to accept "Old World" ideas, non-American and outworn. The interests of bosses and wage slaves are as one. Instead of fighting one another, they should co-operate and collaborate. Out with the trade union, therefore and long live the company union. Unfortunately for the judge, you can't get rid of class war by announcing, judicially, that there "ain't no such animal".

THE LABOR DISPUTES BILL.
Senator Wagner, it is said, is prepared to reintroduce the Labor Disputes bill which failed to come to a vote in the last session of Congress. The bill has the support of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats who would much rather trust to labor boards than to militant labor action. It lacks the support of the President, who wants the labor boards to be strike-breaking agencies pure and simple, rather than to lay down the law of collective bargaining to big business.

The chances of Congress' enacting the bill are slim, unless a new upsurge of strikes smashes the whole apparatus of labor boards. In that event, the bill will probably go through, subject to major modifications. These modifications will probably limit the right to strike and require compulsory arbitration. So far as concerns labor, it is a case of heads you win, tails I lose.

WHAT SOCIALISM WOULD DO
Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation, has just put forward various proposals intended to "rationalize" the American railway system. If put into effect, these proposals would reduce still further the number of workers attached to the railroad industry.

In a truly socialized economy, it would no doubt be wise to remove surplus workers from the railroad industry and to transfer them to other regions, occupations, and trades. Under capitalism, however, you can't get much further than the original disattachments: the workers lose their jobs, use up their "dismissal wages", and sink back into the industrial reserve army of the unemployed.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association.

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Please cooperate!
—Business Manager.

James Rorty Ouster Goes To Congress

Conditions among the agricultural slaves in the Imperial Valley of California will be brought before Congress, as the result of the arrest on suspicion of communistic activities and ejection from the valley of James Rorty, newspaper and magazine writer, last week. Rorty has been summoned to appear March 13 before the House Labor Committee, as the second witness in the hearings on the Wagner labor disputes bill.

Tentative plans to bring suit against Sheriff Ware of Imperial Valley for false arrest, on Rorty's behalf, are being made by the Los Angeles American Civil Liberties Union.

Arrested and "deported" with Rorty was Charles Malemuth, lecturer. Rorty is making a trip through the country, reporting on conditions to the New York Post and the Nation. His business in El Centro, where he was arrested, was journalistic. The fact that his sympathies are communistic and that he had in his possession a letter from Arne Swaback (industrial organizer for the Workers Party) on Communist League of America stationery and addressed to "Comrade Rorty", was beside the point, Rorty stated to Sheriff Ware.

Arrested without warrant, fingerprinted, "mugged", Rorty and Malemuth were held in jail at El Centro overnight on suspicion of being Communists, then were informed no charges would be filed against them if they left the Imperial Valley. Rorty and Malemuth agreed to accept a police escort to Yuma, Arizona, just over the California border, as they recognized the real danger of attack by vigilantes. Later Sheriff Ware wrote to the New York Post, in answer to inquiries about the arrest of Rorty: "If you fellows in New York would check up on these enemies of our government as we do here, the country might get somewhere."

It is doubtful whether Congress will do anything more than "investigate" in the usual hopeless manner the bloody poeponage in this American valley. General Pelham D. Glassford (of the bonus army fame) has already made a report as investigator for the U.S. Labor Department, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the National Labor Board in which he exposes the boss alliance, the corrupt political machine, and the violence exerted to keep its slave labor subjected. The government knows and has known about Imperial Valley for a long time.

WIN 624 PERCENT RAISE IN WAGE-RELIEF WAGE

DECATUR, Ill. (FP)—Instead of 40c an hour tufting mattresses, workers on this Decatur relief project are now getting 65c, a boost of 624%. The Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly and Local 46 of the Illinois Workers Alliance got the relief authorities to come across, on the prevailing wage regulation. Unskilled mattress workers were raised to 50c an hour.

BOSS PRESS SUBSIDIZED

Advertisers subsidized the daily newspapers of the United States to the extent of \$490,000,000 in 1934, according to lineage estimates by a recognized trade journal. Using 1929 advertising expenditures in daily papers as normal, the estimate for 1934 makes the \$490,000,000 as 62.1 percent of normal while 1933 was 56.2 percent and 1932 was 61.4 percent.—Federated Press.

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State League Formed in Kentucky

Johnson Urges Fight for Harlan Miners

CATLETTSBURG, KY.—The solidarity of the unemployed with the employed—Negro and white—was the keynote of the first convention of the Kentucky Unemployed Leagues held here Feb. 22.

G. D. Hayes, president of the Kentucky Leagues, pointed out that only the solidarity of all workers—irrespective of race, color, or creed—can win any rights for the unemployed. He said that in September 1934 the average relief per family in Kentucky was \$7.74 for the entire month, making it the second worst state in the country in regard to relief standards.

Arnold Johnson, Workers Party member and national secretary of the National Unemployed League,

Civil Liberties Union Charges C. P. with Disrupting Sacramento Defense

Following right on the heels of the statement adopted by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in California on the disruptive conduct of the Communist Party in the Sacramento case united front, a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union on Monday, March 4, unanimously adopted the declaration of the Northern California Committee of the A.C.L.U. which deals with the breaking up of the united front on the West coast, and charges that "the Communist Party representatives forced the break deliberately, for reasons that to them seemed good, but that to most of the others present continue to appear inadequate".

Charges Against C. P. Confirmed

Like the statement of the Socialist Party quoted in last week's issue of the New Militant, the Civil Liberties Union statement furnishes complete confirmation, from objective and non-partisan sources, of the policy, the conduct, and the charges leveled against the Stalinists by the Workers Party and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, which have been active in the united front movement to defend the labor leaders and workers now being tried in Sacramento for "criminal syndicalism".

In frenzied desperation at the discrediting of its disgraceful course throughout the Sacramento case, the C. P. officialdom is now striving to cover up its record with a poisonous barrage against the "Workers Party stool-pigeons" and the "Trotskyist disruption".

The record depth of ignominy is reached in a statement published in the Daily Worker of March 5 which, like the rest of the "defense work" of the C. P. and the I.L.D., is concerned from beginning to end with a vicious attack upon the Workers Party and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee. The Stalinist case is not improved but rather made more despicable by the fact that the C. P. was able to coerce or cajole all but two of the defendants into signing a statement which can only react to the detriment of the labor movement in general and of the Sacramento defense in particular.

The Facts
To dignify the malicious accusations made in the statement by a detailed refutation, would only mean to cover the same ground which has already been covered so thoroughly and indisputably in the New Militant in the past. No amount of demagogic misrepresentation and outright falsehood can obliterate the following facts:

1. For months the C. P. and the I.L.D. failed to launch even the semblance of a campaign for the Sacramento defense cases.
2. For months, the "powerful" and well-fixed C. P. and I.L.D. failed to get the defendants out on bail.
3. For months, the C. P. and I.L.D. officialdom kept a number of leading defendants in jail because of political differences between the former and the latter, and in spite of the fact that the former had the financial means at its disposal to effect their release on bail.
4. The C. P. authorized Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, two of its members, to accept bail bonds for their release offered by what they now denounce as the "treacherous and disruptive" Non-Partisan Labor Defense, after having first instructed them not to accept "counter-revolutionary" bail!
5. The most active initiators

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Statements Say Break Was Deliberate

STATEMENT OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

On Monday, March 4, 1935, the National Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union adopted the following statement on the Sacramento criminal syndicalism case:

"In view of the fact that the defendants at Sacramento include members of both the Communist and Workers Parties, it seemed advisable to set up something like a 'united front' to handle common problems and to obviate the danger of political differences getting in the way of successful defense. A joint defense committee, growing out of meetings held from January 11 on, was in existence until January 26. The chairman of the Northern California Committee of the A.C.L.U. presided at the first informal discussions; later the Director of the A.C.L.U. was elected Temporary Chairman of the joint committee.

"The committee broke up on January 26. It is the opinion of the A.C.L.U. representatives that the Communist Party representatives forced the break deliberately, for reasons that to them seemed good, but that to most of the others present

continue to appear inadequate. "The A.C.L.U. has refused to participate organizationally in any further efforts to create 'united fronts' on the case."

STATEMENT BY TRAVERS CLEMENT IN THE NATION

In the issue of March 13, the Nation will say in an article by the noted California author, Travers Clement:

"That it (the explanation of the revolutionary program in court) is not intellectually an insurmountable handicap was proved during the cross-examination of Mini, the first defendant to take the stand in his own behalf. Without hedging an inch on his convictions, he quietly deflated the 'red terror' fantasies of the prosecutor in a manner which won chuckles of appreciation from the spectators. The other defendants, occupying a somewhat less exposed position on this subject, than a Trotskyist, should be able to handle the clumsy McAllister with even less difficulty.

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Green in Detroit Surveys His Ruin of Auto Union

Try Another Board, He Cries

By OUR DETROIT CORRESPONDENT
DETROIT, Mich.—Bill Green has come to Detroit, and has gone—and the situation remains just about what it was before he came. The speech of the A. F. of L. in his speech Feb. 25, was to be the big gun in the month-long campaign of the United Automobile Workers of America. But the heavy artillery turned out to be a pop-gun as far as the auto workers are concerned, and nothing for the bosses to lose sleep over.

Any possible fears of the auto autocrats that Green, smarting under the rough treatment Roosevelt has been giving him recently, would preach strike action, were completely allayed. When he finally got around to mentioning strike, he spoke of it not as the only weapon to obtain better conditions, but as a means to be used "if necessary". And after what the workers have put up with under the NRA, they have some idea of how remote such "necessity" is to Bill Green's comfortable existence.

Bill's "Wisdom"
So satisfactory was Green's speech to the manufacturers, that their mouthpiece, the local press, ran long editorials praising Bill for his "wisdom" and "good judgment".

To the 150,000 or more auto workers in the Detroit area, suffering from the most intense exploitation in the history of modern American industry, he advised faith and confidence, not in their mass power, but in the National Industrial Relations Board. For, you see, the Auto Labor Board has betrayed the hope we placed in it—so now let's put our faith in another board!

The 2,000 men at the meeting heard the same old class-collaborationist tune—identity of the interests of workers and capitalists, arbitration and faith in the NRA. He came, he said, not to indict the auto bosses but to plead for fair play and humane consideration for the workers!

Does Green—many of his disgusted listeners wondered—actually believe that by raising the bogey of the strike "if necessary", "at some future date", he can scare the bosses into making some concessions through an "impartial" board?

A. F. of L. Weak in Detroit
To the manufacturers this is old bluff. They know Green is playing their game by supporting the Auto Code with its open-shop, merit-clause and company-union provisions, and the whole NRA machinery of arbitration.

They know further that the A. F. of L. is numerically weak here and that its half-hearted organizational campaign has met with little response. They have seen how in the strikes in Lansing and at the Murray Body Plant the A. F. of L. has not attempted to use this opportunity to develop militant

widespread struggles. All in all, the bosses know they have nothing to fear from the A. F. of L. at this time.

As for the workers, their honey-moon with the Auto Labor Board is coming to an abrupt and disillusioning conclusion. Led on to accept the A.L.B. as the means whereby their wrongs would be redressed, since their representatives chosen in the recent A.L.B. elections are finding it impossible to adjust their grievances satisfactorily through the board or in direct negotiations with the bosses, they are coming to the realization that organization is the only way out.

Workers Waking Up

The men whom they represent are beginning to realize this, too. This realization, though still vague, is growing. How fast it will grow, whether it will emerge as an independent force or flow into the existing unions, is not yet evident. It is significant, however, that the A. F. of L. campaign has left these workers cold. They apparently do not think much of Green's suggestion that they exchange one board for another. The failure of the A.

(Continued on Page 2)

HUEY LONG WORKS HOSPITAL AIDS FOR 'KICKBACK'

NEW ORLEANS.—Charity hospital workers will have 5 percent taken out of their semi-monthly salaries for the rest of the year to provide Huey Long's organization with funds for the 1936 gubernatorial campaign.

The 5 percent kickback has been in effect for a month or so, and the workers thought that it was only a temporary levy. Members of the political administration, however, have informed them that it will continue at least through January 1936, when the gubernatorial campaigns held. About \$600 a month is obtained by the Long machine in this way.

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Strategic Labor Attack Triumphs

Waukegan Office Workers Stand by Mechanics

WAUKEGAN, Ill.—Solidarity of auto and mechanical workers, rapid and well timed action, won a strike for four hundred workers at the Johnson Motors plant in Waukegan last week in short order. The strike marks the culmination of the second effort within a year to organize the workers in a Federal Auto Local. The first attempt was defeated when the company formed its own union and killed strike spirit with fancy promises. This time the union was well under way before the company woke up and fired three members for union activity.

A strike meeting was called immediately, 85 workers attending. By prompt and militant action they

Building Union Leads Toledo FERA Strike

Special to New Militant

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 2.—Significant action was taken here today by the Building Trades Council, attached to the A. F. of L. Central Labor Union, with the calling of an FERA strike in Lucas county and the setting up of a general FERA organization, sponsored by the unions but not affiliated with the A. F. of L. This means that the B.T.C. is accepting leadership in a strike of non-union as well as union workers, of unemployed as well as employed.

The importance of this unusual move by an A. F. of L. body is seen in a statement by Oliver Meyers, secretary of the Toledo Building Trades Council and business representative of the electricians' union, as quoted in the Toledo Blade, that "by appealing to both the Ohio Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. for support, it was entirely possible that the strike would become not only state-wide, but also national in its scope."

Character of Organization

The first meeting of the new FERA organization, which is to include all FERA workers, outside and office workers, was held today at C.L.U. headquarters, with approximately 500 in attendance. The majority were unorganized and unskilled workers. The meeting was conducted by the business agents of the B.T.C., with Meyers as secretary. Demands for better wages to FERA workers and plans for a joint strike committee of the B.T.C. and the FERA organization, and the official strike call, were agreed upon by the meeting.

Up to this time, the strike on FERA projects which has been in progress was called a "protest" against the budget system of relief, by the B.T.C., and officially only union men were out. The change in the attitude of the union is clear.

W.P. and O.U.L. Active

The Workers Party and the Ohio and National Unemployed Leagues have been active in the setting up of the new organization and the calling of the general FERA strike. Several of the most significant demands made by today's meeting, including the official call for the strike, were based on proposals made by Art Preis, of the Ohio Unemployed League, in his talk at the meeting.

There is also a common understanding, made by Meyers in response to a question from Comrade Preis, that there will be unofficial representation from the new organization upon the Building Trades Council. Comrade Preis was invited to attend a meeting of the B.T.C. motions adopted.

Motions Adopted

The following motions were adopted by the meeting:

1. That demands be made for a minimum of three eight-hour days of work on FERA for skilled workers at prevailing union rates.
2. That semi-skilled and office workers shall receive a minimum of 80 cents an hour and not less than \$20 per week.
3. That common labor shall receive a minimum of 85 cents an hour with four eight-hour days minimum of work per week.
4. That the assembly go on record for an FERA organization open to all workers not members of trade unions, to be a no-dues payment organization.
5. That no organization, including the new organization, goes back on the job under separate agreement unless all go back on the job.
6. That a joint strike committee

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But Profits Soar Gov't Board Says

WASHINGTON.—The NRA, by official administration figures, has served to increase capitalists' profits and lower workers' living standards. The recent report by the Division of Research and Planning on the "Operation of the NRA" blows to bits the fantastic pretense that the NRA codes have acted to transfer purchasing power from the capitalists, the haves, to the workers, the have-nots.

So damning is the evidence uncovered by investigators working on the report that the whole intent of the NRA—as announced originally—is twisted to make an apology for the results. The codes, we now learn, were by no means intended to augment the wages and shorten the hours of wage earners in general.

On the contrary, explains this rationalization, they had modest objectives, and "have probably" helped those whom they were especially designed to help; namely, those whose real incomes were already pitifully low, e.g. female laborers in the south. In other words, it is affirmed that "laborers getting less than \$10 a week had their weekly earnings raised substantially."

Higher Wages?

Perhaps this is true, though the argument is open to considerable question when we examine the most important industry which employs "female laborers" in the south—the cotton textile industry. We find that since the enactment of the code average weekly earnings and real purchasing power have both decreased!

True or false, the argument indicates the ingenuity of the "new deal" apologists when their own investigations drive them into a tight corner. When the NRA codes were first put into force it was pretended that their animating purpose was to augment the purchasing power of the wage-earning classes as a whole. This "purpose" is not accomplished. The Division of Research and Planning becomes aware of the failure. It advances a totally new argument—the NRA was designed to augment the purchasing power of an infinitesimal fraction of the total laboring population!

Share-the-Starvation

The extent of the NRA's failure to raise real wages and thus increase purchasing power is revealed in the figures.

First, we are told of an "increase in the spread between production and employment", which indicates an acceleration of share-the-work. The volume of production in the manufacturing industries, December 1934 was a full 20 percent lower than the volume in June 1933. But the index of employment has risen by 16 percent. In other words, a larger number of workers is consuming a smaller aggregate of goods and services. Share-the-work equals share-the-increasing-starvation.

But receivers of dividends and interest have nothing to worry about. For them, at least, the "new deal" has proved a blessing. Taking 1926 as 100, payrolls in December 1934 stood at an index of 60, while dividends and interest stood at 150. The national income, within eight years, had declined almost by half; the wage earners' share therein had been cut 40 percent, the capitalists' share had been raised by 50 percent.

Bosses Share-the-Profits

How gently and tactfully the report puts it by stating: "Clearly the recipients of profits have not failed to enjoy their proportionate share of the increase in industrial recovery!"

A few details will make clear what the report has in mind. Some 300 corporations, which had net profits of \$100,000 in 1932, had net profits of \$202,800,000 in 1933—a rise of almost 2,000 percent—and net profits, in 1934 of \$430,540,000—a total rise of about 4,500 percent. The automobile companies, which lost almost \$20,000,000 in 1932, gained \$86,000,000 in 1934. The steel companies, which lost \$100,000,000 in 1933, cut the loss to \$7,000,000 in 1934. Coal and coke, which lost almost \$4,000,000 in 1934, gained almost \$1,000,000 in 1934. The oil companies doubled their profits; so did the chemical and drug companies.

Meanwhile, what was happening to wage-earners? The National Emergency Council figures, most

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Choice of Name Biggest Achievement of S.P. Unemployed Meet

"A Socialist Party Congress" Protests Virginia Delegate

By Special Correspondent

On March 2 to 4 about 120 people met in Washington and gave a good illustration of how not to build a fighting national unemployed organization. Delegate Bernstein from Richmond, Va., himself a member of the Socialist Party, correctly characterized the procedure when he said on the floor:

"It seems to me that I have attended the finest Socialist Party convention that I ever heard of. We came here for a non-partisan convention. Most of the people in Virginia are Democrats."

It was plainly evident that the leaders of the convention were interested chiefly in setting up an organization that could be safely controlled by Lasser of the Workers Unemployed Union of New York, Rasmussen of the Illinois Workers Alliance, Trager of the Peoples Unemployed League of Maryland, Lieberman of the Unemployed Citizens League of Pittsburgh and Benson of the Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues.

The Illinois Workers Alliance, a genuine unemployed organization with over 100 functioning locals and a large membership was put on the same level with the insignificant Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues. Illinois had 16 votes and Florida had 15. The 15 Florida votes were cast by one man, Benson. Indiana cast 12 votes despite the fact that the delegate reporting for that state admitted that it had only a few leagues and only "between four and five thousand members."

Benjamin Approves

According to the Daily Worker for March 4, Herbert Benjamin of the C.P. National Unemployment Councils, was the dominating figure at this S.P. convention and got a big ovation, "the only ovation given any speaker by an audience who heard among others, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader. Standing cheering, the delegates greeted Benjamin's impassioned plea for unity... with shouts of 'We'll fight for that.' They blocked the aisle, shaking Benjamin's hand... David Lasser... came by and told Benjamin, 'I think we are moving in the right direction at last.'"

So distorted and non-factual was the report that Benjamin the next day submitted a statement to the convention saying that he was sorry the Daily Worker had published such a report and that correction would be made.

Following out the new C.P. turn to the Right, Benjamin capitulated completely to the Lasser-Rasmus-

sen-Trojan-Trager-Cook-Lieberman combination. He approved of the convention and told the delegates it was "a step in the right direction".

Rev. Myers Speaks

On Sunday afternoon the convention was addressed by James Myers, of the Federal Council of Churches. Rev. Myers made an appeal for the religion of Jesus and the prophets. There was applause when he said that "real religion believes in democracy." "Any economic system," said Myers, "that deprives a man of the right to work is immoral. We are an immortal nation."

There was a great deal of this sort of activity but it did not seem to strike the convention that it was necessary to put in time and energy on the real active problems that daily face unemployed organizations. There was a tendency—despite much talk about class consciousness—to make it appear that real good could be accomplished by talking to congressmen and the President's secretaries.

Selecting a Name

Much time was consumed on the selection of the name for the new organization. Workers Alliance of America was finally agreed on. There was strong sentiment against using the word "unemployed" in the name. Rasmussen said that "the name must be nation-wide, powerful, easy to symbolize and easy to go on a button."

The constitution provides that only organizations can become members of the W.A.A. They must not be affiliated with any other organization having the same purpose.

A resolution was adopted instructing the national executive board to call a conference—not later than three months away—of the executive committees of other national unemployed organizations to discuss procedure for merger and unity. The constitution empowers the N.E.B. to work for the amalgamation of all unemployed organizations and to sit in on conferences and conventions of unemployed organizations. The leaders of the convention were, in fact, forced by a storm of protest to withdraw a resolution which assumed that they were building the national organization of the unemployed.

N.C.L.'s Position On Convention
The National Unemployed League was invited to be a part of this convention but declined to participate on the ground that:

1. It was not to be a rank and

file convention composed of delegates democratically elected by real and functioning unemployed organizations. 2. Basic units or "locals" of real unemployed organizations would not be given opportunity to elect delegates to the convention. 3. The convention set-up was manipulated from the top by Lasser, Rasmussen and other Socialist Party minor functionaries for the purpose of securing S. P. control of the organization when formed. 4. That the method of voting to be followed (fifteen to each state regardless of the number and size of its bona-fide unemployed organizations) would tend further to make the convention undemocratic and non-rank and file.

Anthony Hamuglia, president of the N.U.L. and E. R. McKinney, editor of Mass Action, organ of the N.U.L. were present at the convention. Hamuglia in his address assured the convention that the N.U.L. now as ever stands ready to participate loyally and enthusiastically in any movement to unify unemployed organizations on a sound basis, but would refuse to have any part in any sectarian attempt to impose an organization on the unemployed from the top.

N R A Speed-Up and Police Brutality Hit in St. Louis

Three Thousand in Mass Meeting

By Special Correspondent

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Goaded to the breaking point by the speed-up under the NRA and the union-smashing tactics of employers and police, workers in St. Louis finally made their protests heard in a mass meeting arranged by the Central Trades Council held in the new Civic Auditorium.

The immediate cause of the protest was a strike at the Forest City Mfg. Co., a garment-making plant where police escorted scabs from the A. A. Ahner Detective Agency through the picket lines, and even sent patrol wagons and police scout cars to the homes of the strikers, then arrested nine workers on the picket line, most of them young girls. Appearing in court several days later, four of the workers were charged with assault and battery! One of the girls so charged weighs 110 pounds.

The Usual Story

Behind this strike lies the usual NRA story of inhuman speed-ups in the garment industry. Last year the employers evaded the code by putting all work on a piece-work or "task" basis. In order to make the minimum wage of \$13 a week a worker had to be very fast. Many girls, unable to stand up under the terrific strain, lost their jobs.

This system was all right in sick times. But when orders began coming in faster the bosses were faced with a labor shortage.

To reduce the "task" so that more girls could meet the minimum requirements, meant a loss of profits. Instead, a special group to be known as "privileged" workers was employed. These workers were not privileged, as a naive reader might suppose, to be paid the minimum wage whether they met the quota or not. They were "privileged" to work for less than the minimum of \$13!

The Forest City firm not only violated the agreement it had reached with the workers in the strike in 1933, but it hired a nationally notorious strike-breaking agency, the A. A. Ahner Agency, sometimes known as the Industrial Research and Engineering Co.

Scab Agencies Work

Operatives of the scab agency were put into the plant. Loyal union girls were not even allowed to go to the washroom two at a time. They were threatened with loss of employment and even with physical violence for joining the I.L.G.W.U.

At last the conditions became so unendurable that a strike was called.

Green Views Auto Failure

(Continued from Page 1)

F. of L. up to now to secure better conditions for the workers is not likely to inspire confidence.

The bosses are on the alert to try to crush any move toward organization. They are speeding up production to the utmost to get through the season before trouble can develop. Although there is sentiment for unionization and strike it is doubtful whether it can crystallize soon enough to produce widespread strike struggles in the present season.

What is needed in Detroit is a group of trade union militants who are not bound by a cut-and-dried formula, but approach the problems of the auto workers in a realistic fashion. Only such a group with a fighting class policy can lead the way to the formation of a powerful industrial union in the auto industry.

Fur Union Must Move Carefully for Unity; Cannon's Advice Still Holds

By Trade Union Dept. of W.P.

Unity of the Fur Workers of N. Y. in one organization seems assured. The conditions under which such unity will be achieved are another matter. The Industrial Union after a great deal of squabbling among the leaders, is now discussing openly with the membership the ways of accomplishing unity. This step, belated though it is, is a correct one.

Conditions in the fur trade are steadily worsening. Active, militant members of the Industrial Union, barred from the shops, are walking the streets. The chief task of the remnants of the Industrial Union is fighting the Industrial Union. The latter, isolated from the main body of needle workers, crippled by the fight with the International, its policies juggled back and forth with each shift in the "correct Stalinist line", is in no position to defend its membership against the attacks of the bosses. It is now forced, not by

a correct appreciation of the condition and needs of the furriers, but by the hundred and eighty degree turn in the "general line", to come out for unity under the A. F. of L.

Proposals of Industrial Union
What does the Industrial Union, or rather its Stalinist leadership, propose? A leaflet issued by the Fur Workers Industrial Union and distributed in the market this week sets forth the following proposals:

1. "An open conference with the council, to build one union uniting the forces of the workers against the bosses and contractors for jobs, wages and conditions."

2. "An immediate stop to the criminal, bloody battle. The organization of unity on the basis of a fur workers industrial union to all furriers regardless of color, race, nationality or political affiliation."

3. "No discriminations. No clique dictatorships. Complete guarantee of the democratic rights of every worker. A union of the workers and for the workers."

"The Lovestonites are opposed to our proposal and program; so are all other dishonest demagogues, politicians and fakers. But the furriers are for it, and that is what counts!"

"We are ready and willing to join with the Council in building an A. F. of L. union. But should the Council refuse we shall be forced to continue with the battle to the finish. And we are confident that the militant furriers, who have won every conflict in the past 3 years, will not fail in this one."

Writing editorially in the Militant, March 24, 1934, almost a year ago, Comrade James P. Cannon proposed that the Industrial Union should immediately start a campaign for unity under the American Federation of Labor. He said:

"First, it can demand a charter from the International with only one condition: that the local retain its autonomy and the right to choose its own officials. If that is refused, a proposal can be made to unite the two local organizations into a single body affiliated to the International, and consequently, to the A. F. of L., with officials to be elected in a supervised election of the united organization. Third, the Left wing union can declare its intention to campaign for the amalgamation of all the needle trades unions into one industrial organization affiliated to the A. F. of L."

"If such proposals are made known to all the furriers, and combined with a widespread agitation for unity throughout the needle trades, they will awaken a hearty response from the workers, strengthening the sagging morale of the Left wing and put an enormous pressure on the officials of the International including their Lovestonite come-ons..."

"The Stalinist bureaucrats in charge of the Left wing furriers' union, of course, will oppose such a strategy and will try to suppress any free discussion of it in the union. But these ideas will make their way just the same. They are stronger than the apparatus of the bureaucrats because they correspond to the burning needs of the workers. And, in addition, they indicate the only way to save the furriers' organization from the debacle which overtook all the other sections of the Industrial Union."

Edith Phillips
The star performer again was Edith Phillips, whose experience and observation in the class struggle have turned her in two years from a flag-waving NRA propagandist into a militant trade union leader. When she appealed to the workers, "Are you going to sit still while our unions are broken up one by one?" a thunderous "No!" answered her.

One of the speakers reminded the police who lined the hall that their last pay increase came primarily as a result of labor agitation. (But do not be misled! The radicalization of the American working class is far from complete—Huey Long's name received vigorous cheers.)

What were the actual results of this meeting? Notwithstanding the fact that no definite gains can be pointed to, it showed that in the St. Louis working class there are mighty resources that have not been tapped.

JUST ARRIVED: Bulletin of the Russian Opposition No. 42. Contains brilliant analysis of the Soviet Union by Leon Trotsky in an article entitled "Where is the Stalinist bureaucracy leading the U. S. S. R.?" as well as other shorter items.

Also Received Extra Copies No. 41 Devoted to the appraisal of events in connection with the Kirov assassination. Individual copy sells for 20 cents. Bundle orders—15 cents per copy. Subscription rate—\$2.00 per year.

Order your copy now! from Sara Weber, c/o New International, 2 West 15th St., N.Y.C. Russian Bulletin carried by Pioneer Publishers, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City and other leading book stores.

The proposal of Comrade Cannon was correct a year ago and though the chances of successfully carrying it out are much poorer today it is still correct. We only wish to add the following immediate proposals that should be made to the International Union:

(1) The election of a committee of 25 from each union to discuss plans for the merger of both unions into one organization under the A. F. of L.

(2) All workers of both unions to be accepted as members of the merged union. (This to mean that every member of the Industrial Union, from Gold to the last worker in the shop, will be accepted.)

(3) Elections to be held immediately by the fused union, with all members in good standing, in both unions to be eligible for office.

(4) That all arrangements for the election and the control of the fused organization previous to the holding of the election be in the hands of a parity committee.

The bureaucrats in charge of the Industrial Union in 1934 denounced these proposals and suppressed any discussion of them. Today these same bureaucrats say that "all dishonest demagogues, politicians and fakers" oppose the proposal of unity. That statement applied in every word to themselves in 1934. Unless the conditions outlined above are fought for and put into effect, unity in the fur trade may only mean a restoring of the racketeering-controlled organization of the past.

The furriers must be on their guard. They must tolerate no undercover deals between the bureaucrats. Nothing but a democratic union, with officials democratically elected and with the right of the membership to decide on policies, can be the basis for a united organization that will really be a weapon in the hands of the workers against their bosses.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Pittsburgh, Pa.

March 16 and 17, Saturday and Sunday—Active Workers Conference. Arne Swabeck, Chairman of Arrangements Committee.

New York City

March 10, Sunday 3 P.M.—Membership meeting, New York District. At Party headquarters. Discussion on Active Workers Conference.

March 22, Friday, 8 P.M.—"Impending Strike Struggles in the Basic Industries." Speaker A. J. Muste. Grand Central Palace, 86 Clinton St. Auspices East Side Branch No. 2.

March 24, Sunday 8 P.M.—Mass meeting on "The Class Struggle in the West." Speaker: James Cannon, recently returned from the coast. Irving Plaza. See ad in this issue.

March 25, Monday evening—Theatre Party "The Black Pit." Civic Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, chairman of ticket committee.

Friday—Forums at all New York branches.
Forum at 1776 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, under auspices of Branch 6 temporarily suspended due to burning of Branch headquarters. Watch New Militant for notice of opening of new headquarters.

NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR BORO PARK BRANCH
1359 43rd Street
Open Forum Friday, March 15

Mass Meeting — Social
PARIS COMMUNE NIGHT

Speaker: **MANNY GARRET**
Editor, Young Spartacus
SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 8 P.M.
2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.
Entertainment and dancing after meeting.
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League

Building Union Leads Toledo FERA Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

be set up with equal representation from the Building Trades Council and the new organization. Negotiation and other committees to be set up in a similar fashion.

7. That a general mass meeting is to be held Tuesday or Wednesday for the further consolidation of the organization and to set up a functioning strike machinery.

8. That a general FERA strike is officially declared, including all FERA workers.

Protests against the recruiting of strikebreakers, to replace the FERA workers already out on strike, by social service workers, also were made by the B.T.C.

At the same time County Relief Administrator James S. Thompson sent to Fred Payne, president of the C.L.U., a letter urging the skilled workers to return to FERA projects, "until the new program is started from Washington". He made every sort of appeal, from the sentimental one that the tuberculosis hospital needs completing (so that the workers' underfed children will have a place to go, Mr. Thompson?) to the practical one that Toledo is losing money because it is not using its FERA allowances.

He promised to make every effort to get budgets increased.

Toledo's workers are learning how to see that such promises are kept—through mass pressure.

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Vol. 1 SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1935 No. 12

Unity of the Unemployed?

THE Socialist Partyites who managed the unemployed convention held in Washington March 2-4 failed to realize the ambitious objective which they set before themselves—that of setting up an all-embracing, truly national organization of the unemployed. Under pressure from such rank and file elements as the convention contained and others, they had to pass a resolution providing that in three months the executive of the Workers Alliance of America (the name chosen for the new organization) should meet with the executives of other national organizations to discuss unity. Thus they confessed the justice of the charge which the National Unemployed League made against them, namely, that for an essentially factional purpose and on a wrong basis they were trying to set up another national organization when such organizations were already in existence.

What organizations will really affiliate with the W.A.A. after the delegates have gone back home and reported about the character of the convention and how much power it can develop under the loose form of organization adopted is still entirely problematical. If, however, the resolution for unity of the unemployed is carried out in a loyal and realistic manner, important results may yet be accomplished. The unemployed desperately need a powerful, non-partisan nation-wide fighting organization. All the forces capable of helping to build such an organization should get together without a moment's delay. Those who fail to do so in the crisis which at present confronts the unemployed are guilty of the grossest irresponsibility.

The National Unemployed League has repeatedly stated the basis on which unity can be achieved:

"Bring together delegates from the local unemployed organizations throughout the country in a convention which expresses the will of the rank and file and in which representation is proportionate to the strength of the bona-fide organizations present. In a fighting organization set up in this way we will unhesitatingly and gladly submerge our separate existence."

We endorse this position. We urge all unemployed organizations to adopt it and to act upon it immediately. Of our S. P. comrades we ask again: "Why do you refuse to accept this simple, straightforward, correct proposal? What are you afraid of?"

The Unemployed Councils (Communist Party controlled) are so weak generally that the Communist Party in most localities is proposing to liquidate them just as on the trade union field its "revolutionary unions" are being liquidated. However, Herbert Benjamin, the leader of the Councils, was at Washington to plead "for united front and unity of the unemployed organizations". In fact, to judge by the Daily Worker Benjamin of the C. P. was the dominant figure at this S.P. convention! So incorrect was the report that Benjamin had to apologize publicly for it in the convention, with what outward smoothness and inward rage we can imagine!

In line with the right swing of the C. P. Benjamin flattered the S. P. leaders and speaks of their occupying "a position far in advance of the leaders of the N.U.L." For the mechanical maneuvering from the top by which the convention was set up Benjamin has, of course, no rebuke. The C. P. believes in doing business that way and no doubt is flattered by the imitation of certain S.P.'ites.

The Communist Party just having deliberately smashed a united front of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, etc. in Sacramento, though this may mean prison sentences for 14 of its own members, Benjamin unhesitatingly offers a united front and unity in the unemployed field!

From this corrupted source no unity will come, but insofar as it still retains any influence, only confusion, disruption and defeat.

Balance of Power—An Illusion

JUDGE Nields of the Federal District Court of Delaware has ruled that a company union or employee representation plan is legal under the N.R.A. In making his ruling he set forth his idea of "the 20th century American theory" of the relation between the worker and the boss.

"The traditional old world theory," according to Judge Nields, is that there is a certain divergence of interest between the worker and the boss, and that it is necessary, therefore, to have an "economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital" through independent labor unions. According to Judge Nields' conception of up to date American theory the interests of worker and boss are practically identical, depend upon "mutual interest, understanding and good will", and can, therefore, be well taken care of by a company union financed by the boss.

Capitalist Press Lies About Mini

Scored by Chambers and Warnick

SUPERIOR COURT, SACRAMENTO, Feb. 7, 1935.—The Hearst Examiner of today prints a statement that Norman Mini has offered

WATCH FOR THIS FELLOW

In response to inquiries, A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, states that Carl Leathers is not a member of the Party and that no one answering the description of Leathers is in the Party. Responsible comrades regard Leathers as not reliable and workers' organizations are asked to take note.

to turn state's evidence. The Sacramento Bee carries a report that a "confession" has been made in this case. Both statements are absolutely false. . . .

Not only has Mini made no such offer and no such confession but he has repeatedly refused McAllister's offers of immunity in return for turning state's evidence. McAllister has been peddling his offers of immunity for six months and he has been turned down by Mini, by Donald Bingham who still awaits trial, and by others of the present defendants. We need and ask no immunity. We can make no confessions since we com-

Judge Nields has his facts twisted. The prevailing American theory to date, the theory generally held by the A. F. of L., for example, has not been anti-capitalistic. It has insisted, however, that if the workers are not to be oppressed they must be organized as well as the bosses. There must be what Judge Nields describes as "the economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital". The theory which Judge Nields advocates is pretty close, well on the way, to the theory that prevails in such countries as Italy and Germany under Fascism. There the independent unions of the workers have been smashed. They are now forbidden, strikes are illegal, etc. Relations between worker and boss are supposed to depend "upon mutual interest, understanding and good will".

Marxists have always contended that the divergence of interest between workers, on the one hand, and the bosses who own and control the basic resources of the nation and its productive machinery and operate them for their own private profit, is so fundamental that the worker cannot deliver himself from oppression and misery without destroying the system and building in its place one which he controls and in which industry is not operated for private gain.

What are American trade unionists now going to do? Accept the theory of Judge Nields and of the Automobile Labor Board, leading inevitably in the end to Fascism and the destruction of all independent organizations of the workers? Try to organize on the theory that under capitalism a balance of power between labor and capital can somehow be worked out? Or organize to take the offensive against the capitalist system which, if it is not abolished, must press the workers' standard of living further and further down and in doing so crush every semblance of resistance against slavery?

QUESTION BOX

A. D., DETROIT—

Question: What is the difference between the "price" system and the "profit" system?

Answer: Certain schools of thought, notably the Technocrats, superficially designate any mode of production in which money in one form or another exists, as a "price" system, thereby indicating their inability to see beyond surface phenomena. The existence of a "price" system, or money, merely means that the production and exchange of commodities is sufficiently advanced historically so that a single commodity, the money commodity, which functions as the measure of values for other commodities and as the medium through these latter exchange, has evolved. (There are other functions of money which we do not mention here since they have no direct bearing on the question.) The existence of money, in itself, therefore, in no way tells us more than this about the mode of production, and money existed while production was based on chattel slavery (e.g. Southern United States prior to the Civil War), or on feudalism (e.g. Europe before the 19th century), and exists under capitalism (wage slavery).

To call a system "price" system, therefore, means to designate a mode of production, taken as a whole, by only one of the characteristics upon which it is based, or which exists within it. However, systems of production are characterized, and this is basic, by the CLASSES upon whom the dominant mode of production is based; i.e., slave owner and slave, feudal lord and serf, capitalist and wage worker.

The production and exchange of commodities is not essential to the existence of either feudal or chattel-slave society; such commodity production and exchange (and therefore money) which did exist played a minor role in the economic life of the system, and existed alongside of rather than being a component part of it. The capitalist ("profit") system, however, is based upon commodity production and has as a prerequisite for its existence that this production be sufficiently advanced so that money exists. But this is not enough. In addition there must exist, on the one hand, a propertyless mass of people (the proletariat) who have nothing to sell but their labor-power (labor-power itself becomes a commodity); on the other hand a class of people who own and control the means of production, to whom the proletariat must sell its labor power in order to live, and who derive their surplus value ("profit") from the fact that they pay the worker in wages a smaller value than he creates for them by laboring.

The capitalist system, therefore, is one which is based on commodity production, a money ("price") system, but commodity production (and the existence of money) is not necessarily capitalist production.

Question: Is it true that in the Soviet Union the "profit" system has been abolished but the "price" system retained?

Answer: By expropriating the capitalists and landlords in the Soviet Union the workers have done away with that class relationship upon which capitalism, the "profit" system, is based, i.e., on the one hand the propertyless proletariat, and on the other a class possessing and controlling the means of production. The present class relationship in the Soviet Union, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a transitional political system standing between capitalist and socialist society and therefore has elements in it of both systems. This is reflected in the currency which is unlike money in capitalist society in that, like Soviet production itself, it can, within certain limits, be controlled; and it is like money in capitalist society in that, particularly for foreign trade and on the "free" market, legal and illegal, it is subject to the laws of commodities which determine the character of money. It is superficial to speak of a "price" system in describing the Soviet Union since the existence of a currency is but a minor aspect of the social relationships in that country. The ownership of the means of production by the proletariat.

Capitalist Press Lies About Mini

Scored by Chambers and Warnick

mitted no crime. We are fighting for the rights of workers to organize in unions and for the right of the Communist Party legally to exist and advocate its doctrines, and we will not abandon those rights in return for anything McAllister may offer. This is an issue that concerns the working class as a whole, and we will continue to fight until it has been won.

(signed) JACK WARNICK
PAT CHAMBERS
NORMAN MINI

INSULT FARCE

Sam Insull, conviction - proof Greek tourist and ex-utility manipulator, went to trial March 4 on a state charge of embezzling \$66,000 from Middle West Utilities Co. Only one spectator showed up in the Chicago courtroom for the judicial farce.

Relief Investigators Do Detective Work

Letter from "Inside" Tells the Wretched Story

I work in a Home Relief Bureau in New York City. I am an investigator. An investigator combines the functions of a social-worker and a detective.

How's that? Well, verbally, the emphasis is upon social-work. But actually the work is detective work. After a long talk on the welfare of the clients, we are told that we are handling the community's money and our first duty is to the community—which means the bankers. Concentrate upon "suspicious" cases and close them out! The more cases you close the better your chances for promotion!

Here is a family that lives in a \$20-a-month apartment. Our bureau allows only \$16. Check on how the family pays the difference. Perhaps someone has an odd job? Perhaps a relative is helping?

Our Health "Service"

Maybe the family needs a doctor. First have them try home remedies. You know most of them only want a doctor because it is free; if they were working, they would hesitate to call a doctor. If it's a case of dental work, the bureau provides that too, but the waiting list is filled for six months! Yes—our "superiors" tell us—for an undernourished child we allow 25 cents bi-weekly for cod-liver oil. A special diet can be obtained, but

A.C.L.U. on Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

of the genuine united front defense movement, neglected by the C. P. bureaucracy, were the representatives of the same N.P.L.D. and the W.P.

6. The C. P., in its press agitation, and for criminally narrow-minded factional purposes, played right into the hands of the prosecution by denouncing Norman Mini's statement as a "confession", which was just what the prosecution tried to make it appear to be, but which everybody else, including most of the defendants who signed the latest C. P. statement, regarded as just the opposite of a "confession".

7. Despite its scurrilous agitation, the C.P. stands condemned by two groups involved in assisting the defense which are not connected either with the C.P. or the W.P.—the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union (both in California and nationally)—and by the Nation, liberal weekly.

Caroline Decker's Position

The fact that Caroline Decker found it possible to append her name to the vicious C.P. statement of March 5 is a source of great regret to us, and our sentiment will be shared by every responsible militant. While we are aware of the terrific difficulties of her position (and that of all the other defendants), and of the cowardly pressure exerted upon her, we cannot justify her signature in any way. We cannot believe that the statement she signed actually represents her views. We know it does not.

It is no great secret that Caroline Decker has expressed herself in unambiguous terms about the conduct of the C.P. bureaucracy, and about those very questions which are dealt with in the Stalinist statement. Our convictions about her views are not based upon hearsay, but upon ample documentary evidence which is beyond dispute. If we do not present it to our readers at the present time, it is because, unlike the irresponsible leaders of the C.P., we have no intention, in face of the situation created, of making use of such issues at a moment when the freedom of 10 workers hangs in the balance in a capitalist courtroom. The full reckoning with the Stalinists will not be avoided by us; but the interests of the persecuted militants dictate to us a postponement of the inevitable date.

Warnick Stands Firm

At the same time, it is a source of deep gratification that Jack Warnick, although also a member of the C. P., refused to lend his name to the contemptible document printed in the Daily Worker. Like everyone else concerned, he knows the truth, the real facts in the dispute, and he has declined to give credit to a document of falsehood and infamy by adding the signature of a proletarian revolutionist. If this courageous attitude has earned him the venomous attack of unprincipled traducers, it has also brought him the cordial and comradely congratulations of all honest workers and their renewed pledge of solidarity with him and his fellow-defendants. His stand is an example to follow.

REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP FORMED

Classes Every Week.
Get information from F. Drake,
S. Y. L.

of course it's not your business to tell the client. Let him find out for himself and get a letter from a doctor. The dieticians will then take it up—it may take a couple of months.

Most of these people never had anything—most important for an investigator to remember!—and their living standards are higher now than ever, especially these Negroes.

All this is intermingled with chatter about the mental health of the clients, re-vocational training, re-integration into the economic life of the community.

The Spy System

The psychic terror utilized by the relief administration is so apparent that even the most naive are impressed. Everyone knows there is a spy system—special investigators to investigate the investigators! Ever so often a field-worker is told, "You stay in today, we have some other work for you." You are under suspicion, and a "special" is looking into your "load", that is, the relief clients on your list.

Perhaps an anonymous letter comes in (the administration encourages and checks on all anonymous letters) saying that a certain client earned a couple of dollars at an odd job and has the investigator reported? This method is used especially against active staff members who are organized into the Employees' Association.

No Kidding Allowed

The hint is broadly spread that there are plenty of qualified workers (which is a lie) to take the places of "suspects" on the staff. If you point out that the amount of work required is tremendous (twice that of any private welfare agency), that working conditions

are poor, with over-crowding, lousy lighting, no supplies like paper, ink, clips, etc., you are a "chronic grumbler", and you have not got a "professional approach to relief problems".

Favoritism is rampant . . . know to your superiors . . . go to lunch with your aids and eventually with your superiors . . . talk nice nothings . . . show them your main aim in life is to save a penny for the taxpayers . . . don't join the Employees' Association. And if you are the right color, have the right accent and the right religion, so the superiors like you, you have a chance for promotion.

Speed-Up for Typists

Other employees are not better off. The typists, besides poor technical equipment, work under a speed-system. Their work is checked for errors, they must turn out the quota or get out. The same goes for the ticket-writers and bookkeepers—speed up. The petty tyrants, the straw-bosses, keep a sharp lookout.

Commissioner Corsi, who has the list of all aliens on relief, has on paper given us full privilege to organize. Every discrimination is used against us, however; nothing slips by. How much time we take for lunch, do we weaken the morale of the staff during work hours by agitating for a five-day week and an increase in pay, do we make an error in the rush?—we catch hell. Our friends are warned not to lunch with us and so on and so on. Our answer? The Employees' Association. We are building the association.

Later I will give you more news on the "relief" system, but now I have to write up a couple of "pen-dings" . . .

Two Important CP Members in Week Join Workers Party

Two active and important members of the Communist Party in the west have withdrawn from that party and joined the Workers Party. Lillian Monroe of Fresno, Cal. who has taken a leading part in the struggles in the San Joaquin Valley, and Lloyd Lassen, who was organizational secretary and agit-prop director for the state of Arizona in the Communist Party, both make statements condemning the C.P. for its bureaucratic policies and for its tactics in the Sacramento trial, and the Third International for its ruinous policies.

Comrade Lassen, who was a member of the Socialist Party before affiliating with the Communist Party, further protests against the C.P.'s program "for the formation of a reformist Labor Party", and for making the "shift in strategy in a fashion having nothing in common with a real democratic working class party".

Comrade Lassen has wide influence among the agricultural workers, copper miners and other workers in Arizona and plans to form Workers Party branches in these fields.

In the San Joaquin Valley, Comrade Monroe has great prestige among the workers in the agricultural fields, trucking, oil industry, creameries, railroads and the unemployed. In her work now in and around Fresno she is being assisted by comrades from the Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland branches of the Workers Party.

Comrade Monroe who was at one time Fresno section organizer for the C. P., led the big Fresno grape strike in 1933 and was prominent in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike the same year. As leader of a well-organized relief struggle, she was held in jail for 30 days, then released for lack of evidence.

In her statement to the Communist Party Lillian Monroe accuses the C.P. of failing, in its work among the small farmers, to educate them to their class position, and declares rather than the antagonism between farmers and workers was deepened. She also points out that the C.P. "completely ignores the necessity of organizing and doing trade union work among the workers in the factories, oil fields, trucking, cotton gins, creameries and so on in the San Joaquin Valley".

Bureaucracy in the Communist International is scathingly condemned by Comrade Monroe, as destructive to the working classes in many countries.

Further reasons for her withdrawal from the C.P. given by Comrade Monroe:

"Because you are guilty of destroying the only union you have ever built in California, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, by grabbing the control of the union out of the hands of the workers and placing it in that of your bureaucracy, by your bureaucracy being unable to give the workers the necessary leadership in times of stress, by your inability to organize the agricultural workers into anything approaching a stable union, by your continued use of tactics already proven disruptive, by your failure to admit mistakes and correct them, by your failure to under-

stand the tasks of a revolutionary party in building progressive, democratically controlled unions.

"Because of your criminal sabotage of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism cases, slandering the important comrades on trial, failing to raise bail until you were forced by the Workers Party to do so, failing to rally mass support in protest of this frame-up, hedging in the formation of a genuine united front on the case; and then, when the real united front committee was set up—and this is the last straw—you broke it up."

CAPITOL NEWS

(Continued from Page 1)

Association has taken what is, for organized labor in the United States, a surprisingly advanced attitude. At least it has taken this attitude in words, if not in acts, for Mr. Harrison, the chairman, has declared: "Tens of thousands of additional railroad employees must not be driven to the breadline in order that the railroads of America may continue to pay a debt to idle capital". The R.I.E.A. legislative program proposes, instead, the six-hour day, full crew and train limit bills, reduction of service hours, various safety and inspection measures, and certain amendments to the Employers' Liability Law.

NEW DEAL "LEFT WING" OUT

The pious hope that the New Deal is capable of engaging in "social control" received a body-blow by virtue of the recent dismissals from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of its so-called "radical wing". These "radicals" were dismissed because they advocated:

(1) a narrowing of the spread between the prices paid to farmers and the prices charged consumers; (2) strict supervision of milk distributors, packing houses, sugar and tobacco processors, etc.; (3) the introduction of labor standards into A.A.A. agreements and contracts; and (4) protection for the tenant farmers who are being driven from the soil thanks to the curtailment of cotton production. It is the "practical-minded men", the "dirty farmers" who never farmed, who now are in complete control of the A.A.A. Their program is the simplest imaginable: Triple A's job is to hand out subsidies for the wanton destruction of natural resources. These subsidies are to be collected by the levy of processing taxes. All those fancy theories of social control which spring so lightly to the lips of the Tugwells, the Franks, and the other Brain Trust luminaries can go hang.

Meanwhile, Bureau of Labor Statistics reports indicate that food prices continue to shoot upward at a dizzy pace, with no letup in prospect for the near future. What the production cuts began, the drought has completed—and the wage-earner gets the short end of the stick as usual.

Do the farmers, however, benefit? Ask the farmers whose crops have been burned out, whose livestock has been killed off.

C. P. Blamed for U.F. Break

(Continued from Page 1)

attitudes one of the most discouraging incidents in the always discouraging history of radical factionalism. It is a charge which is not even believed by the people who make it and constitutes the triumph of a tactic over truth. In a public statement given out in defiance of the party line on this subject, Jack Warnick has written: "The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is 'a cowardly, treacherous stool pigeon' must be condemned as an attempt to frame the boy and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life." The so-called "confession" consists of a defiant statement of his own beliefs and of facts known to everyone, made by Mini at the time of his arrest in August and headlined at that time in the Sacramento papers. It is well known that since his arrest Mini, who is a Sacramento boy and popular in the community, has refused two offers of immunity."

LILLIAN SYMES, CALIFORNIA AUTHOR

On February 15, another noted California writer, Lillian Symes, sent a letter of comment to New York, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The situation out here has been incredible and has just about wrecked all of us who were trying to keep the united front going. I have been through many fights of this kind but I have never seen anything quite so dirty and outrageous as the C.P. maneuvers in the Sacramento situation. Three A.C.L.U. members who went up to Sacramento for two days to observe the trial came back almost hysterical.

"Goldman got his first chance to act in the case when Mini went on the witness stand. It was the first ray of light in the whole trial. Mini was splendid and between them, the jury and the audience, for the first time, was given an exposition of communist theory and a dignified defense. . . .

"As something of an outsider I must say that the W.P., the N.P.L.D. and Goldman have all acted with amazing patience and diplomacy under very trying and difficult circumstances. This is also the attitude of several liberals who have been fairly close to the situation and who are less prejudiced in their favor than I am. The action of the C.P. in this matter has disgusted all elements but their own fanatical followers."

GEORGE HEDLEY, CHAIRMAN UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE

On January 21, George F. Hedley, director of the American Civil Liberties Union in California and chairman of the united front committee, in reply to a news story published in the Western Worker captioned "Trotskyites Splitting Tactics Fail", sent a letter to the Western Worker, in which he asked to be published, which he said:

"The vote against sending out the call already drawn up and signed by representatives of the C. P., W.P., I.L.D., N.P.L.D. and by the writer in his capacity as temporary chairman of the joint committee, meant actually that the recipients of the call signed by the defendants would have no way of knowing that the Conference on February 10 was supported by any but the very miscellaneous and unrepresentative groups mentioned in one paragraph of the defendants' call; specifically, that the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, the really significant divergent groups which had entered the joint defense committee, were thus eliminated. The argument that the sending of the official and agreed-upon call would have caused confusion is too absurd to require refutation; the actual effect would have been that the recipients would have learned that the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, had entered into close cooperation with the Communist Party in the interests of effective defense and effective mass protest.

"At the time—immediately after adjournment—I remarked to the Communist Party delegate that I considered the motion 'outrageous'. I see no reason to revise that view. . . .

Note: This letter has not yet been published in the Western Worker.

Copy for Bill Sherman's column, Left Jobs, came in too late to be included in this issue.

PHILADELPHIA BRANCHES SPRING DANCE and Entertainment

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 8 P.M.

1933-35 West Girard Ave.

Please note change of hall. Distribution of premiums will take place at midnight.

Admission 35c
Doors will be closed during performance of program numbers.

NEW MILITANT

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CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER

A.A.A. ACCOMPLISHMENTS
MILK PRODUCTION
CORN BELT CONDITIONS
SAGA OF SCARCITY

WASHINGTON, N.Y.—News from the New Deal's agricultural front becomes more ominous from day to day. What crop curtailment failed to accomplish, the drought has brought to a dramatic finale. Supplies of meats, grains, vegetables, dairy and poultry products are, as a consequence, running short. The shortage reflects itself in the continued hoisting of food prices.

The Agricultural Situation for February 1, 1935, an official publication of the United States Department of Agriculture gives a straight-forward and frank account. Farm stocks on corn (as of January 1) amounted to 800 million bushels—about 300 million bushels "under the shortest supply previously recorded."

From October to December 1934, less than 580 million bushels of corn were used in the country, as compared with about 920 million bushels used during the same period a year earlier. As the government experts put it,

"That gives an idea as to how the feeders have tightened up. Of course there are fewer pigs to be fed. But men everywhere are feeding with one eye on the granary and mows and the other on the calendar."

Milk Production Lowest on Record

Consider the effects of the tight feed situation upon the production of milk. The production per cow in January was 10.88 pounds. This is the lowest yield which the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has ever recorded. It compares with an average January yield during past years of 12.12 pounds. Even this average, it is important to note, was by no means sufficient to provide American children with the quantity of milk required for health and growth.

More than a million milk cows were disposed of last year, the "greatest reduction in the 35 years recorded". Why such a reduction in the face of higher prices for milk, butter and cream? The answer is simple: Feed prices have soared to such an extent as to throw out of balance the cost-price ratio on which dairy farmers depend for their earnings.

The "poultry industry" we are informed, "is another which has had to tighten up its belt this winter". (Nothing is said about the tightening of belts by wage earners who have had to discard the luxury of chickens and eggs.)

The number of hens and pullets per flock average 78.4 as compared with the 5-year average number of 88.9. The average farm flock in the Central States was producing 15 eggs in January as compared with 19.3 eggs per flock a year earlier.

CORN BELT CONDITIONS

With regard to Corn Belt condi-

(Continued on Page 3)

Cuban Workers in Island-Wide General Strike

Darcy Takes The Stand In Sacramento

C.P. Organizer Testifies His Party Stands For -- Reform!

By Special Correspondent

SACRAMENTO, MARCH 8.—The Communist Party has fired its biggest gun in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. This week Sam Darcy, District No. 13 organizer, took the stand and testified. In direct examination this member of the Central Committee set the keynote of what was to come by his abstract vagueness on all questions, and by his assertion that "the power might fall into the laps of the workers". Then came cross examination: the stage was set for this leader to explain to the jury and to the workers of California the revolutionary platform in thundering tones. But there in the crisis, in the critical hour, the big gun refused to roar; the trigger was pulled and from the cannon's mouth issued . . . social reformism!

The cross reformism of Darcy's testimony came as a shock even to those who were expecting the worst from a Communist bureaucracy which is becoming increasingly racked by the delusion that it is to be forced underground. When contrasted with the revolutionary testimony offered by the Workers Party defendant, Norman Mini, three weeks ago, Darcy's statements are revealed as a complete capitulation to middleclass reformism.

Is This the Communist Party?

When asked what his party would do when a majority of the people supported it, Darcy, instead of describing the road to power the workers must inevitably follow (as Mini had done) refused to say anything!

The question of the seizure of power was the showdown. Where Mini had told how the Workers' Councils would develop from simple united fronts for workers' defense into national organizations embracing all the toiling population, Darcy in the same situation said not one word about the soviet.

Where the Workers Party representative told about the formation of the proletarian militia that would defend the workers' organizations and enforce the will of the Councils, Darcy, believe it or not, said: "The workers' and farmers' government might come about by universal suffrage."

Mini told how the Workers and Farmers Councils would declare themselves to be the new government in the name of the whole people and would use the revolutionary forces to suppress and expropriate the capitalists; Darcy, in his turn, told how the American "fall into the laps of the workers" by drawing a parallel between such an event and the collapse of Czar-

(Continued on Page 4)

Ohio League Congress Holds Impeachment Over Governor

COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 11.—Action toward impeachment proceedings will be started against Governor Martin L. Davey if he refuses to comply with the demands of the unemployed, according to a resolution adopted at a special emergency conference of the Ohio Unemployed League here yesterday and today. Conference delegates were to see Davey today. The con-

Workers Party Sends Letter To P.P.

The following letter calling for the "further unification of the revolutionary forces" has been sent to the Proletarian Party by the Workers Party:

Proletarian Party of the U.S.
c/o John Keracher, National Secy.
Chicago, Ill.

On December 1-2, 1934, the Communist League of America (Trotskyists) and the American Workers Party held a unity convention in New York City. The Workers Party of the United States was formally launched by the merger of these two organizations on the basis of a Declaration of Principles and Constitution which had been formulated by joint committees and unanimously adopted in the convention of the two organizations.

We regard it as a noteworthy development that after a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, two organizations should have set an example of unification on the basis of a thoroughgoing Marxist and Leninist program.

The problem of unifying all healthy revolutionary forces in the United States is of the utmost urgency and importance. The mobilization of the left progressive forces in the unions, the organization of the masses in the basic industries and of the unemployed, the waging of effective strike struggles in the big industries, the combating of Fascism and war, as well as the rallying of revolutionary forces throughout the world, after a period of demoralization and defeat, for a victorious attack upon capitalism and imperialism—the achievement of all these depends in large measure upon the building of an effective revolutionary party in the United States. Delay in unifying the revolutionary elements, and especially those which are already agreed on accepting neither the Socialist party nor the Communist Party, the Second International nor the Third, is dangerous and may be fatal. On the other hand, further positive steps toward this goal will have an electrifying effect upon the working class in the United States and throughout the world.

We present herewith copy of the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Workers Party of the United States for your immediate consideration. We believe that you are in agreement with this proposition. If you are, it should not be difficult to initiate a serious objective discussion on this urgent question of further unification of the revolutionary forces, thus providing added impetus to the building of the new international.

For Political Committee W.P.U.S.
Fraternally yours,
A. J. MUSTE,
NATIONAL SECRETARY

SETTLEMENT IN SIGHT FOR DENTAL MECHANICS

Twenty more dental laboratories have signed up with Dental Technicians Equity, bringing the total of shops covered by agreements to sixty, in the first week of the general strike of dental mechanics in the United States.

As yet, no disorder is reported on one of the widest spread picket lines in recent strike history—764 laboratories in the metropolitan area are being picketed by the 1,100 members of the union.

Negotiations are in progress with the Dental Laboratory Owners of the Metropolitan area, and union officials are optimistic about the possibilities of signing a favorable agreement with that organization. The Associated Dental Laboratories continues its refusal to negotiate.

vention stayed in continuous session from 10 A.M. Sunday to 4 P.M. Monday.

Representing 128,859 organized unemployed from 63 counties in Ohio, 380 delegates declared that "the brutal indifference and criminal neglect of the welfare of the unemployed displayed by Gov. Davey demonstrate that he is unable or unwilling to serve the interest of the people and should be impeached."

Hit Sales Tax

The League also voted to initiate a referendum to repeal the state sales tax, declaring that "the tax is a burden on the poor to relieve the taxation of the rich" and advocating in its place taxation of income of corporations and individuals earning \$5,000 or more per year.

Support was voted for the Workers' Security Bill initiated by the National Unemployed League. This provides for a \$10,000,000-a-year public works program, unemployment and social insurance, and a minimum wage of \$30 a week for a 40-hour week for public and private employment. Funds for the public works program are to be obtained by taxes on incomes over \$5,000.

Pending establishment of unemployment insurance, the bill provides that Congress shall appropriate \$5,000,000,000 for immediate cash relief of \$10 a week for each unemployed worker and \$4 for each dependent. The Ohio League is preparing to participate in the Caravan to Washington of the National Unemployed League in May, before Congress adjourns, to press passage of the Security Bill.

Wall Street's Priest

Father Coughlin Wins Fame and Fortune with Red Scare -- Says Henry Ford Is a Communist

By DAN EASTMAN

This is the second of a series of articles on Father Coughlin, delayed for a month for lack of space. It provides the recent burst into the news with a semi-indorsement of that other arch-demon, Huey Long, and his general debate with Long and the Detroit Journal.

Father Coughlin hardly had time to settle down in his new parish and deliver his first sermon before he was negotiating a weekly broadcast. Three weeks after his appointment he was on the air over station WJL in Detroit, at \$58 per week, a modest beginning. His sermons at first dealt mainly with church and Sunday school topics, social and political problems. By 1929 he had influence enough to secure a three station hookup, but it was not until after a series on Russia and the Red Serpent, in the early part of 1930 that he really hit his stride.

The Red Serpent

Let us quote from the first of this series on the Red Serpent, it sets the tone for his subsequent career. "America," he announced, "is tainted with the purple poison of Bolshevism. Between it and the Catholic Church there is war to the death. Our weapons are truth and charity." He goes on to quote from "a personal letter I have received from Harry A. Jung, 'The hellish conspiracy fomented by the Godless government of Russia, etc.' and concludes, 'There speaks a patriot!'"

Harry Jung, we recall, is notorious as a professional anti-Semite and red baiter, a man who has dedicated himself to raising funds from frightened capitalists, both Jew and Gentile, for the purpose of spreading vulgar, criminal slanders about Communists, Socialists, Jews, foreigners, etc. An ideal type of what Father Coughlin calls a "patriot," a proponent of "truth and charity."

Christ's Prime Minister

"The international socialists," Coughlin continued, "are unwilling to assist in building up a better navy and a stronger army to protect a country where Christ is still king."

Protect the teaching of Christ, cries the Catholic priest, protect it with rifles, machine guns, artillery, bombs, torpedoes, gas and high explosives. Millions of bloody deaths.

AF of L Busy Sabotaging Akron Strike

Leaders Fear They Are Losing Grip On Rubber Union

AKRON, Ohio.—Desperately striving to keep its grip over the rubberworkers union here and to regain some of its lost strength, the A. F. of L. is bringing those clever demagogues and notorious working class betrayers, John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A., and Francis J. Gorman, of textile strike disrepute, to address mass rallies, Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. bureaucrat and organizer for the rubber industry, told newspapermen.

This action resulted after a three weeks drive for membership brought but few of the thousands of workers back into the union. They had dropped out because of the A. F. of L. inactivity.

Meanwhile, even the United Rubberworkers council, governing body of the rubber unions, and special tool of Claherty, passed a resolution to press "immediate action." Similar motions on union meeting floors have led the workers to believe that a strike is sanctioned, but they are reeking with discontent. The inactivity of the bureaucrats to forestall any real action. Of course, no public mention of strike is made.

Unfortunately, the workers are under the impression that a strike will be called early in April, or that they can wait until then to put a successful one. Progressives are immediately hard to slack season sets in and it is an open question whether they can succeed or not.

Wall Street's Priest

Father Coughlin Wins Fame and Fortune with Red Scare -- Says Henry Ford Is a Communist

ter and destruction so that Christ may remain king, and Father Coughlin continue on the radio as his prime minister!

"Have I any suggestions to offer?" he asks helpfully. "There are plenty of them. We can start with the leaders of industry. We can ask them to better the conditions of their laborers."

A novel idea indeed! (Why bother to organize and strike? Just ask those kind hearted capitalists who shoulder every time a worker is murdered on the picket line, to better the conditions of their laborers. Why hasn't someone thought of it before?)

Coughlin and Hearst

As for the rest of the series, to quote L. B. Ward again, "Father Coughlin continued to detail for his audiences the advance of Communism in America—he drew a picture of the red serpent as it crawled from campus to campus." (Father Coughlin and W. R. Hearst have always been on good terms. The Detroit Times, a Hearst paper, has given him much favorable notice, the whole Hearst chain has carried articles by the good father on the nationalization of women in Russia, and he drew bits of cheap hysteria.) "He chose a picture of the serpent crawling from campus to campus. . . . He mentioned by name Bertrand Russell (sheer courage) who was a guest at (Indiana State) etc. etc."

The series on The Red Serpent brought notice from several quarters.

None other than the ubiquitous Norman Thomas who hastens from pillar to post explaining to capitalists and workers alike that Socialism is not so bad as it sounds, charged Father Coughlin with "a serious misrepresentation of socialism and of the Socialist party, and a hopeless confusion of it with communism." Thomas' endeavors to point out the difference between the rosy beatitude of socialism and the dark horror of communism to Father Coughlin, alas for Thomas, proved unsuccessful.

Father Coughlin's Red Scare

The J. Ham Fish Committee investigating subversive doctrine (J. Ham Fish is best remembered as the red-baiting congressman whose address to Congress, due to a very appropriate typographical error, was once printed in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, in the weekly pet column under a large picture of a guppy fish), meeting in Detroit in

(Continued on Page 3)

Mendieta Sustained By Wall Street Army Alone

Intolerable Conditions Result of American Sugar Imperialism, Cause of Permanent Unrest All Support to the Cuban Workers!

Wall Street's most important semi-colony, Cuba, is now in the throes of a nation-wide general strike. Martial law has been declared. The death penalty has been decreed for all those offering open opposition to the government. The trade unions have been declared dissolved.

Ark. Workers College Is In Danger

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Commonwealth Labor College, the Arkansas trail blazer for workers' education, is in danger. The state legislature of Arkansas, a special investigating committee, the Ku Klux Klan, and other landlord-capitalist agencies are working overtime to wreck the proletarian institution—product of ten years of painstaking work.

The college needs no introduction to the militant labor movement. Back in 1930-31 this institution sent a delegation of teachers and students to black Harlan County, Kentucky, to aid the hungry coal miners to establish a union.

Again when the Illinois miners marched by tens of thousands against the betrayals of John L. Lewis in 1932, Commonwealth plunged into the struggle and performed courageous work. Though they were the first to be arrested, the Commonwealth delegation formed a role of solidarity with the Illinois miners which the Left wingers haven't forgotten.

When the share cropper situation popped up, right at the door of Commonwealth in Arkansas, again teachers and students laid aside their studios to enter the fight against the reactionaries. Desperate wealthy landlords, the exploiters of vast cotton plantations, were quick to intensify their reign of terror. Floggings, kidnappings, beatings and threatened lynchings became the order of the day.

Lucien and Raymond Koch, Commonwealth teachers, were arrested, beaten and thrown into jail. The raiders had a noose with them. Horace Bryant, an unemployed organizer in western Arkansas was arrested and charged with anarchy. C. C. Williams, a clergyman was also arrested. Other laborites, preachers, A. F. of L. members, etc. are being arrested and threatened daily.

Summarily a bill was introduced in the Arkansas house of representatives aimed to destroy the labor movement in the state, and especially designed to wreck Commonwealth College.

The labor movement must answer these attacks with a real united counter movement.

(Continued on Page 3)

For weeks, strikes and bombings have harassed the Mendieta government which in turn has replied with a reign of terror against all of its adversaries. A strike of teachers and students, spread from one province to the other, extended to various industries and professions. As this issue of the New Militant goes to press, practically all labor and professional groups in Cuba, including most of the government employees as well as on strike. The nation is paralyzed. The capitalist press reports the strike is being broken by military force. Its accounts are obviously exaggerated.

The present outburst in Cuba came as a surprise to no one acquainted with recent developments on the island. The very narrow social base that Mendieta once had, as with Machado in 1934, has been washed away from under him until his sole supports today are the army under Batista and American imperialism, represented by Jefferson Caffery.

Cuban Labor

In spite of division and persecution, the Cuban labor movement has recently conducted a number of exceedingly militant struggles. The increasing poverty of the masses following the loss of the gains made during the "Autentico" (Grua San Martin) regime (Sept. 1933-Jan. 1934), drove them again to militant action and revolutionary struggle. New revolutionary conspiracies and terrorist activities of the petty-bourgeois parties and groups alternated with strikes of the workers on plantations and in the mills. In some places the peasants and agricultural workers seized landed estates.

The impotence of the government increased as the waves of the new upsurge washed away its social base. The general political strike is but the culmination of a whole series of violent, bloody struggles, which open the way for new revolutionary advances of the Cuban masses.

A Crisis Regime

The Mendieta regime was born in crisis and has lived in a state of permanent crisis. Time and again when its life appeared threatened, the imperialist masters were obliged to take steps to prolong it. Among these measures were the renunciation of privileges under the "Platt Amendment" by which the United

States had secured the right to intervene in Cuban affairs.

(Continued on Page 3)

N.U.L. Paper Announces Club For Jailed Heroes of Labor

Formation of the John Brown Honor Society, with Tom Mooney honorary president, "to honor all workers arrested in the fight for the right of the working people" is announced in a front page story in the first issue of Mass Action, organ of the National Unemployed League, which has just come off the press.

Members of the 56-or-None Club

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—Business Manager.

Roosevelt Gives A.F.of L. Cold Shoulder on Auto Board, Codes, Relief

C.P. Leadership Can't Be Trusted

Write Former Members to Comrade Who Asks Them to Come Back to Party

We print below a letter of invitation to rejoin the Communist Party received by Comrades Taylor and Terry of New York together with their reply to the invitation. The reply should prove of particular interest in a discussion on important problems of trade union policy.—Ed. Note.

Dear Fred:

Won't you please read this over (Daily Worker clipping) and see whether it doesn't fit your own case? The C.P. is taking real new action along the lines which you and I have always thought necessary and desirable—a great many old sectarian notions are being dropped and it seems a shame you and Jack too—can't get in now when the work is beginning to show results. When am I going to see you?

Theodore Weeks,
New York City

Dear Ted:

Jack and I have read your letter with great interest and here is our reply:

You write "The C. P. is taking real new action along the lines which you and I always thought was necessary." Is the party really taking "new action", i.e., change of trade union policy and tactics? If so, when has the party leadership publicly proclaimed this change of policy and tactics? Have the worker-communists in the lower ranks of the party discussed this "new action" and has the party leadership changed its trade-union policy in accordance with the experiences of the worker-communists who are in the trade unions?

In the 1929 Draft-Outline of the T.U.U.L.—pp. 22-23-24—we read: "The so-called Muste opposition... aims at reestablishing the prestige and organization of the discredited A.F.L. leaders... In this period of rationalization and speed-up, of radicalization of the workers, the

NOTE ON BOSTON BRANCH

The Boston Branch of the Workers Party is now well established at 12 Hayward Place, situated in the heart of the city. These new headquarters, consisting of several rooms, are open every evening and on Sunday afternoons, with a party member in charge to welcome all those who care to come in.

The weekly meeting of the branch takes place on Thursday evenings. These meetings are divided into two parts: the first part given over to party business is closed; the second part which is devoted to education and current events is open to non-members. The branch membership has increased by over 30 percent.

Contest Note

Big Gains in Middle West
Chicago, New York lagging
Forging ahead this week are Chicago, New York and Youngstown all tying with a 40 percent score. Minneapolis comes next with no gains since last report. Louisville has achieved 20 percent in the first week.

Compared with these scores the 9 percent of New York and the 5 percent of Chicago do not stand up very well. More concentrated effort is needed in these cities which should be leading the way. Philadelphia is doing a bit better with a score of 16 percent, but even that needs improvement.

Pleasantwood has achieved 20 percent and Worcester 10 percent. Considering the difficulties involved these scores are not to be censured. But San Francisco, with only 15 percent certainly could do better. All other branches have a score of less than 15 percent. It is time that they get busy and put in some real intensive work on the drive. Especially should Toledo, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Newark, Boston, Columbus and Los Angeles be able to make a better showing by next week.

There are still some branches from which we have had no subs at all. They are listed here as a reminder. This means that it is time for you to show some results: Akron, Biloxi, Buffalo, Charles-

ton, Cleveland, Dickson City, Fort Wayne, Mineola, Mt. Carmel, Oakland, Peterson, Salt Lake City, Springfield, Staunton, Throop, Washington, D.C., Winston Salem and Waukegan.

Comrades in branches are urged to take up the matter of the drive with their literature agents. See that the drive is put on the agenda of branch meetings and that definite plans are made for intensive work to achieve our goal. Send in reports. You are interested in the progress of other branches and they want to know what you are doing. But don't wait for branch action. Go right out yourself among your friends and fellow workers. Get them to subscribe. Send your remittance directly or through your literature agent. If you send it yourself be sure to mention (a) your name, (b) your branch, if connected with the W.P., (c) that you want this sub credited in the drive, (d) full name and address of subscriber. Note that subs will not be credited unless this information accompanies the remittance.

Subs on combination offer will be credited only if remittance is payable directly to the New Militant.

And now—another week of effort! Let's get all the percentages up to—well over—the 50 percent mark by the 15th of this month! We can do it!

In 1929 the party leadership insisted that—"In reality there is no change in policy. What we have is a further phase in the development of party trade-union work. This work must correspond to the deep-going radicalization of the masses in the third period." Have you forgotten the famous "third period" which was invented by the Stalinists to facilitate the swing to the "left" by the centrist C.I. leadership?

In the U. S. this zig-zag from right to "left" expressed itself concretely in the following formula of the party leadership: "The A. F. of L. is a company union with fascist leaders... We must build new revolutionary unions..." Any worker-communist who opposed this formula was either removed from party activity or expelled.

"But"—you will say—"a great many old sectarian notions are being dropped"... Not so fast comrade! In the first place, did the party leadership openly proclaim these changes? Of course not! Is it not obvious to you by now that the Communist Party leadership has no independent policy of its own and that the zig-zag (which you describe as "new action") from right to "left" and vice-versa is a necessary condition compelled by conflicting social forces? If this is true—and it is—then what are we dealing with here is an unstable party regime that has no independent policy of its own and consequently cannot admit changes of policy. This inability to "admit" expresses itself in suppression of party democracy and the resignation of its best fighters. Do you ask us to come back to such a "party" and to such "leadership"? For the sake of "completeness"

we will quote W. Z. Foster's "Little Brothers of the Big Labor Pakers", 1931 (pp. 4-5-6): "The A. F. of L. is an employers' tool... When unorganized workers undertake to organize and fight they cannot use the A. F. of L... The A. F. of L. leaders will split the unions rather than let the workers capture and use them for fighting purposes"... This was declared in 1931 and culminated in the famous C. P. announcement (1934) that it is necessary to build an "independent federation".

The end of 1934 and the beginning of 1935 again brought a reversal of the Stalinist "policy" suddenly and without discussion. No loss and no more than the liquidation of the "necessary" independent unions... At one time we stated at a leading fraction meeting of the building trades that the independent Alteration Painters Union must enter the A. F. of L. to strengthen the class struggle elements within the Painters Brotherhood (A. F. of L.) and we were branded "opportunists"... Now look at the speed with which the party leadership is "throwing" the Alteration Painters Union into the A. F. of L. Of course now there is nothing much left to "throw" in but the attempt is made, and in a manner that will only further discredit the former.

In one and the same year (1934) we are told: 1) to build an "independent federation" and 2) to liquidate independent unions and to "build and strengthen the A. F. of L."... What does this latest zig-zag represent?... A sudden swing to the right! Are we guaranteed against further zigzags to the right or to the "left"?... To ask this question after what we have indicated above is, to say the very least, naive.

This leadership swings to the right or to the "left" but has no independent policy of its own. There can be no guarantee against further changes of policy by the centrist party leadership.

Comradely yours,
ALFRED TERRY
JACK TAYLOR

Progressives Suspended From ILG

The necessity for a unified progressive opposition in the I.L.G.W.U. is emphasized by the suspension of two progressive members of Cutters Union Local 10 by the Central Appeals Committee of the International. Oscar Signer and William Zweiborn, members of the Cutters' Welfare League, a Progressive group in Local 10, are the members suspended.

In an appeal to all members of the I.L.G.W.U., the Cutters' Welfare League calls upon all progressives to "fight against violations of democratic rights".

The basis for suspension of Signer and Zweiborn, the appeal points out, was the calling of a meeting, by the Cutters' Welfare League, of unemployed cutters, with the announced purpose of pushing the local into action on behalf of the unemployed. This was early last winter, when unemployment was at a critical stage. For this action, Zweiborn and Signer were charged with dual unionism and suspended. On appeal to the General Appeals Committee, the suspension was upheld after a nine months' delay. At the time of his suspension, Zweiborn was manager of the Union Defenders Committee of the Dress Joint Board.

MISERY STALKS FASCIST AUSTRIA

VIENNA.—The number of Austrian unemployed receiving public relief has risen to 337,333 during February of 1935. The monthly increase amounts to approximately 3,000 people. One-sixth of the population of the Austrian capital is dependent upon public relief. 51,000 households with a total of 130,000 family members report an income of 20 schillings a month.

Teachers Must Not Rest With Vanderwoude Decision

By a Teacher

A decision handed down by State Commissioner of Education Cole has compelled the New York City Board of Education to appoint some 1,700 qualified teachers to jobs in the city public school system. This decision, the commissioner's reply to a brief filed by one of the eligible teachers, Edith Vanderwoude, finally halts one of the most odious of the numerous "economy" practices of the board; namely, forcing teachers on eligible lists to serve in existing vacancies on a substitute basis.

These teachers had to work at a rate considerably lower than the schedules provided for by state law; moreover, they were deprived of the tenure, increment and pension privileges attached to regular appointment. This practice, the board's contribution to the "economy" program of the banker and really interests, had been applied so extensively that in some of the largest high schools "substitutes" comprised fully 75 percent of the teaching staff. The effectiveness of this plan as a method of using one group of teachers to force another into submission is evident.

What of the future? The Vanderwoude decision, definitely establishing the impermissibility of compelling eligible work as substitutes in existing vacancies, is a victory for the teachers. The labor press, in its jubilation, has failed to analyze the nature and consequence of the victory. Serious teachers must not be content solely with winning concessions. They must inquire: What is the result of this victory in terms of building a militant movement? For victories which do not at the same time result in building a movement can be washed away tomorrow.

Let us analyze the victory. 1,700 teachers are affected immediately, are assigned to jobs at the regular rates of pay. But several thousand similarly situated teachers are not actually nearer to getting jobs. Moreover, a number of teachers who were working at the substitute pay rates are now without work at all.

Purely Legal Fight

The fight was conducted on a purely legal basis. The Teachers Union of New York participated in it only to the extent of contributing \$50 to help defray legal expenses. It stood by passively, while another organization, the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers, pushed the issue to its conclusion. The union has about 2,000 in its ranks; the Unappointed about 60. The union has prestige and influence. The Unappointed is generally unknown and has very little influence.

Since the fight was won on a purely legal basis, the result must tend to strengthen the illusions of the teachers in the "just" character

of the capitalist state institutions. To teachers who do not understand what is involved, it must appear that an abuse was corrected by an appeal to the state! All that is required is a capable lawyer to draw up legal documents and justice will take its course. Then what is the necessity for a union? In this sense the victory can be construed as a rebuff to the union movement. This result might have been avoided and positive steps in the militant education of teachers taken, had the necessary legal fight been supported by mass and union pressure.

Role of the Union

Jointly responsible are the leadership of the union and the Progressive Group, one of its left-wing groups. The leadership of the union is right-wing Socialist in the main. Its support is in the higher salaried teachers. Its policy is limited to lobbying in Albany. It is not interested in the condition and needs of the unemployed and the partly employed. That is why it could ignore for years the needs of these teachers, and finally look on placidly while another organization conducted a struggle which the union was duty-bound to lead.

It was the duty of the group which claimed to be progressive to conduct a struggle in the union against this leadership; to have the union take up this fight. But it was not its duty to build an organization of union members and teachers eligible for union membership outside the union, and make this organization the "leader" of the fight for appointments.

Yet this is precisely what the Progressive Group did. In the fall of 1931 it set up and has led ever since the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers. The union is now reaping the fruits of this policy.

Struggle Within the Union

So will the Progressive Group. In the union it wages a struggle with the right-wing Socialist leadership. And strange as it may seem, the axis of the struggle according to its own analysis is precisely the question of the leadership's line of limiting its efforts almost exclusively to lobbying and legal fights, versus the real progressive's line of mass pressure to back up the lobbying and legal fights. Yet the victory which the offspring of the Progressive Group claims all for itself must strengthen the reformist leadership against the Progressive Group. Such is the result of the Progressive Group policy, essentially factional.

Teachers should repudiate such policies. They should demand that the union fight for the interests of the teachers; and by fight, we do not mean legal fights alone, we mean primarily mass pressure by the teachers and the labor movement of which they should be an organic part.

Administration Getting Ready for Large Scale Wage Cutting Drive Against Unions

By ARNE SWABECK

The rift between the Roosevelt administration and the A. F. of L. leadership has widened, all indications to the contrary notwithstanding. First President Roosevelt, despite the vehement objections from the A. F. of L. officialdom, extended the automobile agreement of last year, which legalized the company union, and extended the life of the Kollman had been consulted prior Sloan of General Motors and Walter Chrysler together with Leo Woolman had been consulted prior to the extension of the agreement, but the opinions of Bill Green were not solicited. And except for the subsequent "gracious" reception given at the White House, permitting Bill Green to introduce by name to the President each one of the members of the Executive Council, nothing was done to mend the rift, not to speak of dealing with the real grievances of the automobile workers.

President Roosevelt next announced the tobacco code with its 40-hour week regulation and the 25 to 40 cents an hour minimum wage, and again over the objections of the A. F. of L. official leadership. To the impassioned criticism made by the latter of S. Clay Williams as chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Board President Roosevelt answered in his "Dear Bill" letter to Green informing him that the former chairman of the notorious open shop R. J. Reynolds tobacco company was a devoted public servant. However soothing this may have appeared to Bill Green, it could mean only another kick in the face in so far as the administration's attitude to the issue of union organization is concerned.

Finally, the insistence of the Roosevelt administration upon a \$50 per month maximum wage for workers on relief projects will unquestionably receive the unstated support of all the magnates of finance and industry. With that will go an effort to squelch the so-called labor lobby in Congress.

A number of other measures are pending before Congress which will, if anything, tend to widen further the present open rift. There is, for example, the 30-hour week bill. On numerous occasions the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers Association have voiced their determined opposition to this bill. It is a well-known fact that the Roosevelt administration sees eye to eye with them and the hopes pinned by these labor leaders upon the government for support in return for their miserable failure of union organization are due for another blast. Thus, there need be no doubt that the rift is brought about by the initiative of President Roosevelt. That is why there is something real about it.

Serious Problems Ahead

These issues which stand out in the recent events in Washington foreshadow the serious problems that the trade union movement will henceforth have to face. In fact, the breach between Roosevelt and the labor leaders is merely the prelude to a wage-cutting campaign on a large scale that is now in preparation. It is signaled by the proposed \$50 monthly maximum wage for workers on relief projects. But the issues go even deeper. They will raise the very question of life or death to the trade union movement.

Of course, the labor leaders are correct when they insist that two wage levels, a higher for private industry and a lower for government relief work, cannot be maintained. The higher rate will be forced down to the lower rate. At first the unemployed workers who are dependent upon relief will be compelled to work for the low rate. Economic experts will next get busy and manipulate statistics to show that workers on relief projects get by on the \$50 monthly maximum wage, that they can keep on producing on that wage rate. That the family budget can be shaved down to that level and that there is, therefore, no valid reason for paying more in private industry. Wage reductions will be on the order of the day in every industry and it stands to reason that one of its inescapable accompaniments will be in the first instance well-prepared and deliberate efforts to chain the trade union movement to a system of compulsory arbitration in which strikes are outlawed. Failing in that, there will be sure to follow the most fierce campaign

yet witnessed to exterminate the trade union movement.

What Is Being Done?

The most serious questions now arise before every active trade unionist. What is the leadership of the movement doing to defend and to maintain its right of existence? What are the organizations doing to prepare for a serious battle?

To the A. F. of L. Executive Council is credited a powerful lobby in Congress. Its success to date cannot be said to have been very startling and certainly it holds out much less prospects for the future. So long that it serves merely as a shield for the actual failure of organization and struggle it can only have fatal consequences to the movement. In reality that is all this lobby is today.

The Executive Council has decided that it will not now undertake to organize the steel industry. It is too busy with the automobile industry. William Green has even made a tour of the automobile centers and in his public addresses assured the manufacturers that the A. F. of L. does not intend to strike the plants. All it asks is a fair deal. Such a message does not sound very inspiring to the automobile workers. After all, they have also had their experiences and very likely learned by this time that nothing can be gained unless they fight for it. Consequently the meetings of Bill Green were not very enthusiastically attended. In Detroit less than two thousand workers showed up, which compares very poorly with the great overflow meetings held by A. F. of L. leaders last year. But that was before the sell-out agreement had been signed by them. Now the automobile workers' unions show a serious drop in membership despite the fact that there have been many indications of a sentiment for organization amongst the workers provided they are shown how to organize and how to get somewhere. The A. F. of L. campaign of organization does not meet with great response. The automobile manufacturers are, of course, opposed to it. The Wollman Board tells the workers that if they join the A. F. of L. it cannot help them. The A. F. of L. leaders offer nothing except its replacement by the National Industrial Relations Board*. The inducements for joining the union under these conditions are slim indeed.

A serious response by the automobile workers to the campaign of the National Industrial Relations Board* is being organized by the auto-workers. The A. F. of L. leaders offer nothing except its replacement by the National Industrial Relations Board*. The inducements for joining the union under these conditions are slim indeed.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Minneapolis, Minn.

March 23, Saturday at 8 P.M.—Card Party and Entertainment to welcome the return of the Branch delegation to the Pittsburgh conference. To be held at the Branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Admission 25c. Refreshments included.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Regular Sunday evening forums at Branch headquarters.

New York City

Thursday, March 21, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak on "The Meaning of the Recent Developments in the S.P." Auspices Bronx Branch.

Friday, March 22, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste on "Impending Strike Struggles in the Basic Industries". Auspices East Side Branch, Grand Central Palace, 88 Clinton St.

Sunday, March 24, 8 P.M.—Cannon Mass Meeting, Irving Plaza. "The Class Struggle in the West". Speaker: James P. Cannon. See ad.

Monday evening, March 25—Theatre Party, "The Black Pit". Clive Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, New York district office, in charge of tickets.

mobile workers to a campaign of organization cannot be expected until the unions break off completely from the sell-out tradition established by the reactionary leadership. It may take a few more kicks in the face from the Roosevelt administration to do it, but we may rest assured that such kicks will not be lacking. What must follow next must be an aggressive policy of organization. The very life and existence of the trade-union movement depends upon that.

*The Executive Council has decided that the automobile workers are to have a separate charter for an international union, but it is not to include the tool and die makers or the maintenance men, nor is it to take effect until June, that is, not until after this season is over. This alone should verify that the strike vote now conducted by the automobile workers federal unions, with the actual call for a strike, however, left to Wm. Green, can have no serious meaning. But it is only one of the straws in the wind indicating that the Executive Council is determined to resist any move for industrial unionism. At its recent meeting the Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers Union appealed against a decision to split up the workers in the Butte copper mines among craft unions, leaving in the main only semi-skilled and unskilled workers to the mine union. John Frey of the Metal Trades Department, supported by Arthur Wharton of the machinists and by other craft union chiefs, succeeded in thwarting any attempt of industrial union jurisdiction.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

A Dangerous Alliance

An item in the press recently, in connection with the General Johnson-Huey Long controversy, reveals a growing line-up of forces that may prove of the utmost danger to the working class. General Smedley Butler came out in hearty support of the "two lions" Long and Coughlin. Here we have a triple alliance of three demagogues who supplement each other in the possibilities of building up the mass basis for an American fascist movement. To the forces of the Delta Dictator, Father Coughlin brings the aid of clerical reaction hiding under the pseudo-radical guise of "social justice," and Smedley Butler contributes the strength of the military arm of reaction. The real motive of Butler in making his revelations concerning the attempt by Morgan interests to bribe him into leading and organizing a fascist movement here, now becomes clear. Butler resorted to a clever bit of advertising to permit him later to act completely in the interests of capitalist reaction under the halo of a great lover of democracy.

The danger to the proletariat from these elements can hardly be exaggerated. They are the symbols heralding the conversion or transformation of the capitalist offensive to terrorize the working class so as to stop further organizing of the unorganized, into a fascist mass movement. The "white terror" of the bosses is intended to prevent the workers from fighting to regain lost ground in the matter of wages and living conditions. The offensive is apparent in the recent court decisions against the labor provisions of the NRA, the Roosevelt decision against the "prevailing wage," the drive for company unions and against the A. F. of L., the Hearst anti-red campaign, the Sacramento criminal syndicalism case, etc. The answer to this offensive and to the incipient fascist movement will be given by the increased militancy of the working class.

The Labor Party Fallacy

Nothing reveals more clearly the utter fallacy and bankruptcy of those who call for the formation of an American labor party, than a speech by Alfred Bingham, Farmer-Laborite supporter and editor of Common Sense. The contention of the labor-partyites runs that the American toilers are beginning to realize the need to separate from the bourgeois parties and to resort to independent political action in their own interests. Owing, however, to the political backwardness of these masses, resulting from historical conditions, they are far from ready to join any outright revolutionary organization. Hence, rather than permit the workers to fall into

the clutches of the capitalists through an apparently working class party which is in actuality a third capitalist party, the vanguard must gain control of the movement by rallying the toilers around a program of proper immediate demands.

To separate immediate demands from the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat means to foster illusions in the minds of workers. It means to hold out the hope that the worker can win security and a better life by fighting for concessions under capitalism. This is all the more illusory in this period of the decline of capitalism when the bosses, far from granting more concessions, are actually wiping out all the previous "sops" granted to the workers. Unless immediate demands are made the means of rallying the workers in struggle for the purpose of teaching them at one and the same time the need for revolutionary action as the only real solution, the effect will be to disillusion the workers with false promises.

Our task is not to traffic on the ignorance and backwardness of the masses, not to attempt to win them unawares and by stealth, but on the contrary, to enlighten them and to show them the necessary steps to take along the road to power.

Shall We Compete with Fascism?

When it comes to immediate demands as such, divorced from a revolutionary program, we cannot hope to compete with the fascist demagogues of "promises." Our answer to the demagogues of the Huey Longs and the Father Coughlins is not a different brand of demagoguery, but enlightenment and clear revolutionary answers concerning the meaning of events. To compete under present conditions with the fascists on the basis of rainbow hopes, is to bring about the inevitable defeat of our class. Instead of building a bridge from the labor party to the revolutionary Marxist party, we would build a bridge to fascism. And it is precisely this that Bingham revealed.

He was peeved that Long and Coughlin were stealing a march on the Farmer-Labor Party (which might be substituted by any other labor party). As the New York Times reported: "The movement for a third party under radical-progressive leadership that is rising in the West is in imminent danger of being captured by the 'demagogic movement' headed by Huey Long and Father Coughlin, it was asserted last night by leaders of the Farmer Labor Political Federation." And to fight the demagogues of Long, Bingham proposed a similar type of demagoguery—the "dramatization" of the appeal of "Plenty for All." Bingham's speech contains his own refutation.

Mendieta Sustained By Wall Street Army Alone

(Continued from Page 1)

States had, since 1901, reserved the legal right to intervene in Cuba at any time it saw fit; and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty, signed between the U. S. and Cuba in August of last year for the purpose of saving Cuba and Mendieta for Wall Street.

The first of these measures gave Mendieta a short breathing space from the attacks of the middle class nationalist elements, while the second promised a small degree of economic improvement.

These two "concessions" were such in appearance only, as the trade treaty also reacted in favor of American exporters whose Cuban trade had fallen off five-sixths in four years, and the Platt Amendment had outgrown its usefulness and no longer fitted in with the "pacifist" policies of the U. S. State Department. Thus the Sugar Trust and its political allies tried to stem the once more rising tide of the Cuban revolution.

A Single Product Country
But the general contradictions of capitalist economy are inevitably sharper in such "single product" countries as Cuba (over eighty percent of Cuba's economic life is sugar; eighty-five percent of the capital invested in Cuba is American controlled). Cuba is equipped with a highly efficient and modern sugar producing system, capable of producing between 5 and 6 million tons per year. The U. S. government allots it a quota of approximately 2 million tons. These are the fundamental reasons for the state of affairs in the island republic.

The chain of American imperialist economy is today strained to the utmost and is threatening to break at its Cuban link. Therefore it is the foremost task of the American workers in their struggle against the class enemy, to extend their solidarity to their Cuban fellow workers so that by the joint efforts of both, a really serious blow may be dealt imperialism.

The Cuban masses stand alone in America, as masters of the technique of the political general strike. In this respect, as well as for their heroism and great sacrifices in the struggle against the common enemy—Wall Street—they stand out

as an inspiration and example to the workers of the United States as well as those of the other Latin American countries.

In August 1933 the general strike was directly responsible for the overthrow of the government. This time, however, it will have greater difficulty in accomplishing this aim. Machado had lost the support of Wall Street; the forces of American imperialism are on the side of the present government.

We must be alert and prepared to support the struggles of the Cuban workers. Our slogan must be: **Hands off Cuba; All support to the Cuban masses in their struggle against our common enemy—Wall Street and its lackeys, Mendieta, Batista and Co.!**

SUPER RED-BAITING BILL TO KEEP TRUTH FROM SOLDIERS

Of all the flock of red-baiting bills that hover vulture-like over Congress and state legislatures, the one that war or fascism may bring, the bill to guard soldiers and sailors from labor propaganda is conceded the best chances of early success. It makes it "illegal to influence a soldier in any manner," said Rep. Maury Maverick (D., Tex.). "It is another bill through which you can drive a 10-ton truck and do anything you want with it." But nevertheless it is a bill that is wanted by the military-minded in the administration, and they are getting most of what they want these days.

When National Guardsmen are used to gas and shoot down strikers, or when the regular army is ready for duty against them, as in the textile strike, it is "patriotism" apparently for the powers-that-be to fill the soldiers' minds with wildest distortions of labor's aims. But let some of the worker brothers and sisters of these soldiers try to tell them on whose side they are ordered to fight in these labor struggles, and it will be "sedition" under this bill, punishable with the severest penalties.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Why Join the Workers Party

By A. J. MUSTE

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

Fellow Worker:

In my last letter I wrote about how the Workers Party came into existence, after many years of splits and disintegration in the radical movement, as a new unifying center for the revolutionary forces. I concluded by stating that we base our party on the teachings of Marx and Lenin which have been tested in the experience of the international revolutionary movement of the working class and seek to apply these principles to the realities of the American scene.

When we speak of our party as "revolutionary" we mean, on the one hand, that its aim is revolutionary and on the other hand that we believe in the revolutionary method. We do not believe that the masses can be delivered from poverty, unemployment, degradation, war, by any reform of the capitalist system under which we live. That system must be abolished, wage slavery must be done away with altogether. The workers must own and control the machinery of production.

We do not believe that the workers and their allies can overthrow the capitalist state, governmental system, and the capitalist economic system by purely legal, "democratic," peaceful, parliamentary methods. They will have to take the revolutionary road to their goal.

An Example of Reform

As for curing the ills of the workers by reforming capitalism, we have just been living through two years of the Roosevelt New Deal which was to do just that. And you know only too well what that has got us. "Salvation" has been provided not for the workers, but for the capitalist class. Factory pay-rolls are only 60 percent of the 1929 level, for example, but dividends and profits 150 percent. The average wage of the American worker who was lucky enough to have a job at all last year was around fifteen dollars a week. The citizenship paper of millions of "the proud American working class, sons and daughters of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln," is a relief ticket—which entitles them to nicely calculated rations after snoopings social workers have made sure that there isn't an extra loaf of bread in the closet or a nickel in the pants pocket.

This takes place in a country where everybody could have a decent, comfortable home, plenty of attractive clothing, abundant food, educational opportunity, money for travel and amusement, if factories were not standing idle, food being plowed under, and so on.

There is always some one who promises the workers to fix things up. Hoover with his chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage. Roosevelt with his New Deal. Huey Long with a house, automobile and radio for everybody. Isn't it about time that the workers realized what Marx taught long ago that it does not make any difference how well-meaning these capitalist saviors may be, there is no way out for the masses under capitalism?

For example, you tell employers that we now have a New Deal, no one is to get below a certain minimum, everybody is to get high wages so "the masses may have purchasing power to buy the output of our mass production" and then turn around and tell the boss that he must run his business at a profit in competition with other bosses, and his chief concern is necessarily to put his prices up as high as possible and to keep his costs, including his labor costs, as low as possible. Thus all the chattering on wages, the speed up, etc. under the codes and other New Deal rignarole.

If for the moment the wage rates are maintained, the boss looks for some other way to squeeze out profit, as by putting in "labor-saving" machinery and putting workers out on the street. The steel barons have a new process with which 1,000 men can turn out as much as 32,000 do now. Out of every 320 now employed 304 can be fired and the other 16 do the work!

General Trend Today

Under capitalism, in this period of decline, the general trend is toward greater misery for the workers. Capitalists make their profits by paying the worker in wages a smaller value than he creates by laboring. The capitalist thus gets what Marx calls surplus value. It is the only way profit can be created. Under modern conditions expensive plants and equipment are increased, but the work is done with fewer workers. Thus they must be exploited ever more fiercely in order that surplus value—profit—may be squeezed out of their labor, the only possible source of profit.

At an earlier period capitalism found a way out by getting outlets for surplus capital, possibilities of exploitation, etc. in so-called "backward countries." But as the situation grows more tense in the advanced capitalist countries and the "backward countries" also become industrialized, it is a case of bigger and hungrier dogs fighting for fewer and fewer bones. Terrific and awful wars break out. We have had one world-war. Another is in the making.

Things might be better. Plenty and security can be had. But even if the American working class were willing to accept meekly the fifty percent cut in its standard of living since 1929, it will not be given the "privilege." Capitalism will force the standard lower and again lower. It will lead the masses to slaughter unless they take things into their own hands.

Thus the workers become convinced that capitalism cannot be reformed, it must be abolished.

For the most part, however, the workers who have reached this conviction have been under the influence of the "Social-Democratic" philosophy of the Socialist parties and the Second International. According to this philosophy, we can gradually replace capitalism with socialism and we can do it by peaceful, parliamentary, "democratic" means.

Riding in Opposite Directions

What has happened in Germany and other countries since the war shows plainly enough that this philosophy of "Gradualism" means ruin for the workers and their movement. The idea of running a capitalist and a Socialist, a profit and non-profit, system side by side is crazy. It is like trying to ride on two horses going in opposite directions. The capitalist system remains under all these "Socialist housing schemes" etc. and so the

crisis is not resolved; it gets worse.

There was a time when concessions to the workers, better the standard of living, without cutting into profits. Then the "gradualism" of the social-democratic parties and the unions brought certain results. Now capitalism maintains itself only by taking away concessions—wages rates, social insurance benefits, etc.—which it once gave. To stick to "gradualism" now means one retreat after another for the workers.

Furthermore, "democratic" methods accomplish nothing. For capitalism itself destroys every vestige, every pretense, of democracy and maintains itself at last by means of an open, brutal, fascist dictatorship. Capitalism will inevitably do this everywhere.

Why? Because capitalism must drive the standard of living lower all the time. In face of this, if the masses have any freedom at all, any union or party no matter how conservative, meek, legal, respectable, peaceful, they will offer resistance. They will fight for mere existence. Therefore capitalism wipes out "democracy," smashes every trade union, farmers' organization, political party. The workers cannot save themselves or their movement by being humble and cautious.

Right here in the U. S. today workers are killed in strikes when they try to assert their right to

collective bargaining under Section 7a of NRA. The militia is called out against them, not against the bosses! Radical parties are kept off foot to deprive the unemployed of the right to vote.

Under these circumstances, to rely on "democracy," to say that we will gain our ends by electing a president and a majority of congress pretty soon, is to disarm the working class while capitalism arms itself to smash us. That is what the Social Democracy has done.

History gives us no instance of a ruling class which voluntarily gives up its power. It took the English Revolution, the French, the American, to smash feudalism. It took four years of civil war in these United States to smash the slaveholding aristocracy of the South (even after a president and congress representing a new class had been elected by parliamentary methods) and to put the new capitalist class in power.

The capitalists will not quietly land over their power to us, fellow worker. We cannot use the capitalist state, system of government, whose very purpose is to maintain capitalism, in order to overthrow it. We have to smash the capitalist state and put the workers' state in its place. Then we can begin to build a new society on new foundations.

(A third letter will be published in the next issue of the New Militant)

The Pacific Movement

Japanese Imperialism Stirs Up Race Hatred in America

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

The Pacific Movement of the Western World has been organized in the United States by Japanese agents and Negro nationalists to create solidarity among the "darker races" against the "white race." Seeking to establish itself as the imperialist power in the Orient, the Japanese government is endeavoring to make allies of the oppressed American Negroes on the basis of "color" relationship.

Branches of this movement are located in all of the large cities where Negroes reside. It is growing daily in numbers and influence among the Negro masses.

For Japan finds herself in a critical position. Her natural resources are limited and her opportunities for expansion are blocked by the imperialist aims of other world powers. She must undersell her American and European rivals to gain monopoly of the oriental market, or by demagogic maneuvers, entrench herself so as to make European and American economic aggression in the east impossible without a serious war. However, thus far it has been impossible for Japan to undersell her rivals.

"Friend" of the Negro

Thus Japan has taken advantage of the unrest existing among oppressed peoples in other capitalist nations, and, through her agents, poses as the "friend" of the American Negro. In this new venture, the powerful Japanese who control the government, and oppress the Japanese workingman, hide their ambition and greed behind the thin cloak of "friendship" for the American Negro workers. They want the Negroes to believe that although they treat their own workers like slaves—long hours, miserable pay, wretched living conditions—they really love the oppressed Negro masses in America with whom they have a "color kinship."

Japan points with pride to her victory over Tsarist Russia. She teaches that this was a conflict between races, rather than rival imperialist interests, which served as a prelude for the overthrow of "White Civilization" and for the establishment of a "Darker Civilization" in its stead.

However, let us turn our attention to the history of the birth and development of Japanese imperialism in the Orient. When Admiral Perry entered Japan in 1854, he found the country in a state of feudalism, and for some years after, Japan remained reluctant to accept Western capitalist culture. But once having accepted Western industrial methods, Japan took over all the features of vicious western imperialism with a vengeance.

In 1894 she engaged in war with China. The price of her victory was Korea, which she gained from China in 1895. However, by 1900 the Chinese peasants joined hands with the Chinese bourgeoisie in a relentless effort to drive out Japanese overlords. It was here that the Japanese imperialists showed their love for the darker Chinese peoples by drowning this revolt in blood.

But if weak, backward China could not defend herself, Tsarist Russia was not going to stand by and see her "dear friend" China fall into the hands of Japan, since imperialist Russia also had her eye on the rich booty Japan had captured from the Chinese. The quarrel between Japan and Russia—a quarrel of two greedy imperialist nations over colonial spoils—culminated in the Russo-Japanese war of

1904. In 1905 Japan was victorious and gained Formosa as an indemnity from Tsarist Russia. This then is the wretched story of Japan's first victory over the "White Civilization" at the expense of China, the "Darker Civilization."

The "Friend" in Action

And once having gained Formosa, whose people greatly resemble the Japanese but whose culture is much older and higher, did Japanese imperialists seek to preserve and to further this culture and insure the growth of a "Darker Civilization"? They most assuredly did not.

Japanese soldiers were sent to Formosa, the native culture was suppressed and an era of terror was inaugurated. The natives were denied educational opportunities and shot down by the thousands whenever they tried to revolt against their awful state. Japanese brutality to the Formosans was equal only to that of the United States in her treatment of Hawaii.

More recently the Japanese entered Manchuria, shot down and slaughtered thousands of natives, slashed off a part of the country and formed the buffer state of Manchukuo.

Three or four years ago, Japan became the competitor of Great Britain and the United States in the South and Central American market. Never before 1930 had Japanese commodities been sold in Panama. The quantity was small but it frightened the American finance capitalists. Japan, on the other hand, realizes that if she is to survive she must become the chief power of the Orient.

In order to accomplish her objective she seeks to win friends among the oppressed people of her rivals. She seeks to fool the American Negroes into supporting her on the basis of "color" friendship in order to build up powerful support in America for her imperialist greed, turning the Negro masses against the capitalist government of America in case a war between Japan and America occurs.

The failure of previous labor movements in America to interpret properly the economic causes for the condition of the American Negro makes his plight the more severe. He is left at the mercy of all sorts of fantastic ideas.

The Negro working masses must understand that it does not matter whether they support the greedy aims of Japanese or American capitalism, in either case they will continue to be oppressed, terrorized and lynched. Oppression of the Negro is a result of economic conditions. It cannot therefore be

fought on the basis of "color" alliances, but rather economic alliances—class solidarity, the unity of all workers, black, white, yellow and red in the struggle against all capitalists, Japanese, American, regardless of their color.

Wall Street's Priest

(Continued from Page 1)

July 1930, called on Father Coughlin to testify.

Although the police chiefs of Flint and Pontiac, the President of the Detroit Citizens Committee, and the personnel manager of General Motors, all testified that there was nothing to fear from the Communists (and who would be quicker to bolster a red scare than police chiefs, citizens committees and personnel managers?) Father Coughlin alone testified that the red menace was acute.

With an eye to publicity and perhaps to his own welfare, he charged that none other than Henry Ford was the man responsible for the insidious advance of communism in Detroit... because he had signed a contract for \$13,000,000 with the Soviet Union!

Why did he pick on Henry Ford? We can only record that four Fisher brothers, who all sit on the board of directors of General Motors, are Catholics, and their mother is a member of Father Coughlin's flock. General Motors, of course, did not sign a contract for \$13,000,000 with the Soviet Union.

On October 5, 1930, as a reward for his stalwart battle against Communism and the Red Serpent, Father Coughlin was promoted from a small three station hookup to a nation-wide hookup on the Columbia system. His affairs began to run into money. A \$750,000 Shrine under way, \$200,000 per year for the hookup, perhaps \$100,000 more for publicity, mailing records, secretaries, etc. Where does he get it?

We confess we don't know. There is a story, a sort of fairy tale goes the rounds, that his listeners, millions strong, support his colossal business with contributions, a few cents here, a few cents there. We can't deny his tale, for Father Coughlin has never allowed anyone to look into his affairs. However, if we don't know where he gets the original capital, we do know how he tried to increase it, how he has involved in a nice little deal in silver, some five hundred thousand ounces, which might have netted him a neat profit.

LIBERALS

(With Quotations From the Authorities)

LIBERALS are a sensible breed,
Well-tempered and soft-spoken;
Truth in the middle is their creed,
And the peace that's never broken.

They view with calm and liquid eye
The smoke and storm of battle.
Wretched millions scream and die;
They see them die like cattle.

And coldly talk of what they've seen
In terms of the sum and total,
Considered through the golden mean
Of the dead Greek, Aristotle.

They "deplore" and "find regrettable"
This epoch's wretched madness"
That "for convictions most debatable"
Cause all this cosmic sadness"

And call "for a moment's thinking
Of just and impartial sort
To keep the ship of state from sinking

And bring it safe to port."

If one would ask which ship of state
Or which the proper port?
"These questions only agitate,
And they furthermore abort

The movement to pacificate
This raging social sea,
Torn by greed and racial hate
And partisanery."

For "Violence is the Major crime,
And Peace the major goal;
And change will come in God's own time
With Progress of mind and soul."

Yes, Liberals are gods of common-sense,
And so it isn't strange
That wanting change without violence,
They'll get violence without change.

—LOUIS BREYER

CAPITOL NEWS

(Continued from Page 1)

In particular, we learn: "Farmers in the Corn Belt in 1935 will be faced with widely varying relationships between feed and livestock prices. Feed scarcity in 1934 reduced the number of bushels of corn equal in value to 100 pounds of live hogs, at farm prices (the so-called corn-hog ratio) to less than two-thirds of the long-time average relationship between corn and hog prices. Spring pigs farrowed in 1934 were 26 percent fewer than in 1933, but corn production was 41 percent less; hence corn prices rose more than the price of hogs."

(So long as this disparity continues, it should be noted, pork and lard must move upward in price. The unfavorable status of the corn-hog ratio holds back the farmer from fattening his swine to the full; he sends them to market before they are fully grown; the aggregate of meat moving into and out of the packing plants diminishes. And the "American standard of living" receives still another body blow!)

Only half as many fall pigs were farrowed in 1934 as in 1933. Present estimates of the 1935 spring pig crop indicate a further 17 percent reduction from the short farrowings of last year. All this should be highly enlightening news to wage-earners, particularly the lowest income groups. It serves to put into its true perspective the New Deal's claim of having augmented mass purchasing power, if it has accomplished nothing else.

MORE CHEERFUL NEWS!

"The drastic reduction in the number of cattle in 1934," to continue, "makes likely a relatively high price of beef for several years. (Still more cheerful news for the wage earner who luxuriates in the benefits of the codes). In the worst drought areas, even the breeding herd has been sacrificed," and a shortage of "foundation stock" seems imminent. The situation has become so acute, that the Department of Agriculture advises:

"For all classes of livestock the keynote should be maintenance and building up of breeding herds—the fattening of livestock should be limited rather than to sacrifice foundation stock."

SAGA OF SCARCITY

To continue with the saga of scarcity, how about wheat? Farm stocks of wheat on January 1 declined to 136 million bushels, "the smallest quantity for that date since these data became available in 1926." Market stocks amounted to 91 million bushels, the smallest figure since January 1928". With oats and barley, the same story: scarcity, scarcity, and still more scarcity.

Butter production? The total December production of 103 million pounds was the lowest for that month since 1929. Cheese production? The December total of 23 million pounds was 8 percent less than in 1933. Wholesale butter prices in New York have reached such a high level that for almost the first time in American history, substantial quantities of imports from New Zealand and Denmark have hurdled over the tariff barrier of 14 cents per pound. As for stocks of eggs in cold storage on January 1, they were 11 percent lower than a year earlier and 35 percent lower than the 5-year average. Little wonder then, that egg "prices have shown considerable resistance to the usual seasonal decline."

The New Deal cannot of course be blamed for the drought. But the effects of the drought would be much less severe had not the Triple A program of man-induced scarcity been superimposed on a good, stiff dose of natural scarcity. Capitalist economists in the U.S.A. have long professed to be scornful of Russian agricultural policies; that is, forced collectivization and liquidation of kulaks. These policies, it is argued, were responsible for grain shortages and the destruction of livestock, to the detriment of Russian standards of living.

These economists can now rest from their labors of Red-baiting. If they have scorn to lavish, they can lavish it at home. The AAA program of 1933-1935 will go down in economic history as one of the maddest orgies of capitalist sabotage ever known to man.

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with which is merged

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The Hokey Long Way

HOOEY LONG says to the press, "Organize a Share-the-Wealth Club and elect me President. Then you can have a house, auto, radio plus \$2,500 a year." Everybody will admit that the masses in this land could have plenty and security. The big question is: Is Hokey Long's way the way to get them?

Hoover said, "Elect me President and you will have a chicken in every pot and two automobiles in every garage." Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "Hoover is a wash-out. Elect me President and you will get a New Deal."

Hokey Long says, "Roosevelt is a flop. Elect me President and you will have a house, car, radio, etc." What guarantee can Hokey Long give to the masses that if they elect a clown like himself instead of an oyster like Hoover or a perpetual snail like Roosevelt, he can end the woes under the capitalist system? The answer is, None.

Long plays the capitalists' game. Long also prepares the way for Fascism, for the ruin of the masses, because he distracts attention from the one way in which they can get freedom and plenty.

Forget the Hokey Long palaver!
Do not expect him to give you the factories, the mines, the houses that you have built! Prepare to take them!

Ask Long why he helped to smash the longshoremen's strike! Why he keeps the workers in the Lane Cotton Mills in peonage!

Build the unions! Build the Unemployed Leagues! Build the revolutionary party! That is the Only Way Out!

A Bloc with Reformists?

IS the Communist Party preparing to make a bloc with "liberal" politicians to form a Labor Party? To make not only a zig-zag to the right but a leap out into empty space?

In New York it is participating in a "united front" anti-Hoover meeting with representatives of the Republican and the Democratic parties! Presumably this will help the workers to know their true friends.

In the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial, Darcy, C. P. district leader, testifies that "a group of left congressmen" might set up the "new" government to deliver the masses.

An editorial in the Daily Worker for March 11 comments on the organization of a bloc of "liberal" congressmen in Washington. The "test" which, according to this mouthpiece of the infallible revolutionary (?) leader of the masses, the workers must use on these "liberals" is whether they fight against Roosevelt's war appropriations, for the prevailing war on public works, for H. R. 2827, for civil rights. If no, this is only "a new trick to gain the support of labor with false promises."

If yes—and a "liberal" might easily vote thus—are the workers then to accept these "liberals" on the recommendation of the C.P. as making trustworthy and not false promises to labor? Are these "liberals" then to be included in the mass-class-federated-class struggle—not reformist—not revolutionary—highest form of united front—"Labor Party" which the C. P. is advocating?

The C. P., with all its prestige and apparatus, after six years of crisis knows the masses have no confidence in it, will not respond to its call. Therefore this "Labor Party" cry must be raised. Some typical C. P. "boring-from-within" other organizations, especially unions, is to be pulled off.

The workers, if this trickery succeeds, will be led

Unemployed in Ind. Organize Out of the SP

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—A state convention of the unemployed is planned in Indiana, following a trip through the eastern part of the state by Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, and Robert Birchman. Talking with the unemployed in the important centers, they were urged to bring the N.U.L. in to help organize. They visited Fort Wayne, Muncie, Marion, Wabash, South Bend, Kokomo, Huntington, Hartford City and Indianapolis.

Conditions among the unemployed continue to get worse. An unemployed man in Kokomo said, "Since they broke up our organization here, I have been out on my own again. I have six in my family and get \$2.40 per week for everything. That means we are slowly starving."

"Organize or Starve"

In Muncie the unemployed had a strong organization, but its life was short. A leading Socialist said: "We had them organized but we didn't know whether to make the unemployed into temporary members of the Socialist Party or not. While we were discussing this, the organization went to pieces."

Marion has had all kinds of organizations; now they are all trying to revive. In Wabash the Unemployed Council was taken over and smashed by the American Legion.

Indiana's unemployed have gone through many disappointments; but now they are ready to organize again. "It is organize or starve," they told us in place after place.

S. P. Begins Writing Letters

The Socialist Party is starting a campaign of letters to its members, from at least four places, trying to get them to organize into the Indiana Unemployed Union, which has its base in the small town of Montezuma. Most of the unemployed never heard of the place. The letters come from Lasser, Porter, Rasmussen and other leaders.

The basis for this organization is a factional fight. The Socialist Party of Indiana has withdrawn from the Socialist Party, and in turn has been suspended by the National Executive Committee. The fight resulted in rump conventions, a referendum, then another referendum on the first, threats and squabbles of all sorts.

"The Socialists can't organize themselves," a former militant S. P. leader remarked, "so now they are sending us letters from all directions on how to organize the unemployed. I think this Indiana Unemployed Union is just a way for one gang to get another gang out."

Hearing of the victories of the N.U.L., Indiana's unemployed welcomed the news of the plan to organize the Indiana Unemployed League.

Birchman is staying on the job, with others from the state, while Johnson has gone to Kentucky for the first convention of the Kentucky Unemployed League.

PITY THE POOR OWNERS

"We have before us the instance of a father, with a wife and seven children, working in an apartment... over four years, receiving \$85 a month for 70 hours a week, and compelled to live in part on charity from several directions. They are proof of the increasing distress of building owners."—From the report of the New York real estate arbitration committee.

straight into a swamp of confusion, into an alliance with "liberal" politicians, into a by-path which can end only in zero results, as did the Federated Farmer Labor Party-LaFollette adventure of the C. P. in 1924. Meantime, precious time and energy which should go into building up a genuinely effective revolutionary party in this period of insurgency among the masses, is lost.

Our answer to these proposals of "unity" with anybody and anything is: Unity of the revolutionary forces! Build the Workers Party!

The Socialist Party

RECONCILIATION will be the major note at the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to be held in Buffalo on March 16 and 17. The New York "Militants" and the Old Guard will both go there with the aim of winning to their respective support the reformist groups of McLevy, Maurer and Hoan.

Aggressive moves are avoided by both the "Militants" and the Old Guard precisely out of fear of alienating the McLevys, Maurers and Hoans. That is why the Old Guard at the eleventh hour seated the delegates from the branches it had suspended at the recent New York Central Committee meeting—after the delegates in question had gone home!

However, the nine suspended branches have not been reinstated. The "Militants" have called a meeting to protest the high handed action of the Old Guard.

The appeal for the meeting is addressed: "To All Comrades—Left, Right or Center." It is accompanied by Norman Thomas' open letter to the members of the N. Y. Socialist Party which endorses the "Militants'" protest and meeting.

Thomas concludes his appeal: "I ask your support in order to save our party. This is not remembered, is an issue independent of, and infinitely more important than any opinion you may have on the Declaration of Principles, or the United Front."

Unity above principles! Thomas repeats his old slogan; this time with the aim of making the most of the rift between Oneal and Waldman within the Old Guard to win over sections of the Right. Waldman may yet become the "common enemy." Be that as it may.

There is as yet no clear Left wing group inside the "Militants". As matters stand now the elements in control are not adverse to compromise. The Socialist Call is intended not as the organ of the centrist "Militants" alone, but a rallying center of all "Socialists", that is, reformists, centrists and revolutionaries.

The probable compromise at Buffalo will settle nothing. For it can take place only on an unprincipled basis. Discontent among militant and revolutionary Socialists is certain to arise.

The need of the moment in the Socialist Party is a clear cut Left wing grouping which will conduct a principled struggle against the Old Guard and reformists and those who conciliate with them. For this is required a revolutionary Marxist program on the basic questions of the revolution and on the immediate problems confronting the American working class.

QUESTION BOX

S. B. BRONX—

Question: Where can I find formulated the idea of the increasing misery of the masses under capitalism?

Answer: Marx summarizes his demonstration of the laws of motion of capitalist society as follows ("Capital", vol. I): "The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productivity of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital, develop also the labor-power at its disposal. The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve-army in proportion to the active labor-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labor. The more extensive, finally, the Lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve-army, the greater is the official pauperism. THIS IS THE ABSOLUTE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION. Like all other laws it is modified in its workings by many circumstances..." (Emphasis in original.)

Darcy Takes The Stand In Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

ism in Russia in 1917 and even went so far as to assign the setting up of the "new" government to "a group of left Congressmen"! Where Mimi said that "the workers would have to take hold of the capitalist state and destroy it", Darcy made absolutely no mention of the class nature of the state!

How the C. P. Uses the Courts

Not satisfied with opportunist betrayals of Marxism, the Communist Party is further aggravating the trial by using the capitalist court as a rostrum to denounce its political opponents. No opportunity has been left slip for introducing into the proceedings the maximum amount of Stalinist "argument" against the Socialist Party, the Workers Party and Lovestone. Whole pages of slander and lies against Comrade Muste and the former A.W.P. have been dragged in. Darcy went out of his way to read something that called Comrade Cannon a "petty bourgeois careerist" and so on.

In this barrage the capitalists as real people and not abstractions—Calif. Packing Corporation, Associated Farmers, Bank of America—have been completely forgotten since the first of the week. The prosecution and the court have contented themselves with playing the merely passive role of ruling out of evidence almost anything that would go to show what the actual policy of the Communist Party (last year's policy) is.

Outside the courtroom, however,

Will They Make Them?



The Paris Commune

By JOSEPH CARTER

"When the Commune was set up in Paris after the war of 1870, we know what bloody work had to be done by French soldiers to rescue the capital and the country from the deadly menace." (New York Times, February 8, 1934.)

In these words the spokesmen of the American master class rightfully consider themselves the heirs of the butchers of the heroic Paris Commune of three score and four years ago. And four days after this editorial the bloody work against the Communards was repeated in the civilized Europe of today, by the reactionary, Fascist soldiers of Dollfuss against the Austrian workers.

Violence against the oppressed, against the masses, that is patriotism and justice; but violence of the masses against the handful of exploiters for the purpose of building a free and human society, that is treason, a "deadly menace" against which all means are justified.

"All this gaudy, which the party of order never fail, in their orgy of blood, to raise against their victims," wrote the founder of the modern militant workers' movement after the suppression of

the Paris Commune, "only proves that the bourgeois of our days consider himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime."

How true this is to this day! The march of Fascism in Europe, the growth of the vigilante groups in the United States, the terrorism against the trade unions, the Hearst red-baiting campaign, these are the acts of an outlived, but desperate parasitic class which glories in its Paris Commune traditions.

Deadly Menace to Whom?

"The Commune was a deadly menace to the old world, founded on slavery and exploitation," wrote the incomparable leader of the international and Russian working class, Lenin. Provoked by the reactionary national government, the workers, supported by the small shopkeepers of Paris, established their own government on March 18, 1871.

In the seventy days of workers' rule, the church was separated from the state, education was taken out of the hands of the priests, the sys-

tem of fines for workers was abolished, night work for bakers was prohibited, plans made for the taking over by workers' associations of factories and shops abandoned by the former owners.

The standing army, which stood apart from the people as a power for its oppression was replaced by the armed people. The Commune abolished the old apparatus of government and replaced it by an administration in which the officials received the equivalent of the average wages of the Parisian workers. In a word, they rid themselves of the reactionary government and put in its place "a truly democratic proletarian government."

This was too much for the parasites who were accustomed to live by the labor of the masses! The national government of France could not suppress the rebellious workers by itself. The French "national patriots" did not hesitate to call upon their yesterday's enemy-in-war, the Germany of Bismarck, to supply hordes to suppress the Paris Commune, murder French workers, destroy Paris. And Bismarck willingly supplied the aid. Once again showing the internationalist character of the class struggle, which knows no national borders! An excellent lesson for the workers!

Toll of the Bloody Work

The bloody work was successful. 30,000 Parisians were brutally murdered, about 45,000 were arrested, some executed, thousands were exiled or imprisoned. 100,000 victims was the toll paid by the heroic Paris Communards. In this way, the narrow-minded and short sighted reactionaries thought that they would once and for all do away with the threats of workers' revolution!

What an illusion! For the development of capitalism itself, bringing workers together in large factories, mines and mills, creates the conditions for renewed workers' struggles, for trade union and political organization, for revolutionary action. From the defeat of the Paris Commune the workers learn the lessons of their future conflicts.

The Communards had no strong trade unions or clear headed, trained workers' party. The Parisian workers of 1871 were in the main artisans or workers in small factories. The development of capitalism had not yet reached that stage where the working class could be sufficiently developed to unequivocally go forward to socialism. They had little experience of past workers' battles to go by.

That is why the Communards did not understand the need of concentrating the political power in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, starting an immediate offensive against the national government at Versailles, taking over the national bank, before proceeding with the elections for the Commune.

Russian Workers Learn Lessons of Commune

Drowned in blood, the Commune has remained an inspiration for the producing masses the world over. As the first example of a workers' government it served as the guide to the victorious Russian working class.

They built their revolutionary leadership, the Bolshevik Party, with a clear understanding of the tasks of the revolution.

The Bolshevik Party understood that the old state apparatus, whether its form be that of a monarchy or of a democratic republic, had to be smashed and replaced by workers' institutions. Out of the Russian class struggle arose the Soviets, the councils of workers from the factories, soldiers from the barracks and forts, peasants from the fields. Later the Soviet form arose also in Western Europe, showing that it is not a purely Russian phenomenon.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers and peasants, organized in Soviets, overthrew Russian capitalism and established their workers' government as the first stage of the world revolution to usher in international

LEFT . . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

Oh, Death, Death!

The "Pacific Weekly", sole offspring of Sam Darcy, Communist Party organizer in California, and Ella Winters, reporting Stratchey's San Francisco address, gurgles—"He spoke of the class struggle in new and delightful ways".

Race Prejudice

In reporting the gangster attack of Ben Gold's (Fur Workers Industrial Union) thugs on members of the Joint Council of Furriers, A. F. of L., the Workers Age (Lovestone) says: "B. Collenberg was attacked by an Italian thug, not a furrier, on the payroll of Ben Gold. This same Italian thug was involved in the crippling of Joe Ferber some months ago." Appeals to race prejudice so strongly and correctly condemned by Lovestone when made by Stalinists in Local 22, I.L.G.W. U., are apparently O.K. in the fur market.

Reviewing the Crisis

10U—SOS—FDR—NRA — AAA
—PDQ—SOL. —M.L.

Building the A. F. of L.

From the Swan Song of the T.U. U.L., Daily Worker, March 11, we quote:

"It is no accident that where the T.U.U.L. unions were most active (coal, garment, textile and marine) the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L."

It is a fact known to all that the T.U.U.L.—(C. P.)—denounced the A. F. of L. union in each of these industries as "tools of Wall Street", "Fascists", "stool pigeon agencies", "White Guards", etc. etc. Under this barrage "the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L." It therefore appears that the Stalinist turn is not a change in policy but in tactics. Finding that the more they attacked the A. F. of L. the more the workers supported it, they have decided to support the A. F. of L. in the hope that this will drive the workers away from it.

From the New York Herald Tribune, March 9, we quote: "The move to glorify Stalin was begun by his colleagues in the Polburo and spread rapidly down through the Communist Party ranks until today it behooves every speaker at a political meeting at Moscow or the provinces to pay glowing tribute to the dictator before taking his seat." A picked group of peasant delegates to the recent collective farm congress fell into line easily. Here are a few phrases selected from their speeches. Delegate Sid-orov—"Our dear, our warmly beloved Stalin," and "our beloved friend and comrade, our chief, our Stalin." Delegate Filipenko—"Long live our dear leader, our darling Stalin." Delegate Masenova—"Our shock worker, our best of best, our Stalin."

On this showing it must be admitted that the peasant delegates are one up on the American Stalinists in this international servility competition. However, knowing the flexibility of back-bones and knees plus the readiness of tongue of such "leaders" as Olgin, Browder, Mike Gold, etc., we are sure that they can catch up and surpass any and all contenders before many moons have passed.

Olgin, God, and Father Divine

The New York press reports that M. J. Olgin, editor of The Freiheit, Communist Party Jewish daily, writes in Pravda: "Two hundred and fifty thousand ignorant, disease ridden, poverty stricken Negroes live in Harlem. Thousands consider Father Divine their God, and James W. Ford their political leader."

Hailed before Judge Panken on some charge, Father Divine was asked—"Are you God?" Divine had to answer, "No, but thousands of people believe I am and I like them to think so."

If James Ford were to answer truthfully the question—"Are you the political leader of Harlem's Negroes?" he would have to answer—"No but some people like to be fooled and Olgin is the boy to fool them."

socialism. On the basis of the experiences of the Commune they succeeded in warding off internal counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. That is how the present workers' state, the Soviet Union, was established.

Commemorate the Commune—Build Workers Party

The lessons of the Commune and of the Russian revolution must become part of the living movement of the American workers. In the present period, the need of a revolutionary organization which unites the most intelligent, courageous and experienced workers on the basis of these lessons which form an integral part of Marxism, and puts these lessons into daily practice, is greater than ever. The true commemoration of the Paris Commune is the building of the Workers' Party of the United States as a section of the coming Fourth International of revolutionary labor.

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CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER

A BIGGER AND BETTER BOARD THE WORKS-RELIEF BILL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Organized labor, the A. F. of L. leaders once again inform the world at large, has no use for strikes as a method of bringing employers to terms. Organized labor would much rather depend on laws which "guarantee" the right of collective bargaining, and on government boards "empowered" to put such laws into effect.

So argue Green and Company in defense of the Wagner Labor Relations Bill, upon which the Senate Labor Committee is now conducting hearings. Pass this bill, they plead with the committee members. If you don't pass it, they warn, wage-earners will fly off the handle; they will become enraged and strike; and then what will become of the New Deal's pretty little dream of class collaboration?

The stupidity of the A. F. of L. leaders transcends all understanding. They have had almost two years of Section 7a and of Wagner boards, Garrison boards, Biddle boards, Wolman boards, Stacy boards, et al. The statute, on the one hand, and the boards on the other, have brought American trade unions absolutely nothing. Company unionism has flourished as never before; the technique for kidding wage earners out of striking has been perfected; employers have thrown the orders of the labor boards into the wastebasket; and President Roosevelt has condescended to deliver several swift kicks in the pants to his "Supreme Court" of industrial relations.

What does all this mean to Green and Co.?

Not that "guarantees" of collective bargaining are hardly worth the paper they are written on. Not that labor boards are good for nothing but sugaring the pill of compulsory arbitration. Not that trade unions must, given a capitalist society, rely on their own capacity for direct and militant action.

Because Section 7a has not worked, the A. F. of L. leaders reason, let us have more of it. Because the law has been a dead-letter, let us have a bigger, better and more elaborate law of the same sort. Because labor boards have been incapable of forcing anti-union employers into collective bargaining, let us confer a permanent status upon the boards and redefine their purely theoretical powers.

Section 7a, it is true, provided the psychological push which started the great organizational campaigns of 1933 in the iron and steel, automobile manufacturing, bituminous coal and other industries. But by relying upon the abstract rights of Section 7a rather than upon self-help, the A. F. of L. stultified its ability to profit from that initial push. By proposing what is on the face of it a tacit bargain—enact the Wagner bill and you need not fear strikes any longer—the A. F. of L. prepares to paralyze the labor movement in the United States, once and for all time.

THE WORKS-RELIEF BILL

Successful for the time being, in their drive against high wages, Administration forces have induced the Senate to knock the "prevailing wages" amendment out of the Work-Relief bill. The substitute amendment which was passed leaves the whole matter of wage rates, for any practical purpose, to the President's sole discretion. This means, all things considered, that \$50 a month will receive official sanction as the government's idea of how large a living wage ought to be.

It was hardly to be expected, not-

(Continued on Page 4)

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If you will send your renewal several issues in advance it will save work and expense in the office and insure your receiving the paper without interruption. Unless you do so you will inevitably miss some issues. No subscriptions can be back dated. Back issues will be supplied at the regular rates plus postage. Please cooperate!

—Business Manager.

Nations Tatter On Brink of Another Imperialist War

Capitalists Profited \$12,000 For Every Death in Last

The imminence of the Second World War was vividly demonstrated last Saturday by the action of Hitler Germany when she tore up the Treaty of Versailles and threw it in the faces of the other European powers. Henceforth, announced the Nazi leader, compulsory military service will be introduced in Germany and the Third Reich will enter openly into the race for arms on land, sea and in the air.

This announcement came at the end of a week filled with talk—and acts—for rearmament. And it came as no surprise, despite their public expressions of righteous indignation, to the responsible—or to be exact, irresponsible—rulers of France, Italy, Great Britain—and the United States. That Germany has been arming ever since Hitler came to power has been an open secret for many months. The pretence that she was not had to end sooner or later. The fact that Hitler chose last Saturday to end it only illustrates the increasing tension.

The Second World War

After less than seventeen years after the end of the "war to end war," preparations for the second World War are now publicly proclaimed. The death merchants throughout the world are happy. The "dollar-a-year" boys are practicing drill. And the war-pseudo-chology-making machines are being oiled.

Meanwhile the conditions of the masses of the people of the world become more desperate. Unemployment and destitution increases. Living standards of the employed workers are being driven down either by direct reductions in wages or by the increasing cost of food and clothing. Appropriations for relief of the victims of the profit system are curtailed while appropriations for battle ships, guns, etc., are doubled and tripled.

Yet the following facts, showing what war means to the masses of the people, have been repeated time and again:

What War Means
The fact that nearly 10,000,000 young men were killed in the First World War, that 20,000,000 more were wounded, and that prisoners or "missing" numbered nearly 6,000,000 does not deter the capitalists for one minute from making ready for the Second World War. In addition to soldiers killed, wounded and "missing" in the last war, famine, disease and pestilence took a total of over 28,000,000 people "among the civil population alone," according to the Swedish statistician, Hersch.

Left fatherless as a result of the war were 9,000,000 children. War widows numbered about 5,000,000 and some 10,000,000 were rendered homeless due to the war.

Direct money costs of the war for all belligerent countries amounted to over \$200,000,000,000. For the U.S. alone, during the two years, the direct cost was over \$22,000,000,000. Total indirect costs (property damage, etc.) amounted to about \$150,000,000,000 for all countries. The total cost of the war in 1918 was \$224,000,000,000.

According to a pamphlet written by Senator Nye it cost about \$25,000 to kill a soldier.

Who Won?

But for every casualty a profit of \$12,000 was made by the capitalist class, according to Lehman-Russbult, German expert on war. Profits of leading American corporations ranged from 25 per cent to 3,000 per cent and more. Eighteen leading United States companies increased their net profits of \$74,650,000 for the 1912-1914 period to \$337,000,000 for the period 1916-1918. The number of known multimillionaires in the U.S. increased from

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NEW CLASSES IN SCHOOL

Two new classes have been added to the courses in the International Workers School. The first in elementary Russian, will begin Thursday, March 28th at 7 P.M. under the guidance of Sara Weber. The other is a course in public speaking for members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League, to begin Monday, April 1st at 8:40 P.M. with Martin Glee as instructor. Registrations should be sent to the School office at 2 West 15th Street.

Sacramento C. S. Trial Near End

Judge Rules Case to Continue Despite Ford's Illness

SACRAMENTO, Cal., March 15.—The Sacramento criminal syndicalism case is coming to a close. Practically the last two weeks have been spent reading to the jury. A significant and interesting point of the trial came when Attorney Gallagher, in trying to show that the Communist Party would never think of calling a revolution without the support of a majority, wanted to introduce evidence about Germany.

"I can't see where Germany has any bearing on the case," the judge said.

"It certainly has," Gallagher shouted. "We intend to show that in Germany, where the Communist Party was supported by 6,000,000 voters, the Party allowed Hitler to come to power without raising a finger, because it did not have a majority behind it!"

But most of the time has been spent by the I.L.D. attorneys going over the 205 exhibits of "communist literature" introduced by the prosecution. Scattered excerpts have been read to the jury on almost every conceivable topic: left social fascism has been followed by the Soviet Army, industrial unionism by self-determination in the black belt, conditions of the working youth by the Labor Party. Absolutely no attempt has been made to present a coherent picture of communism to the court. Everything has been garbled, confused, disorganized.

Early this week defendant A. G. Ford, weakened by his 6 months' confinement in jail, had to be taken to the hospital with a serious attack of pneumonia. In this situation the judge cynically ruled that the case should go on, minus defendant Ford!

A BRITISH PATRIOT

NEW YORK (FP).—Germany's rearmament move came on the heels of a loan of some \$200,000,000 granted her by Sir Henry Deterding, international oil magnate and Standard Oil rival, according to an exclusive story by Johannes Steel in the New York Post.

20TH CENTURY CIVILIZATION

"Cuba, unfortunately, at present, like the United States and other civilized countries, has four or five persons for every job."—Pres. Men-dicta of Cuba.

By BILL REICH

HOUSING: A widow and two small children were found living in the Railroad Station at Allentown, Pa. . . . In Boston, Mrs. Blanche Campa, destitute, crawled into a freightyard and in a snow-bank bore a baby. . . . Doris Duke, richest U.S. girl, weds a son of the Statesbury's. Doris owns a 5,000 acre estate at Somerville, N. J. with 35 miles of private paved roadway, a summer palace at Port, R. I., a Manhattan residence on 5th Ave. with art treasures worth millions, and a palatial estate in North Carolina. . . . Her husband's family owns a home with 145 rooms, 45 baths, 14 elevators and requires 100 servants for its upkeep. They also have homes at Bear Harbor, Maine and Palm Beach.

SOCIETY: Palm Beach reports the best season since the depression. . . . Florida begged and received another \$400,000 from Washington for relief, claiming it was "broke". . . .

SPORTS: More than \$8,000,000 was bet on the ponies at Miami during the racing season. . . . Joe Green of Pittsburgh was fined \$2 for betting on a horse race. "Anybody on relief who bets on the races deserves to be fined," says the judge. . . . J. E. Gibson of Paris, Texas, is given \$2 to buy fishing tackle so he could be removed from

Cannon Rorty And Chas. Malamuth Will Tell of Cal. Terror

James P. Cannon, Editor of the New Militant, James Rorty, author and newspaperman and Charles Malamuth, well known journalist, will address a meeting at Irving Plaza this Sunday evening, March 24 on "Class Struggles in the West"

Comrade Cannon has just returned from a two months tour of the country, including one month in California, the heart of recent strikes, terror, and class war. He will touch on the aftermath of the great San Francisco general strike, the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trials, on his visit to Tom Mooney at San Quentin, on the famous Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, on the vigilante terror, and (no picture of California is complete without them) on the Sinclair Epitaphs and the Utopian movement, and last on the rise of the Workers Party.

James Rorty and Charles Malamuth have just arrived in New York after their now famous expulsion from the Imperial Valley, where they were investigating the incredible peon system of slavery among the agricultural workers.

Democracy Violent In S.P.

Led by Julius Gerber a crew of Old Guard Socialists broke into the New York Ypsel office late last Monday and took possession of all the property therein. Milt Cohen, a young Socialist, who accidentally wandered into the office during the raid was severely beaten up.

These desperate steps taken by the "democratic socialist" gentlemen were an outcome of the conflict between the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. following the latter's "New Leader" as an organ of the Old Guard promoting splits in the S.P. and as unworthy of the support of the young Socialists.

The S.P. Committee retaliated by preferring charges against the entire Ypsel committee; disqualified the candidates for city organizer and city secretary, in a pending election, because they voted for the resolution against the "New Leader," and called upon the Ypsels to postpone the elections. At the same time they appointed a special investigation committee. The Ypsels defied these decisions and proceeded with plans for the elections.

The Executive Committee of the S.P. met last Monday evening, according to the Ypsel office: "with only 7 members attending out of a total of 17, they accepted the report of the subcommittee appointed to investigate the YPSL, doing so by a vote of 6-1. The committee consisting of Algernon Lee, Bela Low

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WP Progress on All Fronts, National And International Marked at Ptsbg. Conference

NUL Blasts Roosevelt's Relief Plan

Like Trying to Fight A Forest Fire With Tea Cups

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—Criticizing the Administration's social security program as an attempt to "extinguish a forest fire with a tea-cup of water," the National Unemployed League has issued a tentative draft of the Workers Security Bill which it is sponsoring. This draft is being submitted to state and local Unemployed Leagues for approval and recommendations before being put into final form. Suggestions should be sent to the National Unemployed League, 232 North High Street, Columbus, Ohio.

An extensive drive to win public support for the bill is under way. Plans are going forward for the League's Caravan to Washington in May to push the bill before Congress adjourns.

The comprehensive bill drafted by the League is called "A bill to limit the hours of labor, to provide additional appropriations for public works, and for the relief of the unemployed and to establish a system of unemployment and social insurance."

30-Hour Week

It provides for the 30-hour week for all national, state and local government employees and all wage employees in industry, mining, transportation, agriculture, domestic, technical, clerical and professional services and "all other occupations".

The minimum wage is fixed at \$30 a week, with the prevailing union rate wherever it is higher.

A ten-billion dollar public works program is provided; the money to be spent within one year. This program is to include the building of modern low-rental homes; an up-to-date, fully equipped county hospital in every county; modern libraries and recreational centers in every city and county; rural electrification, and elimination of grade crossings.

Nothing For War

It is specified that none of this money shall be spent for military or naval purposes.

Immediate establishment of a system of unemployment and social insurance by the Secretary of Labor is authorized. All unemployed workers and farmers are to be cared for with insurance equal to average local wages, the funds to be raised by a government tax on inheritances and gifts and on income of individuals and corporations where they exceed \$5,000. The insurance is in no case to be

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Membership, Trade Union, Strike, Unemployed Work Shows Gain; Daily Paper Up for Discussion

Nearly 100 active workers, representing all important industries such as steel, mining, automobiles, textiles, rubber, gathered in the Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party of the U.S. held at Pittsburgh in connection with the plenary session of the National Committee of the Party March 15-18. The outstanding impression left by the conference was that of the remarkable strides taken by the Party during the first three months of its existence in carrying out the six months Program of Action adopted by the founding convention of the Party last December.

The fusion of the former Communist League of America and the former American Workers Party on which the formal launching of the party was based has been accomplished at the center and in the branches. Fundamentally, the problems and issues now confronting the organization are those of the

new Party and not of the old organizations.

Membership Increases

An increase of nearly 40 percent in membership has been recorded. The work of projecting the party and its membership in the unions, unemployed leagues and other mass organizations is proceeding everywhere.

A great impetus has been given to unemployed work as is symbolized most dramatically perhaps by the appearance of Mass Action, the weekly organ of the National Unemployed League, to which the Party has given support and assistance. The Party membership has taken a prominent part in a score of strike struggles in every section of the country.

The Party as a whole, and especially its California section, has assumed a leading role in the labor defense movement in the United States in connection with the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. The destructive policies of the Communist Party in this trial have been made a national and will be made an international issue by the Workers Party.

The Party print shop has been reorganized and provided with new equipment and is now in a position to turn out regularly the party organs, its pamphlets, etc.

While the fulfillment of the pamphlet program has lagged somewhat, an educational department has been set up, an International Workers School giving 11 courses established in New York, one or more classes organized in practically every branch of the Party, three sets of lessons have been sent out and others are ready, and preparations for the first session of a national training school are under way.

S. Y. L. Doubled Membership

The youth organization, Spartacus Youth League, has doubled its membership, issued its monthly organ regularly and immensely improved its organizational set-up.

Comrade Cannon, the editor of the New Militant, has made a coast to coast tour. Comrade Muste, the National Secretary, has visited practically all of the party centers as far west as Minneapolis, Davenport and St. Louis. One other tour as far west as Chicago has been carried out.

External relations have been established with the Secretariat of the I.C.L. in Europe, with the newly organized Revolutionary Party in Holland, product of the merger on March 10 of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, and with parties and groups in Canada, South Africa, Australia, China and other countries who have declared for the Fourth International and stand on the same programmatic foundation as the Workers Party of the U.S.

Many important problems confronting the revolutionary movement in the United States and abroad were discussed by the National Committee, the Active Workers Conference, or both. These include the Labor Party, Third Party, Huey Long, Coughlin, etc. developments; the recent events in the Soviet Union; the war danger as exemplified in occurrences in the international arena; the tumult in the Socialist Party of the United States and the proper course to be pursued by the revolutionary party toward the splits which appear likely to occur in the S. P.; the present position in the trade unions and the unemployed organizations. The decisions of the National Committee on these points will be published in this and forthcoming issues of the New Militant or communicated to the membership and to the workers in other ways.

A Daily Paper

Impressed, on the one hand, by the numerous opportunities springing up before the Party and the eagerness of the Party membership and the workers for information about the Party and its position, and on the other hand by the swift pace of events both in the labor movement in the U. S. and on the international arena, the National Committee authorized the Political Committee to continue a canvass which it had tentatively begun as to the possibilities of raising a sustaining fund for a daily paper.

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Life, Liberty, the Pursuit of Happiness

relief toll. "The catfish are biting," he was told. . . .

FOOD: Jack Dempsey eats 19 times a day and keeps two cooks constantly busy over a stove in his private home. . . . Mike Naggis, unemployed steel worker, was found dead in his unheated home near Coatesville, Pa. "Starvation," said the coroner. . . . Food prices have risen 11 percent in the past year, reports the Department of Agriculture. . . . "Prices are still too low," says President Roosevelt. . . .

RELIEF: An expensive government survey reveals that 89 percent of those on relief are in this condition because of unemployment. . . . The Department of Labor announces that \$26.77 per week is needed to provide a family of 5 with the means of bare subsistence, \$31.22 for the minimum essentials for health and decency. . . . President Roosevelt's Public Works Relief Bill allows an average of \$12 per week per family. . . . The U. S. Chamber of Commerce urges a \$2,000,000,000 reduction in the Public Works Bill, this permitting a dole of \$6 per week per family. . . .

PHILADELPHIA'S 310,596 relief cases average \$2.50 per week per person, Oklahoma's \$2.50 per month per person. . . . "Excessive relief presents the gravest threat to the fiscal integrity of the government," says Richard Whitney, President of the N. Y. Stock Exchange. . . .

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES:

Sally Rand, fan dancer, has patented her new bubble dance. "Like a good businessman, I keep a graph of my popularity," she states. . . . College professors near Washington, D. C. have formed a club with Huey Long as honorary president. . . . "Charley Chaplin is the world's greatest economist," announces Will Rogers. . . . University of Georgia students riot because movie prices are increased. . . . Cuban college students are playing a leading part in the present revolt. . . .

BUSINESS AND FINANCE: "To grant the soldiers' bonus would be a national calamity," says Eugene Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which profited to the extent of \$49,427,000 on war orders. Grace received a bonus of \$3,600,000 from his company. "I wonder if it wouldn't be all right to pay a soldier \$5 a day," he asks. . . . Evidence discloses that the Wierton Steel Co. paid the officers of its company union \$25 per month, permitted them to meet on company time, and paid a \$6,000 printing bill for the union. . . . The Federal District Court of Delaware holds that the Wierton Company union was free from intimidation, domination or control by the management. . . . "Roosevelt is just the man we need now," announces the arch-reactionary magazine Steel, organ of the steel bosses.

Nation-Wide Strike of 500,000 Bituminous Coal Miners Looms in April

Short Sweet and Victorious Under Rank and File Control

Danger of Separate Agreements by Leaders

By GERRY ALLARD

Unless leaders of the existing miners' unions succeed in stifling the rank and file through means of separate local agreements, there will be a national walkout of some 500,000 bituminous coal diggers beginning April 1, of this year.

It is unlikely that a compromise will be effected suitable to the mine workers by the time current wage agreements expire. Turnout in the hard coal region, Illinois, the Southwest, Washington and Nova Scotia is teaching John L. Lewis, International president of the United Mine Workers of America, a few lessons.

The rank and file are again cracking down on their leaders and from Washington, D. C., Lewis has been making statements that appear "progressive". The dictator of the largest union in the soft coal industry is bellyaching for action on the part of the solons on the Black-Connery 30-hour week and the Guffey-Snyder coal stabilization bills. The favorable enactment of these bills by Congress would save Lewis a great deal of embarrassment. It would enable him to consummate wage agreements with the national coal operators association with a minimum of friction.

Never before have the bituminous coal miners of this country been in a better position to strike. What is more, they can make the strike so effective that it will prove to be short, sweet and victorious. That is, of course, providing the rank and file can exercise control over the strike situation.

For the first time in 30 years, the bituminous coal miners' wage agreements expire simultaneously. With the wrecking of the central competitive field through Lewis' treachery in 1927-28, states and parts of states were signed separately, thus enabling one district to be pitted against another, much to the profit of the coal operators. Now, however, the miners, through the peculiar contradictions of the NRA, are so organized that any attempt to split them will be the signal for wide-spread action, both externally and internally.

Dual Movements

Some readers will perhaps point to the dual unions in several states as a hindrance to real success. This situation does contain an element of danger. But it is precisely this situation which is causing Lewis to step a little livelier than he has in the past. If he is to hold his army he will have to produce the goods. If he doesn't, the dual movements, and new revolts from within the U.M.W.A. will inevitably amalgamate their forces.

Prior to the NRA, Lewis' organization was practically reduced to a paper union. The complete servility of the U.M.W.A. leaders to the coal operators had almost destroyed, by pressure from within and without, the last semblance of solid union organization in the bituminous coal industry. Along came the NRA and Lewis wasted no time. Approximately 350,000 new members were thrown into his lap. The Appalachian region is solidly organized. With the exception of spots as in Alabama, parts of Kentucky and the coke region of Pennsylvania, the U.M.W.A. and various independent unions have the miners pretty well under control.

Demands

The outstanding demands of the miners are the six-hour day, 5-day

week and substantial wage increases.

The 7-hour day, product of pressure of the miners in the Appalachian region under the NRA, has robbed the coal operators of some powerful arguments. Heretofore, coal operators argued that the shorter work day would destroy the coal industry due to the competitive threat of oil and gas. Class collaborating trade union leaders and conservative coal miners were lulled to sleep by this argument. However, the 7-hour day has proven to be both feasible and practicable. Coal operators have maintained their usual production, in some cases increased it, and what is more, the coal operators have been making larger profits.

Separate Agreements

In the beginning of this article I pointed to the only condition which prevents an effective national walkout in 24 states where bituminous coal is mined. Separate agreements are nothing new. It was an effective tactic in the days when the coal industry was a young, booming industry. The industry was decentralized and the market was usually favorable. By permitting one coal operator to recognize the union and concede favorable wage increases, this tactic almost ruined stubborn operators. It served the purpose of entrenching a rising labor union.

Under present circumstances, the coal industry being one of the most decadent sections of capitalist economy with operators consolidated or associated the tactic of separate agreements has a reverse effect. It is on this bone that all present coal miners' unions might break their teeth, consequently defeating the miners at a most opportune time to advance their cause and interest.

All Males Under 30 in CCC Plan of N.Y. Relief Bureau

Second Letter From A Relief Investigator

The Home Relief Bureau is a tremendously important institution in the life of New York City. It thrives and prospers. Every month larger and larger sums are allocated to it. However, it is one industry which the capitalists would like to curtail. They look favorably upon all schemes to contract its field of endeavor—from Conservation Camps to detectives masquerading as social workers.

The Home Relief Bureau is a scant three years old. But it is already a giant. Today it has on its rolls over 200,000 families and 22,000 single men. Almost one seventh of the population of the city depend upon it for subsistence.

Besides those on relief, there are another 100,000 families, one of whose members, in order to take the family off relief, has been given a relief job. At least another 100,000 have been on relief during the last three years. It is safe to say that the lives of two million people in New York City alone have been directly affected by the Bureau.

The Home Relief Bureau is the capitalist answer to the needs of the unemployed. In 1930 there was a tremendous demonstration of the unemployed. Towards the end of 1931 it was clear that private charity could no longer handle the situation; it was prepared to care for the "individually maladjusted" but not for mass maladjustment. The relief given was intended to take off the edge of discontent. It was and is a miserable sop.

Some Facts

It is necessary to point out what a wretched sop it really is. For many people, unacquainted with the details, actually believe that in New York City relief is adequate. Families of five have come to the Bureau expecting that their \$28 a month rent would be paid. They were surprised to find that they would be allowed \$17.50 per month if they proved they were destitute.

For food the actual allowance is \$3.30 every two weeks per man, \$2.10 for a woman, \$2.40 for a child under 16, \$2 for a child under 6, with a 50 percent increase for one person, 25 percent for two, 15 percent for three, then the straight budget until a family of eight is reached, when there is a 5 percent reduction, etc.

Obviously this is a starvation allowance.

press on a firm foundation. What are you doing about it NOW?

DONATIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS

This week we received a check for \$20 from C in New York City—a voluntary donation to help out in these days of financial stress. This is an excellent example, worthy of imitation by all who want to lay a firm foundation for our paper.

Another friend in Bryan, Ohio, sent a remittance on his pledge. We need donations for immediate and pressing expenses. We need regular weekly pledges to insure regular appearance and a stable budget. We need your help, comrades and friends who read this paper every week.

Who will be the first to pledge \$10, \$5, \$1—per week to this fund? Please send in these pledges or donations AT ONCE to the Business Manager.

THE NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th Street

J. P. SWAPS ART FOR PROFITS IN JAPAN

NEW YORK (FP).—J. P. Morgan is selling his art treasures to place his money in Japanese investments—where interest rates are high.

That's the story going the rounds in exclusive society groups in New York City, says the society column of Hearst's Daily Mirror.

Left Wing Program for Silk; No More Skulking Cliques

By FELIX GIORDANO

In spite of the betrayal of the last strike by Gorman & Co., the American Federation of Silk Workers still maintains itself as a department of the United Textile Workers. The workers refuse to be again unorganized, and, in spite of the many weaknesses of their union, cling to it and try to make it what they would like it to be, a real fighting organization of textile workers.

The silk workers realize that they have a task to perform, a job to finish. Their demands have not been met by the bosses; the government Boards have gone the way of all government boards; their conditions have not improved. Instead, the average wage of silk workers hovers close to the "minimum" of \$13 for a week of 40 hours, and from the present condition of the industry, they face a period when the full week of 40 hours is going to be as rare as a snowstorm in July.

Conditions in the silk industry have not improved. They are, if anything worse than immediately before the strike. The union, as at present constituted, is unable to cope with the manufacturers, or else unable to get started. But the workers cannot keep on tolerating these conditions. They need the 30-hour week, and they demand it.

They demand that there be an end to wage cuts, to speed up, to additional machine load. The union must get ready to fight. And the workers also realize that the union's fight cannot be left in the hands of the Gormans and McMahons. That is why they must be ready to do and direct their own fighting, that is why they need a left wing, organized nationally on the basis of sound principles and of a sound program.

The Task of the Left Wing

It is evident, then, that the task of the Left wing is to consolidate all the militant elements in the union for the purpose of supplying leadership to the workers in the coming struggles. For it is only through such a left wing that the workers can achieve victory. It is only upon the left wing that they can rely when all else fails them. The Left wing must be the crystallization of the active union members in an intelligent body working within the union, shaping policies and fighting so that the bureaucracy in the union be forced to accept them and follow them.

No Cliques

The left wing, we repeat, must be the crystallization of all that is genuinely progressive and militant in the union. It can not work in the dark, in secret, but it must agitate the workers, make its program known, and win the confidence of the whole membership.

The silk workers have known too many cliques that never produced the still-to-be-formed left wing. Cliques have wrought havoc among the silk workers before, they must not be allowed to do so again. For it is only the reactionary elements who fear publicity that work in secret, "springing things on" the workers and "getting them across". Let the left wing differentiate itself from such elements, and not follow their system and their tactics.

No cliques then, skulking and plotting behind the scenes, but a genuine, intelligent movement, which has the confidence of the workers, and which acts sanely, without adventurist ideas, without advocating adventurist or showy action if nothing can be gained from it.

In that sense we cannot approve of the newly reorganized group in Paterson, for it has all the earmarks of a clique and not of a left wing movement. We cannot approve of their desire to remain a secret organization, and we cannot approve of their first "practical" proposal of carrying on a demonstration of strength when we are not ready to use such strength. That group shows both cliquism and adventurism, the two greatest evils that could afflict any group working in the union, ostensibly for the benefit of the workers.

A Program for the Left Wing

What then are the essentials of a left wing movement, and more specifically, what would be a minimum program for such a movement?

In the first place, it must not confine itself to a locality or to one branch of the industry. A local movement cannot achieve national success, and no success can be effective unless it is national.

Secondly, it must not be a secret organization. It must, instead, agitate among the workers for the adoption of its program, and must therefore be known to the workers as an organized movement with a definite program, drawing in members on the basis of it.

It must, in the third place, fight for the union to adopt its program; it must convince the workers of the soundness of it and see to it that it is carried through. Such a program must include as goals:

- a) The 30-hour week.
- b) Establishment of a maximum machine load.
- c) Establishment of minimum wages on a graduated scale.
- d) Industrial organization of the union, as well as the spreading and strengthening of it.
- e) Autonomy of the American Federation of Silk Workers as a distinct Department of the U.T.W.
- f) Local autonomy in the assignment of organizers.
- g) Seniority right in the mills.

These points must be included in the minimum program. The workers have already in the majority of instances come to realize the necessity of securing these demands both internally and in their relations with the manufacturers; they are the first task of the national left wing movement.

BOSTON BRANCH ACTIVITIES

George Novack of New York, chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will speak in Boston under the auspices of the local Sacramento Defense Committee, on Friday, March 29, at Gilbert H. II, Tremont Temple. Novack's subject will be "Labor's Fight Against Terrorism", and he will cover the Sacramento, Fargo and Arkansas situations.

OPENING FORUM
FLATBUSH BRANCH OF THE WORKERS PARTY
LUDWIG LORE
on
TWO YEARS OF HITLER
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, at 8 P. M.
Franklin Manor, 836 Franklin Avenue, Brooklyn
(near Eastern Parkway)

Questions Discussion

Wages Lag Profits Soar Since 1849

A.F. of L. Figures Condemn Own Policy as False At Best

Workers need no figures to tell them that they are constantly producing more goods and more profits for every dollar they are paid—that their wage slavery is becoming more severe all the time. But figures published in the March issue of the American Federationist, the magazine of the A. F. of L., vividly illustrate the meaning of the speed-up in dollars and cents, in wages and profits.

Between 1849 and 1933, the value of manufactured products per dollar paid in wages increased from \$4.30 to \$5.99. A slight decrease, from \$6.06 in 1929 to \$5.99 in 1933, may be credited to the NRA; but recent reports, government figures themselves show clearly that when 1934 is checked, the workers will find that "efficiency" has re-established itself—and that efficiency is another word for increasing exploitation of workers.

The percentages are telling: In 1849, wages formed 23.2 percent of the total value of goods produced; in 1919, 16.9 percent; in 1933, 16.7 percent.

Stated in another form, as wages versus profits and overhead, the figures show that of value added by manufacture (minus cost of raw materials), in 1849, 51 per cent went for wages and 49 for overhead and profits; in 1919, the ratio was 42.2 percent to 57.8 percent; in 1933, 36.4 to 63.6; in 1933, 30.8 to 69.2. It is significant that even before 1929 and 1933, when the value produced per dollar of wages decreased slightly, the ratio of profits over wages continued upward.

WHAT TO ATTEND

(Party Branch notices will be published free of charge in this column. All such notices should be sent to "What to Attend" and must be in the office not later than Monday noon.)

Philadelphia, Pa.
March 24, Sunday, 8 P.M.—V. F. Calverton, on "The Passing of the Gods". Auspices of Workers Educational Forum, Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch Street.
March 31, Sunday, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak on "Coming Struggles in Rubber, Auto and Steel Industries".

Every Friday evening, 9:30 to 11 P.M.—Course on "Elements of Political Economy." Instructor: M. V. Stone. At International Workers School, 329 Pine Street (3rd floor).
Every Friday 8 to 9:30 P.M.—"History of Labor Internationalism." Instructor: B. Morgenstern. International Workers School, 329 Pine Street.

New York City
March 23, Saturday evening—Social and Dance, by Spartacus Youth League and Harlem Branch of W.P. 2 West 15th Street.
March 24, Sunday 8 P.M.—James P. Cannon on "The Class Struggle in the West", Irving Plaza. See ad.
March 25, Monday evening—"Theatre Party, 'The Black Pit'." Civic Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, chairman. Tickets still available.

March 27, Wednesday, 8 P.M.—Ludwig Lore on "Two Years of Hitler". Auspices Flatbush Branch of Workers Party, Franklin Manor, 836 Franklin Ave., Brooklyn.

March 30, Saturday evening—Tri-Branch Barn Dance, 2 West 15th St. Games and dancing.

March 31, Sunday, 11 A.M. Picnic and Games. Spartacus Youth League. See ad in this issue.

April 13, Saturday evening—New York District Chess Contest and Spring Frolic, 2 West 15th Street. Watch for further announcements.

V. F. Calverton
in a series of lectures on
"AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES"
Tuesdays, at 9 P.M.
at
The Vagabonds
Sheridan Square, N. Y. C.
88 South Seventh Avenue
7th Av. Sub'y. to Sheridan Sq.
Dancing and Refreshments
Admission 40 cents

REGULAR OPEN FORUM
Europe Is Arming
What Does This Mean to America?
Is Hitler Pushing War on Russia?
Can the Working Class Prevent It?
Speaker:
Arne Swabeck
National Organizer, Workers Party
Friday March 29th, 1935 8p.m.
WAGNER'S BEER GARDEN, 29-09 Astoria Ave.
(14 blocks below Astoria Ave. Station)
QUESTIONS ADMISSION FREE DISCUSSION
Auspices: Workers Party of the U. S., Astoria Branch

New Militant Drive News

In spite of all obstacles the circulation drive is going over. Charleston increases its bundle. Canada increases bundle orders by 50 per week. Minneapolis continues to send more subs than any other branch to date, achieving a score of 32 percent to date. East St. Louis enters the field with a score of 20 percent. Akron also achieves 20 percent. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago continue to lag behind. Bronx branch, New York, has made the best showing to date in the New York District. Plentywood is climbing up and scores 20 percent at the present time.

But even this is not enough. We must have more—many more—subs and increased bundle orders to make the drive a success. This week should bring in at least 200 new subs. Branches, friends, you are the ones who can make this drive a success. It must be successful in order to put the Party

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th St., New York City

Please enter my name for [] one year, \$1.00; [] 6 months, 65c.

Name

Address

City .. State ..

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. []

Thus once more is demonstrated the fact that all the fine talk about spread of income has no meaning as long as the necessity for profits, under capitalism, robs the workers of the benefits of their increased productivity. Thus is shown once more the falseness of the "prosperity" that preceded the depression; for even while the American workers' standards of living were going up, they never rose in proportion to the amount of goods produced.

It is a sad commentary on the class-collaborationist policies of the A. F. of L. that even during the best period of the Federation, this increasing disproportion between wages and profits, between goods produced and the purchasing power of the producers, continued. There are lessons for the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in these figures—but they have never shown a disposition to learn such lessons.

Not through these methods will prosperity come. Only when goods are produced not only by the workers but also for the workers, when we own the factories ourselves, will we benefit from the efficiency the machine can give. Only then will we and our children begin to live.

TO ALL BRANCHES AND PROSPECTIVE ADVERTISERS
Please send all copy and definite order for insertion to the Business Manager. No advertisements will be inserted unless we have information as to who will be responsible for payment thereon. All copy must be in by Monday morning on the week of insertion. Rates on application.
—Business Manager

WORKERS

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S.

1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick Benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes. Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office:

714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

at
Hunters Island
(Lex. Ave. Subway to Pelham Bay Park)

SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 11 A.M.
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, 2 W. 15th St., N.Y.C.
Proceeds for National Tour
Meet at Pelham Bay Station
(downstairs) at 11 A.M.

Picnic and Games
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Hitler Unmasks German Rearmament

That disquieting open "secret" of European diplomacy, the rearmament of Germany contrary to the Versailles Treaty, has finally become the accomplished fact (fait accompli) that Hitler planned from the start. The acquiescent attitude, however grudging and unwilling, revealed by the British and French governments in the recent negotiations, created for Hitler the proper atmosphere in which to practice his fascist foreign diplomacy. Hitler weighed carefully the consequences of outright denunciation of the Versailles Treaty in regard to the arms clauses at this particular time. No doubt he would have preferred a less open break with the other Western powers, even to the extent of rejoining the League of Nations for equality of armaments.

But the string attached to the negotiations of his signing an Eastern Locarno Pact "guaranteeing" peace with Soviet Russia, was diametrically at variance with the avowed objective of Nazism to expand eastward at the expense of the Soviet Union—at the same time acting as the spearhead of capitalism to crush the workers' state. Hence Hitler cut the Gordian knot and saved the English and French diplomats the onus of "permitting" this impetus to the speeding up of European armament—and decided to call the bluff of the victors of the last war.

The comment on this unmasking of fascist Germany's preparations for the coming war, particularly in the English press, proves that Hitler judged the situation correctly. Nobody thinks of sending troops into Germany to enforce the terms of a treaty that now goes by default. On the contrary, Hitler meets with distinct encouragement from the reactionaries who draw the same sharp distinction between a Locarno for the West and an Eastern Locarno. Thus and an Eastern Locarno becomes ever more ominous for the Soviet Union.

Stalinism in France

Internally and externally Stalinism pursues the politics of the

"lesser evil"; that is to say, the politics of meeting reaction half way. Even before Hitler's casting off of all bounds that prevented the formation of a conscript army to be hurled against the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomacy strained every nerve to achieve a military alliance with France to maintain the status quo. French capitalism entered conditionally into this alliance as a guarantee against its external foe, German capitalism, and also its internal foe, the French proletariat. The C. P. of France thus used to uphold the Flandin government as the "lesser evil" to fascism. The French fascists would instantly break off friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

The Stalinists pose the struggle basis to maintain bourgeois democracy. In this popular front—intended to diffuse and weaken the too dangerous united front of the proletarian forces leading the masses—the Stalinists include the bourgeois radical and radical socialist parties in direct alliance with Flandin. The true government of this shrewd politician meantime pursues a policy, copied from Roosevelt, of constant promises to and just as constant betrayals of the workers. No flagrant have become the extreme right policies of the Stalinists that the left centrist current in the SFIO (French Socialist Party) have begun to sharply criticize them from the left. The Trotskyist fraction in the SFIO are beginning to gain ground and to exert some influence, tending to clarify issues for the militant socialists. In this process the Trotskyists come into greater and greater conflict not only with the right wing of the S.P., but with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Danger of a French Amalgam

There can be no clearer explanation for the denunciation heaped on the Trotskyists as police agents by the Stalinists. Where the former call openly, in view of the dangerous situation in France, for the arming of the working class to combat and disarm fascist forces, the Stalinists lead the socialist forces to the trap of calling on the Flandin government to disarm the fascist bands.

S. Y. L. Looks to the Future Of the American Revolution

By REVA CRANE

Today the S.Y.L. is the youth section of the W.P. and endorses its political program. It has consolidated its forces and is now in a position to challenge the existing youth organizations for the leadership of the toiling and student youth of the United States. In addition, it has connections with youth organizations of other countries through its affiliation to the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations for the formation of the new revolutionary youth international.

Only under the leadership and guidance of a revolutionary party can the youth organization fulfill its tasks and serve as a true rallying center of exploited youth. Lacking such a party, the youth organization must fall under the influence and control of non-revolutionary and anti-working class organizations.

Today, however, there exists a party which is capable of leading the revolutionary youth, of guiding it politically and aiding it organizationally. There is every opportunity for the Spartacus Youth League to grow and develop and to fulfill the tasks of a youth organization. Its membership will become two, three—even ten times that of the Party. From its ranks will come trained revolutionists for the Workers Party. In the coming struggles, the S.Y.L. will be at the side of the W.P., leading the American working class and the youth. It will show that the theoretical conception of a fighting, militant youth organization has been turned into a reality.

The Workers Party has a great responsibility with regard to the youth movement. There is no other force in the country which can create a movement that will keep the youth from falling victim to fascist demagoguery and militaristic jingoism.

In the ranks of the W. P. are many comrades who were the founders of the early revolutionary youth movement after the war. Many of them played leading parts in the life of the Y.C.L. and these comrades can be of invaluable assistance in guiding the S.Y.L. In those cities where S.Y.L. branches do not exist, it is the duty of these comrades to aid in the establishment of such branches and to give both political and organizational guidance to the young comrades of the S.Y.L. It is the duty of Party comrades to study and understand the needs of the youth organization and to participate in the solution of the problems which confront the League. The joint work of the two organizations depends to a great extent on the relationship existing between them. Conscious attempts must be made to have the

Spartacus Youth League function as an independent youth organization which is politically subordinate to the Workers Party. By exchange of representatives on committees, by a careful survey of the needs of the S.Y.L., by an active interest in its life, the Workers Party will demonstrate that it can build and lead the Spartacus Youth League and that it defends the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class youth.

Class Struggle In the S. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

and Adrian Gambet demanded: (1) That the YPSL rescind its statement on the New Leader even though passed unanimously by the YPSL Executive and approved by an overwhelming majority of the Central Committee. (2) That the YPSL call off the pending elections, which are being held subject to the approval of the Party NEC. (3) That Harold Draper be expelled from the YPSL in spite of the fact that the matter is now before the Party NEC. (4) That the YPSL comply with these demands by March 25 under the penalty of "re-organization." In the interim subcommittee was to have full power to act. The subcommittee acted.

"That same night the YPSL Executive rejected the demands. The Party subcommittee went into immediate session. On inquiry, from official representatives of the League, Bela Low and Adrian Gambet indicated that no action would be taken that night. Low stating that a decision would be reached the next day." The Ypsel office was then closed. Later a young Socialist who walked into the office while the Old Guard heuchmen were there, was beaten up.

The National Ypsel office has empowered the YPSL City Executive Committee to go ahead with its work. A special subcommittee has been appointed to help it. The entire matter will go before the National Committee meeting in Buffalo this week end. The N.Y. "Millions" are supporting the Y.P.S.L. Meanwhile several N.Y. Socialist party locals have adopted resolutions calling upon the N.C. to reorganize the New York State organization. The National Committee of the S.P. has already notified the N.Y. State Executive Committee that it should show cause why the State organization should not be reorganized.

Why Join the Workers Party

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

My last letter pointed out that we workers cannot obtain plenty and security, deliverance from misery and war, by trying to reform the capitalist economic system. We have to abolish it. And we cannot abolish it except by the revolutionary method. The capitalists are not going to retire gracefully and without a struggle from this scene!

In your answer you said that the workers in your shop kicked about a lot of things like wages and the way they are being speeded up and the high cost of food, but that they did not read any serious papers or books and were against any "radical theories." You added that although they growled a lot they did not show much fight and that you did not think they would ever be ready to "make a revolution."

If by this you mean that you do not have any hope that the masses of the workers will become students of economics and government, will understand and accept the theories set forth in Marx's Capital, and as a result of intellectual reflection will determine to overthrow capitalism, you are perfectly right. That is not the way things happen in history.

You know how it is when a strike occurs in your mill. It does not

happen primarily because the workers have been reading statistics of what is happening in the industry, or because in general they have become radical in their thinking. It comes because of grievances about things in which they are directly concerned, the way in which a foreman treats them, a wage cut, an attempt of the boss to squeeze more work out of them. Such grievances pile up. Presently workers who have had a meek attitude and still regard themselves as thoroughly conservative, strike and fight. In the strike they learn a great deal about the economic system, the banks, the role of the government. Many a worker has become class-conscious and been started on his way to a life of activity in the labor and revolutionary movement in this way.

WHAT THE MASSES FIGHT FOR

The masses may be said always to fight for direct and simple things, for the right to exist, for a better life. When the great Bolshevik revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, they were not moved by a conscious determination to build "a new social order" and a clear picture of what kind of an order it would be. The slogans in the fight were Peace, Bread, Land. The

whole economic and political machinery of the Czarist regime was broken up, was causing to function altogether. The soldiers wanted to quit the army where they were being slaughtered like cattle. The masses in the cities wanted to eat. The peasants wanted the land which was in the possession of the big land-owners.

The time had come when in order to exist, in order to prevent complete ruin, the masses had to carry on their fight, ever more bravely and intensely, and at last against the economic system which served to maintain that economy. Thus, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, the masses carried through the revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish the workers' state.

All the details as to how the job was done in Russia, or how it may be carried through here where, of course, the conditions are not exactly the same, we need not go into here. But we can see before our own eyes how things may shape up. We recall how last year in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and plenty of other places, tens of thousands came out on the streets and picketed in support of

strikes which in many cases involved directly only a small number. When a "general strike" occurs, even on a restricted scale, who decides whether milk shall be delivered to children or the light and power kept on in the hospitals?

The mayor, the city council, etc. have become powerless. The instruments of capitalist government cannot function. The workers' Strike Committee, or in some cases where food is involved a farmers' Strike Committee, decides such things. You have them taking over some of the functions of government. Thus we can see the possibility of Workers Councils emerging, the instruments with which workers carry on the fight and also the instruments through which the government of the workers functions after they have taken power. The Russian name for councils is Soviets. That is why we often speak of the workers' state as Soviet power.

Thus the picture unfolds. The capitalist system, though the development of productive forces makes plenty possible, cannot function effectively any more. It presses the standard of living of the masses ever lower. The capitalist state also begins to break down. The workers, in order to exist, have to fight on a broader and broader front. Presently they have to over-

throw the state and abolish the capitalist economic system altogether. Then they establish the Workers' State which functions through new governmental instruments and disbands or destroys the old agencies and forms of the capitalists' military forces, etc. Then and not until then, under the workers' state, the masses can use the productive forces to provide plenty and security.

HOW ARE STRIKES CAUSED?

At this point, another important factor must be emphasized. You know that agitators and radicals do not cause strikes, as the kept press tries to make out. You have had plenty of experience of how at certain times no amount of agitation can cause the slightest stir among the workers. Rotten conditions cause the workers to revolt, particularly when they see a chance of doing something about them. But you know also that when last year the unrest increased in your mill, it was you and the other fellows I have been writing to who got together, talked things over, called a meeting at Bill Roberts' house, got a lot of workers to sign cards that they would join a union if and when half the mill was signed up, later called a mass meeting, set up the union, sent for a charter from the international, etc. You fellows and a few others are the officers of the union, you serve on the department committees, you were on the strike committee.

In other words, there was a leadership. It consisted of the men who had read and studied some, who knew more about the labor movement than the general run of the workers, who could organize, who had courage and fighting qualities, who could look ahead and plan. Besides, you acted as a group, rather than as individuals. "The time before when the workers wanted to do something, but everything was led by this fellow Jackson, a good fellow in many ways but erratic and a free-lance, everything went wrong. The same conception holds good for the entire revolutionary struggle of the working class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

That is why we say that the basic instrument of the workers in the revolutionary struggle is the revolutionary party.

The working class as a whole is not homogeneous. It is divided by many interests. Many sections are backward. It cannot, as a class, directly plan and guide its battles. Just as you found in your mill, a staff, a vanguard is necessary. If there is none, or if its basic policies are wrong, only confusion, defeat and disaster can result for the workers. As our Declaration of Principles puts it, "This is the revolutionary party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline."

The party does not impose its leadership on the masses. It wins their confidence and support by its devotion to the interests of the masses, its courage, the correctness of its policies. Even immediate struggles are carried forward effectively only where such leadership plays an important role.

When, and only when the revolutionary party, as the crisis deepens and conditions ripen, gains the support of the majority in the Workers' Councils, or whatever the mass struggle organizations of the workers may be called, establishes its leadership, can the revolutionary struggle of the workers be carried to a victorious conclusion.

That is why it is so important that you and workers like you should join the W.P.—why on the one hand you should contribute your strength, energy and intelligence to it and on the other hand receive from membership in the revolutionary party the training, discipline, comradeship and enthusiasm which can come in no other way, and without which we cannot accomplish the colossal and urgent task before the Party, before the working class here in the U. S. and throughout the world!

(A Fourth and final letter will be published in next week's issue of the New Militant.)

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Criminal Syndicalist or Renegade ?

From a Statement of Norman Mini in Reply To the Slanders of the Stalinist Press

By NORMAN MINI

One of the Sacramento Defendants

On the orders of the Associated Farmers and the Industrial Association, the State of California charges me with being a criminal syndicalist. I am not guilty. I am guilty of helping to organize the working people of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys into a union to fight for higher wages and improved living conditions. For that "crime" I may have to go to San Quentin for forty-two years. I am ready to go if I must; I maintain my right the right of all workers, to organize labor unions, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

On the orders of the Communist Party, all my fellow-defendants except Jack Warnick charge me with being a renegade and a stool-pigeon. I am not guilty. I am guilty of disagreeing with the Communist Party, of being a member of the Workers Party of the United States. For that "crime," my defense is being cut to pieces by the Communist Party. Again, I am ready to suffer the consequences; I maintain my right, the right of all workers, to disagree with the Communist Party, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

The statement in the official Communist Party Daily Worker and Western Worker of March 7, bearing the names of my fellow defendants (except Warnick), was dictated by Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the C. P. . . .

Hoping . . . to distract people's attention from the C. P.'s record of criminal mismanagement and wrecking in the Sacramento case, the Darcy machine broadcasts the yarn that the prosecution, which is trying to railroad me to San Quentin, has my cooperation!

If I "sold out," if I am a renegade, why do I still stand in the shadow of the penitentiary? This question can't be answered, nor does the C. P. try to. That fact alone shows the falseness of its charges.

Had it not been for the C. P., all we defendants might today enjoy the active support of a great mass movement of labor. As it is, the whole policy of the C. P., including its malicious attacks on me, is jeopardizing us all increasingly. In the interests of an effective, militant, honest defense fight, I am going to answer these attacks and call on all working people and friends of labor to rally to my cause, which is the cause of the whole working class.

The McAllister Interview

When arrested last August, I gave the prosecutor an interview. To talk to a prosecutor may be an even greater blunder than to let police get hold of letters from prominent sympathizers. . . .

Darcy's indictment charges that my interview helped the prosecution. It fails to specify how, because the truth is it did not help the prosecution. That is why, after McAllister read it to the jury, several signers of the Darcy indictment declared the famous interview to be "a flop."

In the interview I stated only such facts as were common knowledge (for example, Hougard's connection with the C. P.), or as I considered it shameful to hide. I also expounded my Marxist belief in the necessity for a social revolution in which the vast popular majority, led by the working class, will use every necessary means to overcome the violent resistance to be expected from the exploiting minority now in power. I did not then know that the C. P. wanted to keep two sets of books, to talk one way outside and another way inside court. . . .

I thought it shameful to try to hide my opinions. My fight is for

the legality of workers to organize into labor unions, and also for the legality of all workers' political parties to hold and advocate their views. To make such a fight, the views involved must be expressed and defended, not hidden or disguised. I stood by my views and still do.

The Darcy indictment lies in saying I kept the interview secret until McAllister produced it in court. It was reported in the Sacramento press in August, and the other defendants and I discussed it in jail. When I gave the interview, I had been in the C. P. not a few months, as the Darcy indictment says, but almost two years. Far from associating with the Workers Party then, I had never seen a member of it.

The C. P. did not "expel" me for giving the interview. It "expelled" me months later—after I had quit it and joined the Workers Party. Then Darcy decided retroactively that I had been a renegade!

The Darcy indictment charges that I gave the interview out of "fear of a beating, hope of leniency or sheer vengeance." . . . All the defendants had to "forget" that, after the interview was read on February 7 but before Darcy had time to give them orders, they unanimously chose Mike Quinn to draft for them a declaration refuting the prosecution's claim that my interview was a "confession." Pat Chambers has to "forget" that he signed the following statement after the interview had been read:

"Not only has Mini made no such offer (to turn State's evidence, as reported by the lying Hearst press) and no such confession, but he has repeatedly refused McAllister's offers of immunity in return for turning State's evidence."

Another Prisoner Speaks

The whole question has been settled by our fellow-defendant, Jack Warnick, whom Darcy has not yet dared to call a stool-pigeon, and who has had the courage to defy Darcy and write:

"The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is a 'cowardly, treacherous stool-pigeon' must be condemned as an attempt to fame the boy, and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life. . . .

The Darcy indictment also attacks my testimony given on the witness stand in my own behalf. The Western Worker of February 18 had this to say about the capitalist press reports of my testimony:

"Newspapers reported the last two days' sessions by completely lying about the Trotskyites' testimony. Reports that Mini confessed a plan for violent seizure of power in event of war are based on distortions of his testimony. Quotations alleged to have been made by him are entire falsifications. Immediately following yesterday's session, newspaper reporters held a consultation with G. H. Parker, publicity director for the Associated Farmers, and he dictated the distortions they should publish."

At that time the Western Worker admitted that my testimony made McAllister "squirm." Today the Darcy indictment contains the same distortions as G. H. Parker dictated! The purpose of the distortions is to make it seem that I made "fantastic," wild, criminal statements on the stand. While it is true that I neither concealed nor hedged as Darcy did, I said nothing fantastic or criminal. I explained my ideas without concealment, and that is what made McAllister squirm. That is why, when I fin-

ished, my fellow-defendants congratulated me. . . .

The Darcy indictment also charges me with aiding the prosecution through the policy of my attorney, Albert Goldman, the Chicago Socialist who was for years the I.L.D.'s leading attorney in that city. It falsely states that Goldman "has done nothing to aid our defense." To sign their names to this charge, Decker and Chambers must "forget" the hours they spent with Goldman getting counsel. The Darcy indictment states that Goldman has sided with the prosecutor in attacking Gallagher. This is untrue.

When Gallagher for the third time squabbled with a juror and declared in front of the jury ("see Western Worker, February 7): 'I am not talking for the jury; I am talking to the people in the courtroom,' Goldman publicly expressed his disagreement with these tactics. After all, it is the jury which renders the verdict, and it is good that they should know that somebody in the court besides the prosecution is concerned with what they think. "The masses" in the courtroom's 112 seats (half of them empty lately) won't affect the verdict. That is why Goldman—first privately, finally publicly—as well as some defendants and their friends (always privately and therefore futilely) tried to get Gallagher to behave like a militant labor attorney instead of like a soap-boxer who can't see his audience for the blood in his eyes. . . .

The "United Front"

The Darcy indictment accuses the Workers Party of disrupting a "united front." Now, from July until January the C. P. avoided the building of a united front Sacramento defense, and advocated party members who disapproved one. It was forced into one by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense (the N.P.L.D.) which is defending me. Before the united front committee could take any public action, the C. P., introduced (on orders from New York) policies which necessarily drove out the N.P.L.D., the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union—everybody who rejects the authority of the C. P.

Consequently the defense is split today. "The growing working class movement" which the Darcy indictment says I slander is powerless to impress prosecutor, court or jury because reality is that the C. P., its phony affiliates and a handful of liberal innocents who represent nothing and nobody. And the movement my defenders are trying to build is knifed by the C. P.!

Who Bailed Out Decker?

The charge that the N.P.L.D. has done nothing for the defense is just another of Darcy's lies. His indictment says:

"One of the most vicious lies created and spread by Goldman and the Trotskyites is that the I. L. D. did not bail out Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers . . . because they were not supposed to be in agreement with the Party line. . . . We were in agreement."

I shall answer this by quoting a document never before published, a letter written by Caroline Decker to a member of the Workers Party on December 18. I have had the original since December: when Caroline Decker calls me a stool-pigeon and pours filth on the N.P.L.D., to whose ball she owes her freedom today, I do not hesitate to answer her with her own words: "I'm convinced now that the District Committee has definite reasons for not getting me out. Elaine's (E. Black, I. L. D. organizer) escape on the matter by say-

ing bail must first be raised for Nora and Loraine, I think is just that—an escape. We long ago agreed that Nora should be getting out. The fact remains, however, that no one is being bailed out."

"I do not want to take issue with you now on the C. and A.V. I.U. (the union). I'm not prepared to say that the criminal neglect of the union by the District Committee was 'opposition.' . . . Elaine says it's not important for me to be out. I'm definitely resigned to that now. . . . So you see—here I am—in jail—ostracized by my own Party . . . feeling myself that the Party is not sufficiently utilizing the case. . . .

"There are only the bars to bat against—the gray walls to question and a stone wall as far as my letters of inquiry to the District Committee are concerned."

Decker got out on bail because she appealed to the N.P.L.D. for bail and, as she knew, because the N.P.L.D. took her out despite the instructions of the C. P. to her and all defendants to accept no "count-ter-revolutionary bail," as Black called it. Decker's letter proves this when it says with reference to N.P.L.D. bail money:

"Gallagher received a letter from Gordon denying permission to accept the bail."

And Decker has repeatedly said that the action of the N.P.L.D. alone compelled the I.L.D. to suddenly produce a wad of bail and take out the other prisoners whom they had kept in jail for six wretched months!

Who Hurts the Defense?

No, I am neither a criminal syndicalist nor a stool-pigeon. I am as innocent of the charges in the Darcy indictment as I am of those in the State's indictment. I am simply a worker who helped organize a union, who believes that the workers' rule alone can save human society from increasing misery, oppression, war and decay, and who does not take orders from the Communist Party.

HOOEY

What is this? Strip poker? Originally Huey Long wasn't going to allow Huey to have more than a million dollars. In his reply to General Johnson he raised the ante by setting the upper limit at four million dollars. Last week a speech in Philadelphia Huey increased the limit still further, to nine million dollars. If someone doesn't call pretty soon Long will add on a few more million just so as not to keep Henry Ford and Andy Mellon from playing.

NOT THIS TIME

Headline: "Cuba Will Seize All Property of Labor Unions."

This is one time when financial and sugar interests won't demand American intervention to safeguard property rights.—From N. Y. Post.

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We Accuse William Green

UPON the request of Huey Long, William Green, A. F. of L. president, sent a letter to the N. Y. Evening Post in which he says that Long's "legislative record upon legislation sponsored and supported by labor" is "thus far 100 percent favorable to labor."

Not a word about the Lane Cotton Mill workers in Louisiana where Long's word is law, kept in a state of peonage, their strike smashed by the state's forces.

Not a word about the Longshoremen's strike last year smashed by the militia in the state where Long's word is law.

Not a word about the older backwardness of Louisiana in such matters as old age pension legislation, unemployment insurance, child labor.

Not a word about the way in which Long is skillfully trying to make the workers believe that his Share The Wealth Clubs and Long For President movement are the road to salvation.

Not a word about the fact that a mere vote for an A. F. of L. bill under circumstances where it means nothing is enough to get a credit on the A. F. of L. legislative committee's record.

Who gives William Green the authority to put a "labor" stamp of approval upon this demagogue? And in doing that to hide the most important facts, practically all the important facts, about his labor record?

Once again, and in the most outrageous fashion, Green plays the role of a misleader of labor.

Friends of Labor

THE A. F. of L. has long pursued the policy of playing up liberal politicians of the old parties. The Communist Party with its new "labor" party line is beginning to do the same thing.

The other day a few of these politicians gave an exhibition of how they can be counted on in the pinch to sabotage even the most elementary of labor's proposals. Wagner, author of the new labor relations bill purporting to outlaw company unions and on which the A. F. of L. today bases all its hopes for unionism in the basic industries, Bob La Follette, white hope of many third parties, Black, author of the 30-hour bill, switched their votes in the U. S. Senate and thus helped to defeat the McCarran prevailing wage amendment to the Public Works Bill!

To the last, the A. F. of L. leaders plead for the amendment. They should now, logically, be attacking Wagner, La Follette and Black as betrayers of labor. They are doing nothing of the sort, because they have nobody but these same men to depend upon for support of the 30-hour bill and the Wagner labor relations bill.

And what assurance have the A. F. of L. leaders that these men in the pinch will not again back down? The answer is: Not only is there no assurance that they will not back down; it is certain that they will on anything that really matters. Capitalism is no longer in a position to give substantial concessions to the workers. Liberals, for all their good intentions and noble emotions, will simply serve as smoke-screens for the insistent drive against the standards of the masses.

The worker must build their own political party; but not a reformist "labor" party which also cannot play a progressive role today. The workers must build their own revolutionary party for the overthrow of capitalism.

Good Work Franklin



By Jim Karl

QUESTION BOX

Conducted by A. Weaver

MILTON B. BRONX—

Question: Is it true that M. Olgin, editor of the "Freiheit", took a patriotic position during the war? Can you give proof?

Answer: Not only did Olgin, who is now one of the chief of Stalin's Trotsky-slayers, take a patriotic position, but he reached heights of eloquence in urging the American workers to shed their blood for Morgan's profits. Here is a typical excerpt from his writings of that time:

"The war has lost for the Socialist world its threatening appearance. It is not a war for enslaving but a war for freedom. One must be blind or insane not to see progressive character of this war. The world at present is not sunk in the depths of darkness but in a severe and risky struggle which must bring light to out-worn humanity."

"A different sort of bravery and a different sort of beauty calls and entices: the bravery of the battlefield, the beauty of people who sacrifice their lives for their country, for that which their country has declared to be their holy duty."

"There is a world of idealistic enthusiasm poured over the present war, a stream of sincere belief in the ideal of freedom. The American is firmly convinced that his country has no egoistic motives in the present war."

"A strenuous task-war. But in it appear many fine sides of both people and nations." (M. Olgin, N. Y. Forward, June 1, 1918.)

It is no accident, therefore, that Olgin occupies his present position.

B. H., BOSTON—

Question: What is the significance of the recent "Gold Clause" decision of the Supreme Court? Is it true that the way to further inflation is opened by it?

Answer: The existence of the clause in contracts requiring that debts be paid in gold of a certain weight and fineness was a certain deterrent to inflation since the latter without repudiation of the gold payment provision, would automatically increase the government debt considerably (all "gold-clause" debts would be increased about 67 percent), and engender new financial convulsions, so that the support given by the Supreme Court to the cancellation of the "clause" removed this barrier.

It was necessary, of course, that this be done in an indirect manner, and this explains the delay and hesitation in finding the proper formula, since a direct approval of the cancellation of the "gold clause" would have given a legal sanction to the repudiation of debts by the European countries and would have stamped as legal the prior claim of society over the property rights of the individual, a dangerous precedent, which might be interpreted by the workers as the right to expropriate capitalist private property. The approval was therefore given by saying that such cancellation was illegal but that nothing could be done about it since the perpetrator of the unlawful act, i.e. Congress itself, was the only power to judge or nullify it.

It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to overemphasize the importance of this legal decision, since, as evidenced by the fact that the change in the gold content of the dollar was made prior to such decision, the existence of the "gold clause" was insufficient to prevent inflation. With or without the opinion of the court, inflation is and will be decided by the laws of money and currency as they are conditioned by the decline of capitalism internationally, and by the juggling of currencies as part of the struggle of the imperialists for a greater share of the world market.

However, the decision has other extremely significant aspects. In the first place it is living proof of the Marxian concept that laws are merely an expression of existing facts ("... the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and reflected into forms of thought..."). Faced with an accomplished fact, the court rendered a decision compatible with it and maintaining the status-quo.

In the second place the court action, like the NRA, is legal recognition of the decline of capitalism. Capitalism, based upon commodity production, requires that contracts, i.e. the right of the commodity owner to his own property, be sacred. The repudiation by Congress of the "gold clause" in contracts was a partial cancellation of this fundamental law and the decision of the court that such repudiation was illegal but that it could

Currency Inflation War of Today Leads Inevitably to Military War of Tomorrow

NEW YORK.—The world money war is on—in full force.

While rapidly grooming their armed forces for the great conflict they know is coming, the world powers are fighting another semi-secret war in the money capitals of the world. They have not yet called into action their armies, navies and air forces, but they have put their money experts on the battlefield. In Washington, New York, London, Paris and Tokyo the battle is being fought out, gaining intensity every month.

Although much of the battle is fought behind closed doors and the actual maneuvers are kept secret, occasional incidents and trends reveal the way it is going. The sudden decline in the value of the British pound from over \$5 to around \$4.75 immediately after the U. S. Supreme Court gold decision is such an indicator. Another is the flood of rumors in Wall Street that the Roosevelt administration will in the not-too-distant future further devalue the currency of this country, perhaps to 50c, perhaps lower.

Stabilization Funds

The use of gigantic stabilization funds helps the governments to jockey their currencies into positions they desire. The British government has such a fund, estimated to be above a billion dollars. The United States' fund, since devaluation of gold, probably amounts to at least two billions.

The governments can and do use these funds in speculation. They can help to push a currency up in value, or down, by their buying or selling of other currencies. Each nation's aim is, of course, to get into a position where its large corporations can sell their products as cheaply as possible to buyers in other countries.

The fall of the British pound followed the United States gold decision and the announcement in England that their depression was still severe, previous optimistic reports notwithstanding. A flight of capital from the pound resulted, and the stabilization fund was not called into play—the British government, in other words, assenting to the currency's drop in value. With that drop Britain gained a favorable position in the battle for foreign markets which it had not had since the United States abandoned the

gold standard in 1933. At that time the price of the pound was as low as \$3.50.

The low price of the pound, and the even lower price of the Japanese yen, which has been depreciated to an extremely great degree, has had its effect on American markets. Reports from South America and the Far East indicate that American trade is falling off very rapidly. They indicate, too, that American industrialists will soon pull the strings that will devalue the American dollar even farther. And after that has been done once or twice another method of retaining markets or of gaining new ones will probably be tried.

That method is war.

N. U. L. Blasts Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1)

less than \$10 a week plus \$3 for each dependent.

Administered by Workers and Farmers

Administration of the insurance is to be by workers and farmers under rules prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, through unemployment insurance commissions committees.

Like the 30-hour week provisions, the unemployment insurance section covers all types of workers and farmers. It further specifies that workers shall not be disqualified from receiving insurance because of refusal to work in place of strikers, at less than normal or trade union rates, under unsafe or unsanitary conditions, or where hours are longer than the prevailing union standards, or at any unreasonable distance from home.

Pending establishment of the insurance system, provision is made for an appropriation of five billion dollars for cash relief for all unemployed at the rate of not less than \$10 per week with \$3 additional for each dependent.

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AF of L Leaders Hope for New Gov't. Sell Out Board. Want Labor to Confide In Capitalism

WASHINGTON.—"A bill to create confidence in law, on the part of American workers". That is how Pres. John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Dept., A. F. of L., described the Wagner bill to strengthen the National Labor Relations Board, when he testified before the Senate education and labor committee March 19.

Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers also stressed repeatedly the idea of confidence in the government. He asked particularly that the proposed strong National Labor Relations Board be made part of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, in which he declared labor has "particular pride" (He means the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.—Ed.).

"Labor has confidence in the Dept. of Labor," Lewis said. "Labor has confidence in the Secretary of Labor; and that goes for whoever becomes Secretary of Labor, as labor believes the president of the United States will always appoint someone in whom labor has confidence." (Bill Doak, for instance.) He also expressed his own confidence in labor board appointments of "present and future presidents."

Besides asking amendment of the bill to put the board in the Labor Dept., Lewis also advocated representation of trade unions and employers on the N.L.R.B. Non-labor members, no matter how well-meaning, could have no background in the understanding of labor problems, he said.

Under the present conditions and those proposed in the Wagner Bill, Lewis said, there is a "situation where only men who are ignorant of their subject can be appointed to boards of this character."

There Are Exceptions

Despite his expressions of confidence in the government and his stressing of creation of confidence

among the workers, Lewis mentioned one government official in whom he had no confidence, Roosevelt's close adviser, Donald Richberg, often dubbed "assistant president", was given a severe drubbing.

"Richberg has sold labor down the river," Lewis said. "In his attitude and his interpretations, he has driven a knife to the heart of labor."

Frey called for passage of the Wagner bill to create confidence in law as an antidote to radicalism. "There is no point at which the radical can reach labor more quickly," he said, "than to be able to point out that the workers are an unprivileged class—that they can't enjoy certain privileges (such as the right to organize) which the employers enjoy."

J. A. Farquharson, national legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, offered testimony in particular support of the section of the bill preserving the right to closed shop union agreements. Under the Railway Labor Act, he pointed out, the closed shop was not permitted. The P. of R. T. had 23 set contracts previously, which were set aside.

"Where minority groups contract, they can destroy the conditions of the majority," he said.

Vice Pres. E. J. Helck of the Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co. also spoke in favor of the Wagner bill.

CAPITOL NEWS

(Continued from Page 1)

withstanding the Senate's first "revolt", that the Senate would long hold out against the President's express wishes. The Senate and the President are spokesmen, after all, for one and the same kind of economic system. They are puppets operated by one and the same set of master hands. The earlier "revolt" was just a bit of play acting, for the benefit of the back-home votes controlled by the building trades unions. Having staged their gesture, the revolvers can now say that the President forced their hands. Unless they gave in, they can explain, there would have been no Work Relief bill at all.

The imminent enactment of the measures raises certain fascinating speculations. It is proposed to pay \$30 a month to unemployed wage-earners who go on "work" relief. This sum, it is assumed, will be sufficient to maintain them in "decency" if not in "comfort". How low will the payments be to wage earners for whom no suitable "work" relief can be found? How much lower will the payments be to the "unemployables"?

The history of the whole Work-Relief program is a beautiful example of the progressive intellectual bankruptcy of the New Deal. PWA got going as a grandiose project in "planned public works". The government was going to spend its way back to prosperity thanks to roads, tunnels, bridges, dams, power plants and the like. FERA got going as an equally grandiose project for alleviating the evils of unemployment. The government would see to it that every unemployed

He said that his firm had had 36 years of dealing with the union, and not once had there been any strikes or lockouts, or any labor disturbances. The company has found the arrangement most profitable, he testified.

Progress Seen At Pittsburg

(Continued from Page 1)

The P. C. is instructed also to make a careful check-up of the political, organizational, financial and technical considerations involved in a project of such magnitude and importance and to take into account the increase of size of the weekly New Militant as an alternative. If the results of the check-up are favorable the P. C. is authorized after a referendum of the full National Committee to act in the matter of a daily paper.

Important decisions were also made looking toward the implementation of that portion of the Declaration of Principles and the Constitution of the W. P. which, although action on any organizational affiliation must be submitted to the National Convention of the Party, authorizes the N. C. to cooperate with groups and parties in other countries standing on the same fundamental program as our own, in the elaboration of a complete world program and in steps looking toward the speediest possible establishment of the new revolutionary international.

In line with suggestions contained in communications from the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland through its secretary, Comrade H. Sneevliet, and in a personal communication from Comrade L. Trotsky, the P. C. is authorized in cooperation with the newly founded Dutch party, to take the lead in discussions with the above parties and groups of an international program and of steps which might be taken toward the setting up of a Joint Committee, which in the beginning would have no administrative functions but would concern itself with the preparation of basic documents and perhaps the publication of an international bulletin. Action on the correspondence of the P. C. along these lines is to be taken at the next N. C. meeting in June where also a full report on all sister groups and parties, and groups and parties moving in our direction is to be made.

Recognizing the terribly swift pace of international developments and that any day may bring world-shattering events, the N. C. authorized the P. C. in the interim to take a referendum vote of the N. C. immediately if some major event such as a declaration of war should make it imperative to establish more formal relations with sister parties and groups and to set up more definite machinery at once.

Meanwhile an internal party bulletin which will deal with international affairs, particularly developments in the international revolutionary movement, has been provided for.

The N. C. placed its stamp of approval on the work of the Secretariat and the Political Committee

Monroe Clears Up Press Lie

A recent issue of the New Militant reported that Lillian Monroe, former C. P. section organizer, had joined the W. P. recently. The Fresno, Calif., Bee printed a garbled statement regarding Comrade Monroe's attitude toward Communism and the Communist Party. That our readers may know her exact position, we are printing here her letter to the editor of the Fresno Bee.

Fresno, California
March 10, 1935

Editor, Fresno Bee
Fresno, California
Mr. Editor:

The article you publish about me in your Sunday's issue, March 10, is distorted and incorrect. I ask that you publish this letter in correction.

Firstly, and let's make this clear, I denounce the bankrupt official Communist Party of America and the Third International as a whole as misleaders of the working class. This does not mean however, as you distort it, that I denounce Communism. The corrupt Communist Party has discredited and blackened the doctrine of Communism as advocated and practiced by Marx and Lenin. While I condemn and denounce the Communist Party as misleaders you must get this straight: I am in wholehearted agreement with Marxian-Leninist communism.

Secondly, your article is dominated by an overtone to the effect that I am finished with the class struggle. This is absolutely not so. Always shall I be sincerely devoted to the struggles of the working class in our fight for betterment and final emancipation from wage slavery and the profit system.

I am applying for membership into the Workers Party of the United States and I now advocate the necessity of a new, a Fourth International, as advocated by Leon Trotsky. I am convinced that the program of the Workers Party will lead the American working class to victory.

Sincerely,

(Signed) LILLIAN MONROE.

Sunday, 8 p.m., March 24th -- Irving Plaza

JAMES P. CANNON

On His Return from a Coast to Coast Tour

Will Speak On

The Class Struggle in the West

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 15

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ONLY A SPARK IS NEEDED!

THE inevitable world carnage is drawing near with a speed and precision that is reminiscent of the months that preceded July 1914.

Hitler Germany has taken the last defiant step in denouncing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty which were calculated to keep the vanquished foe of the Allied powers in a state of virtual disarmament. Not only has Der Fuehrer proclaimed that universal conscription is once more to be introduced, but he now openly demands of the other powers the right to increase Germany's heavy ordnance, to legalize her secret air fleet and expand it, and to make her a dominant sea power once again, at least in the North Sea.

Fascist Italy, using its African punitive expedition and the highly charged European atmosphere as its pretext, has announced that it intends to put additional hundreds of thousands of armed men in the field.

Schuschnigg, chancellor of Austria, has asked the European powers for the right to multiply the armed forces of the country to the point where it will have 200,000 men at its command, with corresponding increases in arms and equipment.

The French Chamber of Deputies has voted almost unanimously for a sharp increase in military credits.

Once more the fuse has been lighted that may blow up the powder barrels of the Polish Corridor, for which Germany is now renewing its claim, and Memel, where the antagonism between Germany and Lithuania is only a formal expression for a deeper antagonism among all the rival imperialist powers of the Old World.

The whole continent is being overrun by the diplomatic advance agents for the more substantial and ominous armed forces. From London to Paris to Berlin to Vienna to Budapest and the Balkan capitals and to Warsaw and Moscow—the lines are being kept feverishly busy with the activity of wire-pullers who are setting the stage for the impending war, jockeying for most favorable positions and the greatest and most potent set of confederates.

The imperialist rulers, themselves subject to laws of development beyond their control, are plunging headlong into a new world war, and dragging the masses of the working people along with them, as the cannon fodder to be sacrificed on battlefields in order to determine which of the imperialist bandits, or which set of them, shall exercise the more dominant position in world finance, in world markets, in world politics. The friction among the competitors for leading position has reached that overheated stage where the tiniest spark throws the accumulated tinder into blazing flames. Yesterday, the preliminary shifting for position exploded a bitter civil war in Greece. The day before yesterday, an incident provoked a full-sized military expedition against Ethiopia. Tomorrow, the contest for Memel, or an episode in an even more obscure locality, may prove to have the significance of a Sarajevo—the last straw to break the back of the hitherto maintained armed truce, which is the closest that world capitalism can ever come to a peaceful situation.

With striking force, which must cut to the very heart of every workingman, it is being demonstrated that modern imperialism cannot even approach a solution of the social and economic problems that wrack it, without flinging the million-headed masses into a horrible massacre carried on with all the cruel refinement of a diabolically exterminative war technique.

No longer is the "coming war" to be visualized as something that may or may not appear in the remote future. The "coming war" is at the very top of the order of the day in Europe.

How it will start is really a matter of little moment. Capitalism is naturally pregnant with war of conquest. Any spark may touch it off at any time. The fact that Hitler asks for re-armament rights in the name of the Holy War against Bolshevism, that he pretends to put himself at the service of world imperialism in the role of a super-Wrangell, that he really wants to begin Germany's imperialist re-expansion by exterminating the Workers' State—does not mean that if the war started as a reactionary crusade against the citadel of revolution, it would end that way. Quite the contrary. The conflicts in the camp of the imperialists make a war among themselves inevitable, regardless of the manner in which the hostilities commence.

Nor is it conceivable that the imminent war could be confined to the Old World. The first lesson of the last world war was that there could no longer be a purely European war. The evolution of world politics since 1914 has only accelerated the tendencies which draw every nation inexorably into an interdependent world system from which none of them can escape. In the first place, no war in which the Soviet Union's existence would be at stake, is thinkable without the participation of Japanese imperialism. In the second place, no war of such scope is thinkable without the participation of the world's mightiest imperialist power: the United States.

There could be no greater self-deception practiced in the American working class than that which consoles itself with the illusion that the United States will not enter the coming world war! American imperialism has interests in Europe and Asia far too vital to its preservation and expansion for it to allow them to be affected by the outcome of a new world war without its own, that is, America's active and direct intervention.

It is precisely in this connection that the direct problem of the American working class arises. In the struggle against imperialist war, as, basically, in all other important struggles, the central axis of working class policy revolves around the need of fighting its own ruling class. More than ever, imperialist war puts the question of the principles and policies of this fight in the most acute and inescapable manner. Evasions and half-heartedness which are sometimes possible in "normal" times, become impossible in the struggle against war. Every party, every group, every tendency, is here put to its highest test!

It is in the struggle against imperialist war that a firm

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Strike Struggles Grip Toledo

Akron Workers Set For Siege in Rubber

Bosses Import 3 Thousand Hired Thugs As Union Girds for First Test in 20 Years

BULLETIN

AKRON, O., March 28 (By wire).—Big three unions are delaying strike action pending approval from A. F. of L. on overwhelming strike votes at the Goodrich and Firestone plants.

The Goodyear has been granted the right to take a strike vote this Sunday.

3,000 deputies have been sworn in by the companies and organized into Vigilante committees. The bosses are preparing for a long siege.

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, March 24.—Akron's rubberworkers' unions were swiftly mobilizing their growing forces this week for a walk-out on Monday, April 1, in what promises to be the most bitter struggle of labor for its rights since the great strikes of last spring and which should mark the rise of a great strike wave this year.

Unions at Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone plants, the big three of the tire industry, have made strike plans and are preparing to be the spear-head of an industry-wide fight against the arrogant and notoriously open shop rubber barons.

The unions are demanding recognition, abolition of the company unions and a 30 hour week. These have been insolently turned down by Goodyear, Firestone and Goodrich are expected to follow.

A simultaneous strike is expected to begin at Los Angeles, Cal., where the big three companies maintain their most important plants outside of Akron.

Scabs Ready

The companies have already hired thugs from strike-breaking agencies in Youngstown, Ohio, supplied the sheriff with a large stock of tear gas bombs, and are planning to run in scabs, if necessary to smash unionism once and for all, company spokesmen have admitted.

Although the peak production season of the tire industry has passed and hundreds of workers have been laid off, the unions are determined to make a stiff resistance to any attempts to smash them and it is openly predicted by spokesmen that the battle will be a real one.

The fact that the unions have not more than fifty percent of the 30,000 workers involved in the three factories in their membership is expected to be overcome when the walkout is begun since the plants work in three shifts and militant pickets can prevent anyone from entering on the second or third shift with the picket lines being established on the first shift at 7 A.M.

City Tense and Expectant

The city is tense. The entire city, predominantly union labor in character, can be swung to firm solidarity with the strikers if a determined and militant course is pursued by the strike leadership.

Highly-bribed "company union" scabs will try to work and will be guarded by the out-of-town thugs. A call for National Guards is felt to be a matter of a day or so after the strike is called. And this will

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Thomas Offers Olive Branch To Old Guard

In face of the flagrant defiance of the National Committee by the Old Guard, including its refusal to appear before the Committee and show cause why the New York State Socialist Party should not be reorganized, the National Committee, at its Buffalo meeting last week-end, delayed final action in the case and attacked the Left wing Socialists. The Old Guard is allowed six weeks to comply with the N.E.C. demands; the expulsion of revolutionary socialists is authorized without delay.

This retreat came as a surprise to many militant Socialists, particularly since it came close on the heels of the forceful eviction of the New York Yipsels from their office and the suspension of the organization. However, little else but a compromise in the internal struggle was possible with the present composition of the leading groups. Such an outcome was forecast in the New Militant editorial, "The Socialist Party", March 16, 1935.

The New York question was the main point on the agenda of the meeting. A seven point decision was adopted by a majority vote, with Haggood and Daniels abstaining from the left, and Oneal abstaining from the right. The decision made advocacy of armed insurrection incompatible with

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General Strike Shuts Down LA Hat Industry

Morale of Workers High As Strong Picket Lines Surround Shops

BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, Cal. (by wire).—After four days of picketing the morale of the milliners is sky-high and the strike in an excellent position.

The militant work of the blockers' section has proved very effective in keeping shops closed.

Support has been promised by other labor unions in town. Fulfillment of this promise would guarantee speedy victory.

An effective demonstration organized by Sam Myers in the Downtown shopping section gave testimony to the power of the strike front. It also called forth loud squeals from the bosses and their scabby friends.

By SAM MYERS

LOS ANGELES.—When this story sees daylight 1,200 milliners will have quit their benches in a general strike for union recognition and better working conditions.

After several weeks of negotiations with the Millinery Manufacturers Association it became obvious that the bosses never intended to renew the old agreement or come to a new one. The milliners had but one resort—the strike. They have taken it and mean to win.

The militant strike of a year ago wrested an agreement from the bosses.

On March 20 this agreement expired. Emboldened by vigilante activities throughout the state and the promises of Captain Hynes' "Red Squad", the bosses broke off the agreement in dispute over the right to hire and fire at will. Equal division of work is another right refused by the bosses although incorporated in last year's agreement.

Negotiations with the bosses have come to naught. Last minute efforts of the Regional Labor Board have proved futile. The workers are on their feet and will set them in motion on the picket line with the firm conviction that strike action alone will force the bosses to terms.

Dan Tobin Rats on Fargo Drivers But Ranks Remain Firm

FARGO, N. D.—Last week the charter of General Drivers Local 371, Fargo, was revoked by Daniel Tobin, president of the Teamsters International. At Tobin's suggestion, the striking union was also expelled from the Fargo Trades and Labor Assembly; and to top Tobin's attack on the workers, the labor-hating Fargo Forum, at Tobin's request, printed statements

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4 Unions on Strike

Joint Action Committee Established "March of Labor" Takes the Field; W. P. Members Active

BULLETIN

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 25.—The eight-day old milk drivers' strike ended late tonight when 350 union men voted 277 to 48 to accept the agreement drawn up earlier in the day by the Toledo Milk Distributors Association, Union representatives and the Toledo Regional Labor Board. The agreement provides for increases of wages ranging from 14 to 24 percent for the lower paid men. Adjustment of the wages of the higher paid men is to follow. The worse feature of the agreement is a provision leaving the re-employment of strikers arrested and convicted on charges arising from their strike activities to the "option" of the employers. Under such a provision the most militant strikers can be victimized.

The failure to develop the sentiment for sympathetic strike action and to secure a better agreement can be attributed to the pressure exerted by the conservative section of the Central Labor Union and representatives of the Teamsters' International. An-

other factor was the inexperience of the leadership of the Milk Drivers Union, which is a comparatively new body, and their failure to understand the possibilities of the situation. An organized progressive force in the Central Labor Union could have successfully mobilized support for the idea of broadening the strike along the lines advocated by members of the W.P. and the Unemployed League. The organization of the progressive labor forces will be given an impetus by the present experiences.

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 21.—Toledo is seething with labor revolt. The cauldron of discontent which caught the eyes of the entire country last year is overflowing again. Five strikes are in progress at this writing:

1500 FERRA workers in a general walkout on all projects—800 milk drivers in 23 dairies—650 metal workers closing down the four plants of the American National Co.—

500 building trades men working on the docks of the Empire Construction Co.—

25 grocery employees of the Overmyer Wholesale Grocery Co.

At the suggestion of members of the Workers Party a Joint Board of Strategy was set-up to coordinate the activities of the various strikes and direct picketing. This Joint Board of Strategy includes representatives of the striking unions and Sam Pollock of the Joint Action Committee of the FERRA strike. The FERRA Joint Action Committee previously established is composed of 7 members from the Building Trades Council, the Lucas County Unemployed League and the Relief Workers League.

"The March of Labor" Flying squadrons, the battering rams of the Minneapolis and textile strikes of last year, are the official strike method in the current Toledo strikes. Here, however, they are called the "March of Labor".

This "March of Labor" which might also be called the "Drive for Victory" consists of a mass picket line which concentrates on all the vital and danger points of the various strikes. In two run-ins with professional strike-breakers employed by the Overmyer Grocery Co. and the large dairy establishments the "March of Labor", under the leadership of Comrade Sam Pollock and other W.P. members, and Tim McCormick, militant Socialist and a leader of the Relief Workers' League, success attended their efforts. The scabs were physically driven from the job and the plants closed.

On Saturday a giant mass "March of Labor" is being called. All of Toledo union labor will parade through the city. The morale and

(Continued on Page 4)

Starvation Faces Million New York Jobless

Relief Inadequate, Conditions Appalling Is Finding of Mayor's Committee

One of every three wage earners employed in New York City in 1930, one year after the crash, is now totally unemployed!

This is only one of the truly appalling figures revealed in the report of the Mayor's Committee on unemployment made this week.

The survey shows that there were approximately 1,000,000 unemployed wage earners in March of last year. With small increases the figure remains substantially the same. Let us quote the report: "There are approximately one and a half workers in an average New York City family, so that the 1,000,000 unemployed wage earners live in 666,000 families. The size of the average New York family is a little over four. Thus the number of persons directly affected by the unemployment of these wage earners must be estimated at 2,644,000—37 percent of the entire population of New York City!"

To date, the report further re-

veals less than half the unemployed have applied for relief. On Feb. 4 this year there were only 245,000 families on relief as compared with a possible total as seen above of 666,000.

To quote again: "Approximately 325,000 families in which wage earners are unemployed but not on relief constitute a reservoir (a reservoir of misery) from which a constantly increasing number will, as the reserves of these families and their friends and relatives are exhausted, be forced to seek relief."

The Mayor's Committee made a further report on the quality of the relief now extended. We shall quote without comment, none is needed, the treatment that part of "the reservoir" which has already come to the attention of our benevolent government receives:

"Private agencies use their budgets as guides with the provision that a case worker must in each

cash determine the actual needs of the family. The Home Relief Bureau uses its budgets as inflexible schedules, regardless of the facts of the case. . . . In addition, part of the home relief budget is still paid in voucher rather than cash which discounts its value to the client.

"When the Home Relief Bureau was first set up a committee of expert nutritionists drew up a schedule of minimum food allowances which would maintain health standards if every penny were well spent. Due to lack of funds the Bureau could not apply the schedule, and frequently granted only one half the minimum requirement.

In October 1933 a new food allowance was set up which allowed the then current minimum standards. . . . This schedule has been continued up to the present time, although a committee of experts recommended on Jan. 22 that the food allowance be increased to meet the 11 percent increase in the retail food costs. . . .

"Interviews with the administrators of the thirty-four precincts throughout the city showed that in only one precinct was the

food allowance adequate for maintaining health standards, that it was found barely adequate in three precincts, and inadequate in the remaining thirty precincts. . . .

"Under the present food budget the allowance to each person is eight cents per meal. . . .

The report includes a table showing the percentage of malnutrition (starvation in plain words) found among school children. It is startling to find the figure 13 percent even in 1932. It increases to 21 percent in 1933, with a slight drop in the last two years.

Quoting again: "Under a ruling made in the past year an additional allowance for food is made to individuals for whom a special diet has been recommended either by a physician or a clinic. The extra allowance, however, is based on the assumption that the basic home relief food allowance is adequate, so that here again the actual increase in the cost of food is not met."

The Sick Allowance Perhaps the full meaning of these formal phrases is not quite clear. In plain language: the re-

lief allowance for healthy persons is not sufficient to maintain their health. They become sick. The allowance which originally destroyed their health is then used as the basis for their sick allowance. Thus the insufficiency of their allowance is twice visited on them, once while they are healthy and once when they become sick. This system is nicely calculated to drive a person either to death or insanity.

"The thirty-four precinct administrators with one exception reported that the home relief rental allowances were not sufficient to meet the average rentals in their districts. . . . The maximum home relief rent allowance is \$25, while average rents in most districts were reported to be from \$30 to \$40 a month.

"To get an accurate picture of the housing situation the homes of 2,201 home relief families were studied. The survey disclosed appalling conditions. Many of the houses were old law fire traps.

"The survey showed that 833 of the 2,201 families studied had no private toilets, 647 had no steam

(Continued on Page 4)

Need for Unity Is Leading Issue at Coming Steel Workers Convention

Trend of Steel Union Depends On Action of Progressives

On April 23 the sixtieth annual convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is scheduled to convene at Canton, Ohio. It will have before it issues of unusual importance. Chief among them is the question of whether or not to make a serious attempt to organize the industry. Of course, this question involves the fate of the union itself. It is now split wide open by the expulsion actions of the union officials, and any approach to the problem of organization would of necessity be connected directly with the issue of restoration of unity.

In these as well as in a number of other questions that are pending before the convention the progressive forces are naturally particularly interested. Much depends on how well they are prepared.

We need not expect that the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and his cronies will be deeply concerned about the organization of the industry. All past experiences have refuted any such expectations. Nor can it be expected that they should show any interest in restoring the unity of the union. For them the present situation means the elimination of a militant opposition, many of the regularly constituted lodges now operate under a suspended charter as a result of the high handed action taken by the Tighe administration following the Feb. 3 progressive conference.

A total of 78 local lodges were represented at this conference, called jointly by several district organizations of the Amalgamated Association. All were since declared expelled. A much smaller number have been actually expelled; but they were the ones operating in the most important steel mills. Most of the leading progressives have been read out of the organization.

All indications so far point to the strenuous efforts being made by the union officials to unseat all delegates coming from these lodges. If successful that would remove from the agenda any serious consideration of the organization of the industry.

So far Tighe has succeeded in dealing the union a heavy blow. From its promising revival and growth last year it has been reduced to the old negligible tin mill division. However, the issue is not yet finally settled. Much still depends on what the progressive forces are ready and able to do.

All Promises—No Action

Those who looked to the A. F. of L. for any support to the organization of the steel workers' union have been disappointed. Nothing has come of its much heralded San Francisco convention decision to organize the steel industry. It is reported that plans for organization were laid before the February Executive Council meeting; but the craft union officials insisted that not one penny of the A. F. of L. funds be spent on any campaign which did not assure separate unions for the machinists, pattern makers, electrical workers and the other crafts. The plans were shelved.

Still the organization of the

steel industry remains a key question for the trade union movement. Upon the solution of the problem it presents depends the firm establishment of unions in other basic and mass production industries.

Unity Chief Issue
But the organization forces are divided owing to this open breach between the Tighe officialdom and the A. F. of L. Executive Council on the one hand and the progressives on the other. Without the progressives nothing will be done about organization, and there is little inducement for the steel workers to join the union. The progressives therefore have as their main duty the fight to restore the unity of the union. Unity in this case means to fight for reinstatement.

In our opinion there can be no evasion of this vital issue. Any attempt to obscure the fight for reinstatement can only introduce new confusion. This appears to be the case in the announcement coming from the sixth district, calling upon the steel workers to join the rank and file Amalgamated Association. It fails entirely to make clear to the steel workers that the first job is to fight for unity of the union forces. It attempts to put before the steel workers something that is unreal, when it is necessary to name things by their right name. When speaking to the steel workers today in the name of the locals that have been declared expelled, or calling upon the steel workers to support them, it is necessary that the support be conditioned on carrying on the fight for reinstatement, that is, carrying on the fight to restore the unity of the union.

Stalinist Parades

The other policy will become only a duplication of the sorry role played by the Stalinists in the extent to which they influenced recent events in the steel workers' union. They were chiefly interested in parade maneuvers to further their own momentary aims with no concern for the actual organization of the steel workers. In this they became a purely disruptive force preventing the progressive movement from attaining a genuine mass basis.

Only a movement having a genuine mass basis can appeal effectively to the steel workers. A union to be successful in the industry must show that it can mobilize the power of solidarity and of united action of the workers. The Amalgamated Association leadership has not shown this at all. But the progressives have the opportunity still. Their fight has just begun. It should have reasonable prospects once they solidify their own ranks and establish a genuine mass basis which is easily possible. The first step toward an accomplishment of this objective is to take up an effective fight for restoration of unity of the union, that is, to fight for reinstatement while keeping the expelled locals intact as the force to back up the fight.

The fight for unity will have to be instituted inside the Amalgamated Association, through the still existing lodges and the organized districts as well as through the contacts available in the A. F. of L. city central bodies and all the way up to the Executive Council.

Solidarity Forever

By FLORENCE WYLE

The interesting story printed below is written by a participant in the Los Angeles Millinery Workers Strike reported elsewhere in this issue. The characters are written about living strikers.

The tiny line moves slowly 'round and 'round. From tired throats comes a weary wisp of song. It is very early. Only strikers with eager hearts would venture forth this cold California morning to watch and see that no scabs go through.

A voice is raised. Big Tony shouts and the line straightens; weary voices are refreshed anew as they sing their song of strength and unity...

... Solidarity For-e-ver!

Tony

Big Tony gave the shout. Big Tony is a blocker. He takes the felt and straw, and steams and shapes them and brings forth the lines in the hats that later on saleswomen will gushingly call—"Panama", "Bolero", "Rhumba". Tony is a good blocker. In the old days he made his eight to ten dollars a day. But Tony sighs. He works much harder now and faster. His once proud shoulders are bent and lifeless. His boss has cut his wages down 'till Tony does not know how he can ever feed the many mouths at home. So he is out on strike. At home his poor bambinos cry some more—but Tony is on strike!

"Little Annie"

The line is filling. Big Tony raises a hand in welcome. Annie, the little floor girl is here. Little is right! When the boss first saw her he was glad because he thought that he could brow-beat her. And

so he could—and did. But Annie's brother is on the bum now that he is black-balled after the seamen's strike and Annie's father can still be called upon to tell the story of the Railroad strike—so Annie knows the ways of bosses and when they called the strike Annie stopped her endless scurrying between the various benches and went out with the others. Her boss yelled and raved and then was dumfounded because she didn't listen. Annie is on strike!

The Old-Timer

The line is full now, even to old Morris. Morris can tell you all about hats—(if you understand Yiddish because Morris speaks no other tongue). For you see, Morris has been bending over the machine for thirty years. So now his shoulders are humped and misshapen and his chin has made a well-worn niche in his chest. Many times has Morris been on strike and few were victories. But Morris wouldn't scab and is the first to leave his shop. Each defeat finds him more misshapen, more humped, more weary than the last—but Morris is on strike!

Surging Hopes

'Round and 'round the endless line goes, and no longer weary. There is Evelyn whose mother has T.B.; and there Manny who is quite sure that now he'll have to wait another year before he's got enough for college; and there is Joe and Jake and Mike and Everyone—all with their little woes but each big enough to see the common struggle. Their hopes are surging now and they are singing. And the ears and eyes and minds of the craven scabs and bosses are full with the steady heat of the strikers' cry...

... Solidarity For-e-ver!

Allard Calls on the P. M. A. Convention For United Struggle in Coming Coal Strike

The following is the substance of a speech delivered by comrade Gerry Allard at the scale convention of the Progressive Miners of America which met at Gillespie, Ill., Feb. 12-17. Comrade Allard made the speech extemporaneously in the course of discussion on the question of the strike situation in the Illinois coal fields which involves about 8,000 miners victimized because of their opposition to John L. Lewis and because of their allegiance to the Progressive Miners Union.

Allard's Remarks

This question is, indeed, the most crucial question to come before the scale convention of our union. As I view it, the question whether our union is to survive depends upon the policy which we set forth on the strike situation. Thousands of our members have been on strike for nearly three years. What they have gone through is almost indescribable. It would take an artist of unusual gift to portray the woes, sufferings and tribulations which our people have undergone in the past many months. The remarks of delegate Centers, of Kincaid, Ill., moved me very much. He is from the striking territory. He spoke with unusual eloquence as to the conditions in the strike field, and I dare say he expressed the fervent wishes of the rank and file there.

I do not choose at this time to deal with the emotional aspect of the situation in the strike field—although that is important. That part of the question has already been covered.

What I want to do is to attempt in the little time allotted me to analyze the situation to date and

on that basis present proposals for the successful termination of the strike. An issue which will determine whether our organization—the Progressive Miners of America—is to perpetuate itself as a medium for the defense of the interests of the American coal miners.

Two Roads

There are two roads open to us at this time on the strike situation. Firstly, to militate the strike and carry it forward backed by the full resources of the P. M. of A., or, secondly, to plan to call off an organized and strategically retreat in an organized and honorable fashion. There is no third road middle road. We must frankly face the situation and set forth a program just as courageously as the rank and file have fought during the many months of bitter struggle.

I said there were one or two roads open for us at this time. Being a Marxist, a revolutionist, it is my opinion that we should militate the strike, revamp the Women's Auxiliary along the original lines, augment our forces by seeking the organizational support of the powerful unemployed movement in Illinois, seek allies in the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America, and go forward once again with the same determination that built this union. This is the road of struggle, not the road of least resistance. This is the only correct road, and a program contrary to the one that has been pursued in the last twenty months.

Unholy Alliance at Work

Today's newspapers report that Lewis is to begin negotiations with his cronies in Washington—the coal operators and the NRA agents. Significantly timed with this and the meeting of our convention here this week is the fact that newspapers report that federal authorities from the department of justice are to begin wholesale arrests of miners in connection with a mysterious "\$1,000,000 bombing ring" which has for months terrorized the countryside of the Illinois coal country. And along with this, we have the intensified efforts of Ray Edmundson, Lewis spear-head in Illinois, to win our membership back to the United Mine Workers. These developments are no accidents. They are well organized and planned to wreck the Progressive Miners of America. The alliance of local and federal agents along with Lewis and the coal operators is a conspiracy to prevent the miners from improving their conditions through the Progressive Miners of America. We cannot meet this situation by silence. We must, if we are to live as a union, counter-act this conspiracy by wholesale mobilization and preparation for strike if necessary.

A union is a medium by which wage earners fight to advance or protect their economic interests. It is not something to be set on a pedestal and worshipped blindly. A union is a fighting instrument, day by day, to protect our conditions and advance the cause of our class when the situation is favorable.

On this point I might state that there is a great possibility for us to gain the six-hour day and \$6 basic wage scale. And more than that, we have the chance to increase the prestige of our union and probably in the course of the fight for shorter hours and more pay, pull our striking forces out of the rut to complete victory.

Rank-and-File Holds Key

The key to the situation is the rank and file of the Illinois miners irrespective of what union they belong to. We might differ as to what union we want to belong to, but I know that there can be no disagreement as to the need or the shorter work day and the \$6 basic scale. We coal miners know that we cannot continue to live even meagerly in the face of the steady inflationary measures of the federal government and subsequent sharp rises in the cost of living all down the line. This is a problem for the rank and file of both the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Miners. On the basis of this need it is possible for us to arrange some sort of unity on the demand for shorter hours and more pay.

Functioning in the Twin Cities

functioning in the Twin Cities and throughout the state of Minnesota. The Workmen's Circles in this territory are appealing to their membership for financial aid for the Fargo strikers. Tag days, dances and card parties are being given in Minneapolis to popularize the fight and to raise funds. Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, comrades in the Workers Party, trade unions, fraternal groups, etc. have been drawn into the defense movement.

In short, it can be truthfully said that the conduct of the Fargo strike has contributed to raising the entire trade union movement in the Northwest to a new high level. The example, and the direct aid, of Local 574 has been the decisive factor in the Fargo resurgence.

For further information apply to

Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

President Keck has raised the question: "How are we to help the striking miners by striking the miners that are working under our jurisdiction?" In answer to this question let me state that the P. M. of A. is attempting for the first time, and rather late at that, to meet the strike problem. A convention of this kind to discuss the strike situation should have been called twenty months ago. There was a greater chance for us to rejuvenate our forces then there is now. It would have been easier to answer Keck's question twenty months ago. Now the forces of reaction have had their breathing spell. They have gained new courage and are knocking at our doors with unusual boldness.

Strikes Looming Everywhere

Let me point out further, in answer to Keck's question, that there are other forces and developments to look at then our own situation. Look at the steel, rubber, textile and auto situation! Strikes are again on the order of the day. No greater opportunity have the Illinois miners had than the present one. Strikes will again boom up from one end of the country to the other. There is tremendous pressure being brought on the government for social security legislation and the 30-hour week that is unequalled. The working people of this country are beginning to feel the thrill of their power as never before. The Progressive Miners of America can lead the way for the shorter work week. It's going to take strikes, and plenty of them, to complete the pressure for enactment of the six-hour day.

And if we take advantage of this situation we will steal the thunder from John L. Lewis. We can start the ball rolling that will not only save our own situation but immeasurably increase our standing with the workers throughout the United States. A spark now on the shorter work day will have profound repercussions in the American labor movement. The possibilities of spreading the strike to other coal sections of the country and other heavy industries, such as rubber and automobiles, are great.

There is always time to retreat. Now we must examine the possibility of advance. The proposition to retreat at the least opposition of the coal operators with whom we have contracts must be repudiated. We must initiate the movement for less hours and more pay with undiluted determination.

Plan of Action Proposed

My time to speak has elapsed. Let me say this, however, in conclusion. I have hurriedly scribbled several points which briefly embody what I think ought to be done to win our demands and the strike of 8,000 of our members. They are as follows:

1. Strike every mine in Illinois and elsewhere for the six-hour day and five day week and \$6 basic wage.
2. Offer to the members of the United Mine Workers of America a proposal for joint action on the basis of these and other demands.
3. A referendum vote of all Illinois miners to determine what union the Illinois miners want to belong to.
4. Lifetime compensation for the dependants of all victims slain in the mine war.
5. Release all prisoners now serving prison sentences.
6. Unity in Action of our forces with the Illinois Workers Alliance which is now organized 150,000 strong.
7. Call an extraordinary convention of the rank and file of all Illinois miners to finally consummate the aforementioned program.

This is the program that will win for us. This is the program that will save the situation for our already striking brothers. This is the program that will get us our demands. There is no other course. If there is I would like to hear it before this convention adjourns.

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1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick Benefit payments from \$300 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes. Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

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Poverty and Discrimination

BEHIND THE HARLEM EVENTS

The recent riot in Harlem is closely linked to the Home Relief Bureau and its maladministration of relief. The population of Harlem is, roughly, 250,000. Calculated on a basis of 65,000 adults capable of holding jobs, 80 percent are unemployed and almost all who are lucky enough to have work earn miserable wages. Yet only 15 percent of the population is on relief.

It is almost unbelievable but a simple calculation reveals that 65 percent of the 250,000 are without any means of support either from work or relief.

In Harlem where the real-estate is almost exclusively owned by white landlords (the bankers) rents are 40 percent higher in relation to the rest of the cities.

Death Stalks the Streets

Price-levels are, even on essential commodities, like bread, 7 to 30 percent above the city level. Is it any wonder, then, that four or five Negro families are crowded into a one-family apartment with no heat, no bathing facilities, no air—no room to live?

The death-rate for tuberculosis through the city is 60 per 1,000 dead. In Harlem it is 250 per 1,000, and in the "lung-section" between Madison and 5th Avenues, 116th Street to 125th Street it is 275.

In 1934, the Harlem Hospital in examining clients found that 6,000 had syphilis and had to turn away 5,000 of these because it had no adequate facilities to treat them.

Home Relief Discriminates

What have the Home Relief Bureaus done? In the first place it is of interest to point out that two precinct supervisors, a Mr. Courtney and a Mr. Swarz, have been transferred to different sections of the city after their open discrimination against the Negroes on the staff of the Home Relief Bureau had brought a strong protest from the Employees Association.

The Bureau has deliberately rejected thousands of Negroes on the basis of no residence proof. Under the Wicks Law an applicant for relief must establish two years residence in the state the last year of which must be spent in New York City. The Negroes, because they live jammed together, because they are evicted wholesale and have no place to preserve letters, cards, etc., because thousands never live in one place long enough to register and to vote, because the rude band of poverty compels them to live in chaos, find it difficult to prove residence.

Special Rules for Harlem

In every part of the city notarized letters saying that Mr. So and So knows that the applicant has lived at such and such addresses for such a period of time are accepted as residence proof. Everywhere except in Harlem. Only through pressure and workers' demonstrations have notarized statements been accepted. The Urban League, and organization ended by the numerical very few

Negro petty-bourgeoisie and supposedly interested in welfare work, has stood calmly by.

In face of the high rents in Harlem, the Bureau gives the Negroes the minimum rent. To illustrate: Every precinct supervisor is allowed a budget in relation to the social pressure which groups, within that precinct's territory, can exert. A strong unemployed movement means more blankets and clothes, etc. The rents vary within a small margin: the simplest example is a single man or couple; they can be allowed \$14 to \$16 a month (1 or 2 people get the same amount) depending upon the discretion of the individual supervisor.

The Iron Starvation Rule

In Harlem the iron rule handed down to the investigators is pay \$14. Of course higher rents can be paid for "case-work reasons". And it is always an easy task to discover a "case-work" reason for a petty-bourgeois who happens to know the local ward healer, but not for a Negro worker.

Further, the Negroes on home-relief are discriminated against when it is a question of filling a work-relief project. This particular discrimination is, to a degree, rooted in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy's stand against admitting Negroes on an equal basis into the trade unions. One of the main tasks of progressive unionists must be to hammer down this bar.

New Color in Spectrum

Naturally, the same discriminations are used against the Porto Ricans. As a matter of fact, the

discriminatory artists of the Dept. of Public Welfare have invented a new color. On the basis of color, applicants are classified as white, black, and Porto Rican!

The question which Marxists must ask is: How does the Home Relief Bureau get away with its malpractices? Of course, the general answer is that it has behind it all the repressive machinery of capitalism. Briefly, however, the enormous influence of the handful of Negro misleaders, agents of Tammany or Fusion, can not be overlooked. They spread confusion, utopian and quack ideas. Secondly, the impotence of the Stalinist party which, although it has concentrated in Harlem for years, because of its theory in regard to the Negroes has accomplished nothing. Nor is the Unemployed Union free from criticism. Its tactic of isolated case-work, conferring with the Home Relief Bureau like one charity organization, with another, has noticeably sapped the militancy of the workers within its ranks. Our comrades in the W.U.U. have got to propagandize and agitate for mass action. It is the only way the discrimination can be smashed.

The Negroes all over the United States are a crucial problem for the American revolutionists. We have little European experience to go by. The Workers Party must undertake this task by intensifying its work among those who are the most oppressed and downtrodden, the scorned, the insulted, the injured—the Negro workers and tenant-farmers.

March 23, at 4 P.M. Three hours

later the new union had recruited four hundred members, and a queue of men and women was still waiting down the steps from the headquarters and out on the street. Today the Fargo-Moorhead Local 173 confidently faces the bosses across the picket line, with every assurance that the Local can quickly force a favorable settlement from the Associated Industries.

N.P.L.D. Attorney At Work

Through the efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Fargo strikers have had for the past two weeks the services of one of the crack labor lawyers of the country, Francis Heisler of Chicago, a former I.L.D. man. Since Heisler has been in Fargo, he has abruptly checked the high-handed tactics of Judge Paulson and States Attorney Bergeson. A 30-day extension has been granted the 16 defendants now under sentence from 2 to 6 months hard labor for "inciting to riot". All strikers are out of jail for the first time since January. Heisler has not only functioned in the courtroom but has also aided strikers to get relief, and participated in the organizational work. In short, he is everything that a labor attorney should be. His name is in the signal for a standing cheer everywhere in Fargo.

To raise money to finance the

appeal to the State Supreme Court, and to further the struggle, an active Fargo Defense Committee is

Dan Tobin Rats

On Fargo Union

(Continued from Page 1)

attacking the union, Miles Dunne, and the local leadership.

This treacherous blow to the Fargo workers came in the tenth week of a heroic struggle against the reactionary Associated Industries of Fargo-Moorhead. The union has held firm in the face of virulent terrorism, of a raid on strike headquarters, of the arrest of practically the entire section of Local 371 out on strike, of the most vicious attacks from the Fargo Forum and from local pulpits, of a recent injunction prohibiting the union and all its friends from doing anything but sit still and breathe. It was precisely at this point that the bureaucratic Mr. Tobin chose to perform his signal service for the employers by revoking the charter and bitterly attacking the strikers.

Tobin's attack on Local 173, by far the strongest and most militant union in North Dakota, was followed by exactly the opposite reaction from that hoped for by Tobin, Green, Woll and Co. For hours after the revocation of the charter, workmen and women walked around stunned and grim with rage. A provisional committee began recruiting on Saturday,

WHAT TO ATTEND

Philadelphia, Pa.

March 31, Sunday evening—A. J. Muste, National Secretary of W.P. will speak on "Coming Struggles in Rubber, Auto and Steel Industries". Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch Street.

New York City

March 31, Sunday afternoon, 2:30 P.M.—General Membership Meeting. N. Y. headquarters, 2 West 15th St. Report on Pittsburgh Conference.

April 6, Saturday evening—Tri-Borough Branch. Headquarters, 2 W. 15th St., 3rd floor. The date has been postponed from March 30.

April 13, Sat. evening—Spartacus Youth League Dance.

April 20, Sat. evening—Chess Contest and Spring Frolic by New York District membership. Headquarters, 2 West 15th St. All paid Red Cabaret tickets given out Feb. 16th will be honored at this affair.

The date has been postponed from the 13th because of the S.Y.L. dance.

A dance class has been established and is now meeting regularly on Tuesday and Friday evenings. Rates are nominal.

Plentywood Leads Drive

Plentywood has led the way in real achievement on the circulation drive. By March 31 the drive will reach the half way mark. All branches should have at least a 50% score by that time.

Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Davenport, Louisville and Youngstown should have minimum of 50% mark during the next week.

Greater effort is needed in the other branches and districts. New York has not given the drive sufficient support. Chicago and Philadelphia are still behind. These Branches must get solidly in line with the campaign and push it to a successful conclusion. Only if every one does his part can this be done.

Bundle orders have increased also, but not enough. New bundles are going to California, Oregon, Arizona, Illinois and Canada, but here again the New York branches have fallen down. Their bundles have decreased. Fortunately this decrease has been more than compensated by the gain in the rest of the country. However, it is about time for New York to get busy again and show the way.

What is your answer? What are you going to do about it during the next two months?

The answer must be a vote of support expressed in increased subs and bundle circulation. Your scores here will indicate your willingness to lay a solid basis for the movement.

Donations, Contributions

From G. New York...\$5.00
From H. New Jersey...2.00

This does not begin to be enough. We need real help and again ask for regular pledges of weekly or monthly amounts. Send them now to the Business Manager:

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th Street
New York, N. Y.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The AAA and the Tenant Farmer

Just as the development of capitalist industry results in the ever greater concentration of wealth in the hands of the few fabulously rich financiers, so the development of capitalist farming exhibits also the concentration of land ownership in the hands of fewer and fewer land barons. By means of its complex control of the market for agricultural products, of the prices charged to farmers for the goods they need, and of the credit system, monopoly finance capital exploits the small farmer more intensively than under any previous economic system. Helpless against the gigantic forces not of nature but of monopoly capitalism, the farmer gradually falls into hopeless debt through the process of mortgaging his land, his home, even his future crop in his desperate struggle to keep from starving.

The bankers' mortgage system is merely a stage in the degradation of the independent farmer to land tenancy and into share-cropping and the status of farm laborer. The capitalist ruling class in the advanced countries has created this inevitable process with dread, for it creates the allies of the proletariat in the struggle for power and thus menaces the "social stability". American capitalism is now face to face with the problem of "stabilizing" agriculture and subsidizing farmers so as to maintain them for use against the working class when it becomes necessary. The AAA was created with this in view and was intended to aid in "solving" the farm problem. Actually its attempts reveal, leaving aside the hypocrisy of every ruling class when dealing with the exploited and oppressed, the utter inability of capitalism to solve the farm problem.

Driving Farmers Off the Land

The report by the Committee on Minority Groups in the Economic Recovery, just issued, shows how the AAA has worked not in the interests of the actual farmers, but in those of the exploiters of these farmers through the well-established modes of usury. The bankers have been enabled to borrow funds at low rates of interest and to loan out these same funds at the usual extortionate rates. Far from "stabilizing" the farming industry, the policy pursued by the government under the New Deal has had the effect of degrading the lot of the tenant farmer even more, and of actually driving him off the land.

Curtailment of crops to raise prices has put out of employment hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers in the South. It pays the landlord to evict these tenants,

whites and blacks alike, thereby evading all responsibility for feeding them and throwing them on the starvation relief handed out by the government. Meantime, while its policies result in this wholesale wave of evictions and driving of farmers off the land, the government makes empty gestures of establishing "subsistence homesteads" and "peasant proprietorships". And this is the reactionary solution offered by the Committee on Minority Groups. Only socialism, not capitalism, can really set out to solve the agricultural problem, by organizing the farmers into collectives and giving them a fair exchange in manufactured goods and services for their crops.

The Attack on Trotsky

The constantly growing and ever more vicious attacks made in the Stalinist press on Comrade Trotsky, assume more and more the aspect of a widespread preparation for new efforts of the Soviet bureaucracy to perpetrate a frame-up against him. In their desperate eagerness to trick the working class into believing that Trotsky can, by some occult process known only to the Stalinists, be lumped together with counter-revolutionists and white guards, not to mention police agents, the Stalinists form a real united front with bourgeois reaction.

Nothing would suit the French reactionaries more than to see this Bolshevik-Leninist snuffed out of existence. They recognize that the real menace to French capitalism comes from those revolutionists who are working to create the Fourth International. The New International would at the same time be a menace not to the Soviet Union to the defense of which it would be devoted, but to the corrupt bureaucracy that has ruled in Russia since Lenin died. In order to scotch the growing movement of workers in the countries of Western Europe for the creation of the Fourth International, as symbolized by the building of the new Dutch Revolutionary Party, the Stalinists feel it necessary to discredit Comrade Trotsky.

Their effort at a "plant" in the Kirov assassination—through a letter that the GPU had hoped to obtain with the aid of a foreign consul—fell through. But this makes all the more likely a new and worse attempt in France where the Soviet bureaucracy feels its whole opportunist policy jeopardized by the revolutionary course pursued by the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction of the French Socialist Party. The growing and concerted attacks in such sheets as the Daily Worker thus merely serve to set us on our guard against the danger of a new frame-up against Comrade Trotsky.

Dutch Parties Raise Banner of Fourth International

(Ed. Note: At the recent Paris Conference of the Left Socialist and Independent parties the two revolutionary organizations of Holland, the Independent Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, strongly defended the slogan of the Fourth International, and urged that steps be taken to further the movement for its constitution. The Socialist Workers Party of Germany (S.A.P.) appeared as the chief saboteurs of the slogan which they once publicly espoused. We print below a polemic on the question from the columns of De Banbreker, official organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland in response to an editorial in Het Volk, the organ of the reformist Social Democrats. We hope in the near future to have more complete reports of the Paris Conference as well as of the fusion of the two Holland parties under the banner of the Fourth International.)

TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN DE BAANBREKER (March 2, 1935, on the Paris Conference of Feb. 14)

Het Volk under the heading "Splitters Hold Congress" states: "The New Leader (British) contains a report of the conference of so-called left Socialist groups recently held in Paris. Holland was represented by the O.S.P. and R.S.P. The chief point on the agenda was the question of the building of a New International. The report indicates the greatest differences of opinion on the subject exist among the various parties and groups. The Hollanders were proceeding as rapidly as possible with the building of the New International. Representatives of the German S. A. P. remarked that it would be an illusion to suppose that the workers are waiting breathlessly for the New International. The Poles regarded a New International as desirable but opined that the question still remained a theoretical one. In the voting three groups, namely, the O.S.P., R.S.P. and Youth Bureau, voted for the New International; three, the English I.L.P., Swedish

Left Socialists and Norwegian Left Socialists, voted against, and the remainder abstained."

As indicated in a previous issue, the German S.A.P. was chiefly concerned with bringing together the greatest possible majority for a purely platonic utterance on the New International. The importance to this activity that it should be the resolution of the "Het Volk" enforces the "wisdom" of the S.A.P. in this connection. We wish to make it known in a plain manner that the plottings for the regeneration of the revolutionary working class movement we do not appreciate such "wisdom".

Official Communists and Social Democrats are naturally of one mind in combatting the idea of the new growing Fourth International. Nothing else can be expected from them. Entirely incorrect is the view of those workers who use the formula that the New International will stand "between the Social Democracy and the official C. P." He who cherishes this idea is obsessed in the same way as those confused element who think of a fusion of the Second and Third International and consequently, so far as possible, avoid facing the question of rallying the forces of labor in the Fourth International.

No one among us has the foolish notion that we have simply to "proclaim" the Fourth International in order to establish it as a factor in the political life of the working class. Neither, however, is there anyone among us who cherishes the sickly notion that in the process of bringing the Fourth International into being we can dispense with the banner which symbolizes the new idea. For our part we do not tire of presenting the evidences of the progressive and rapid bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals.

But we are not defeatists. We do not go on utopian voyages of discovery after brand new ideas which would have only one characteristic, namely, freedom from "taint" of traditional Socialism.

Why Join the Workers Party?

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

You say that quite a few of the men you have been talking to have been impressed by my arguments about the need of overthrowing the present economic system and of building a Marxist revolutionary party to lead the workers and their allies in doing the job. You have, however, a member of the Communist (Stalinist) party in your shop and he says that the C. P. is the only revolutionary party, and the Third (Communist) International the only International revolutionary organization. You are against the Soviet Union, according to him, if you are against the C. P. The C. P. is the party that is doing the fighting for the workers, the Negroes, etc. Of course it has made some mistakes, but it has corrected them, and "any one who attacks the C. P. or builds another party now when the C. P. is being attacked by Hearst and others is helping Fascism and attacking and undermining the Soviet Union, and is no better than Hitler himself." The Workers Party is ready to meet that argument and to meet it in no uncertain terms.

We hold that the C. P. and C. I. are no longer revolutionary organizations. They have in recent years organized and are now organizing defeats and not victories for the working class. Insofar as they have influence, they retard the building of a healthy and vigorous revolutionary movement everywhere. Furthermore, the policies of the Stalinist leadership which dominates the Soviet Union and the C. I. do not strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union, the one workers' state in the world; they are weakening and destroying those defenses; they are preparing the way for the overthrow of the workers' state.

We must not be deceived by the paper programs of the C. P., by the claims it makes for itself, or the fact that it still has a considerable number of members and adherents. The Social Democrats called themselves Marxists, claimed to have the only way to establish Socialism and maintained big parties of the Second International in various countries after the betrayal of the masses into the hands of nationalism in the Great War of 1914-18. But the Social Democracy had ceased to be a progressive force, had become a hindrance to the onward course of the workers' revolution. The vanguard workers, the best fighting elements left the S. P. Under Lenin's leadership the perspective of building the new, Third, International was raised. Although the number of those who accepted this line was at first small and they were apparently isolated from the mass movements which had plunged into support of the war activities of the imperialist powers, the future was with the forces looking toward the new International. Very soon, in the crisis in Russia in 1917, they demonstrated their soundness and their power by giving the final blow to Czarism, overthrowing the middle class and establishing the Workers' State. Even so, the future today is with the parties and groups looking toward the Fourth International.

I do not have the space in this letter to go fully into all the evidence to back up our estimate of the C. P., the C. I. and the Stalinist leadership of the Soviet Union. We have dealt and will deal with them in the New Militant, the New International and in pamphlets and books. Here I want to list just a few points which I am sure will convince you and which you can use in discussion with workers who are still under official C. P. influence.

1. The Third International has not had a Congress since 1928—seven years! Why not? Back in the days when the Soviet Union was being attacked on a dozen fronts World Congresses of the C. I. were held in Moscow every year. If the leadership of the C.P.S.U. prevents the holding of World Congresses now, it must be because it does not care to or dare to face a World Congress—or both. What kind of a vanguard international party of the working class of the world is it which in these years of the triumph of Fascism, in these days of war preparations everywhere, holds no World Congress? What evidence is there that the present leadership of the Soviet Union is interested in the world?

Revolutionary Marxism remains for us the living fountain from which spring the ideas that must serve as the basis of the Fourth International. There is continuity in the development of the working class movement. Even in times of depression in the movement this continuity obtains. Whereas the Second International presents a hopelessly crippled version of the fundamental truths of revolutionary Marxism and the Third International has falsified revolutionary Marxism, the fighting proletariat will nevertheless understand that it must carry through its international battle in the Marxist spirit and that its organization, the coming Fourth International, must be a revolutionary Marxist organization.

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

revolution? How many more years have to go by without a Congress of the C. I. before the C. P. will admit that in reality there is no longer a C. I. and will graciously allow that it is not "counter-revolutionary" for the workers to build a new International?

2. Consider the debacle of the Communist Party in Germany. Here we had the mightiest Communist Party in the capitalist world. Ever since the war a powerful Communist movement had existed in Germany. Yet this movement collapsed like a toy balloon at the advent of Hitler—without a gesture of resistance, without a single fight in the streets. Surely this is evidence of a terrible degeneration in the C. I. How many debacles like that in Germany do we have to permit before the workers have a "right" to call a halt, brush the C. I. aside, and build a new International?

3. All the leading policies of the C. P. of the U. S. in recent years have proven bankrupt and have recently been tossed overboard. The A. F. of L. unions are company unions and must be smashed; "revolutionary" unions dual to the A. F. of L. must be built; a federation of labor dual to the A. F. of L. must be established; we do not enter into a united front with the S. P. etc. but only into a "united front from below" with the members of the S. P.; Socialists are social-fascists; "Social Democracy is the twin of Fascism"; those who advocate a labor party are simply trying to keep the masses out of the C. P.—these have been the basic policies of the C. P. in this country for six years. They were reaffirmed by a unanimous vote (all votes are unanimous in the C. P.) at a party convention last June. Any who questioned any of these policies were denounced in the most vicious and scurrilous manner as counter-revolutionists and social-fascists. Today all these policies are tossed overboard without even the formality of a party convention. A somewhat in fact has been executed. Stalinists have to go into A. F. of L. unions. C. P. leaders fawn upon trade union bureaucrats and S. P. leaders. They are silent as the grave about the dearly beloved united front from below. It seems that there are no more social fascists on the earth. The C. P. takes the initiative in building a "labor" party—a mass, class, federated, revolutionary, not reformist, not revisionist, highest form of united front "labor" party! I cannot imagine that this group of workers meeting at your house will "fall" for this C. P. "conversion", a conversion like that of the habitual drunk at the Rescue Mission; and for the colossal impudence of the C. P. plea to American workers: "We have a 100 percent record of failure on all our policies. Everybody else saw it years ago. Even we see it now. Consequently, we are the only qualified revolutionary leaders of the working class!"

4. A Dictatorship of one man, Stalin, exists in the Third International. Earl Browder, secretary of the C.P.U.S. is his messenger boy. Under these conditions the C. P. is utterly incapable of correcting its mistakes. It can only execute zig-zags. Consider what happened a month or two ago. The C. P. is

against a "labor" party. Browder steps off the boat; just returned from Moscow. He hurries to Washington. A non-party gathering, the Unemployment Insurance Congress, is in session there. Some Lovestones (whose main aim in life, curiously enough, is still to get back into the C. P.) distributed a leaflet calling for the building of a labor party. Using the type of argument at which they shine most brightly, the Stalinists tore up the leaflets and beat up the Lovestones distributors! Then the meeting opened and Browder made them a speech informing them that they were now for a labor party!

What happened? True, some of the comrades turned pale momentarily and experienced that sick feeling at the stomach. There had to be some explanation in the Daily Worker. The nature of this explanation is the best evidence anyone could ask of the low intellectual level of the C. P., and that includes the "intellectuals", critics, novelists, poets, artists, social workers, preachers, etc. who are C. P. members or stooges.

The Daily Worker explained: The Labor Party question is one of tactics not principle, so we can change the line without much ado. Anyway, it was not really a change of line; we always were for a labor party under proper conditions. As for having a party discussion before changing the line, in the first place in the C. P. the members have such confidence in the Political Committee that the Committee can act without consulting the membership; in the second place, in the C. P. discussion does not precede action—we discuss and act at the same time (though to the eye of the simple-minded outsider it looked as though Stalin gave the order, Browder obediently repeated it, the party leaders and members blinked their eyes, swallowed hard, accepted the order like the robots they have become, and only then indulged in a little "discussion", a very little "discussion" in which no one breathed the least doubt of the omniscience of Stalin, "the beloved and genial leader of our party and of the working class", as he is now described in the Soviet Union which would have had a word for). Naturally enough about all that emerged from a "discussion" conducted on that level was that "Trotskyist" opposition to the labor party or criticism of the way in which the turn in the party line had been effected was part of a counter-revolutionary plot to assassinate Kirov!

5. Many an honest worker in the C. P. and outside finally swallows all its mistakes and crimes and remains loyal to it, because he accepts the C. P. argument which runs something like this: The Soviet Union is the only workers' state in the world. It is the workers' fatherland. It is in terrible danger today. Our main, practically our sole task, is to defend it. Save the Soviet Union and all is saved; lose it and all is lost. "Attack" the C. P. today and you attack Stalin; attack Stalin who has the full support of the workers in the U. S. today and you attack the U. S. Any one who does that is

doing just what Hitler does: he lines up with Hitler, he is an assassin of Soviet leaders, he is that vilest of all creatures, one who under the disguise of a revolutionist would destroy the Soviet Union and the October Revolution.

We too believe that the Soviet Union is a workers' state. We point to the achievements of the workers in the U. S. as evidence of how planned socialist production even in the face of the greatest obstacles and when as yet only the beginnings of the foundations of a socialist system exist alongside of vestiges of capitalism, can do more for the masses than capitalism can. We stand, and we alone, for the real defense of the Soviet Union.

To hold that you can defend the U. S. and advance the interests of the Soviet workers only by accepting the Stalin regime and not criticizing Stalin is like saying that in order to defend unionism in the U. S. and advance the interests of organized labor you have to accept the regime of Bill Green, John L. Lewis, Matty Wolf and Dan Tobin and have to regard any criticism of these bureaucrats as treason. Our contention is precisely that in both cases the interests of the workers can be advanced only by defeating the present leadership.

The Stalin theory is that Socialism can be built—that is, poverty abolished, classes done away with, etc.—in the Soviet Union alone and although capitalism still holds sway in all other lands. It is natural that under these circumstances those who believe this and especially office-holders in the U. S. should become lukewarm about the revolution in other countries, should concentrate all their attention on "building Socialism" in the U. S. and tell the Communist parties in other countries that their only job is "defending the Soviet Union".

What is the result of the working-out of this theory? The international revolutionary movement is emasculated. Not a Congress of the C. I. has been held out in seven years, as we have pointed out. The Communist parties in capitalist countries are forced to change their line mechanically as the exigencies of the foreign and domestic policies of the present leadership of the S. U. dictate. Upon parties thus weakened Fascism inflicts one defeat after another.

The Soviet Union not being able to count under these circumstances on the backing of any powerful revolutionary force in capitalist countries, the Stalinist leadership leads it further and further into a swamp. In order to postpone war, the S. U. enters the League of Nations which Lenin described as a league of imperialist robbers, and Stalin proclaims this as a victory for the workers. A military alliance or "understanding" is entered into with imperialist France. Non-aggression pacts are signed with various countries. "Leagues against War and Fascism" mainly composed of middle class intellectuals, are organized. Workers are imbued with the pacifist illusion that peace can be maintained by these means. But even that is not the worst that Stalinism can do and has done.

The Bolshevik party in the U. S. has been destroyed. Of the Political Bureau of the party in Lenin's time no one but Stalin remains. All the rest are in prison, exile or retirement. Party opponents of Stalin are sent to Siberia or shot. In their place men like the present Soviet ambassadors to London, Paris, Berlin, Washington, who were bourgeois professors or Mensheviks or actually engaged in counter-revolutionary activity at the time of the October revolution are elevated to office, and along with professors and social workers in the U. S. who discovered Russia yesterday, become authorities on how to defend the Soviet Union!

Recently one of these 1935 model Bolsheviks, Troskyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to Washington, spoke to the big shots of the Bond Club of New York about non-aggression pacts (with capitalist powers) as a means to preserve peace. He argued that the nations must go further—"dig to the bottom of contemporary troubles". How? "It is necessary to work out practical plans for the economic rehabilitation of the world, and especially for Europe." In order to make it perfectly clear that he meant rehabilitation under capitalism he added: "Probably the advice of broad-minded business men would be available and useful in this connection."

Thus the way is prepared for Communists (Stalinists) to work for the rehabilitation, not the overthrow of capitalism and to fight for some imperialist nation when war comes on the ground that this nation is allied with the Soviet Union and that failing to fight for it will mean to weaken the "defense of the Soviet Union". Thus also the destruction of the workers' state in the Soviet Union is prepared, for a war in which the S. U. is involved, while the revolutionary working class movement is demoralized and the workers are the peasants have any need for democratic reforms. So long as Stalin keeps both his hands upon the throat of the proletarian vanguard all constitutional reforms will remain Bonapartist reformism.

February 10, 1935

QUESTION BOX

QUESTION: How do you account for the fact that Hearst makes use of Trotsky's pamphlet "The Kirov Assassination" to attack the Soviet Union so that the Daily Worker of March 20, pointing to this fact, is able to claim that Hearst and Trotsky are allies?

ANSWER: To clarify the question let us first consider an analogy. When a trade union bureaucrat is proven to be corrupt, the capitalist press, identifying the corrupt union bureaucracy with the union itself, points to the facts with glee for the purpose of discrediting unionization in general. From the workers' viewpoint, however, which makes a distinction between the union as a workers' organization and its corrupt bureaucracy, it is necessary that the progressive elements within the organizations unceasingly expose such corruption so as to correct it, and only in this way can it be corrected and the corrupt leadership replaced.

The bureaucrats never attempt to reply to this criticism on its merits, i.e., are the charges true or not; that is too dangerous. Identifying themselves with the union to divert from the real issues, they usually answer as follows: "By attacking us you people are attempting to destroy OUR union. See! Even the press of the boss is using the information you are spreading to discredit us so that workers will quit the organization or refuse to join." As a matter of fact many workers, under the pressure of the capitalist propaganda, are repelled by the dishonesty of many trade-union bureaucrats, and consider unions as rackets, but the responsibility for this lies, not in the necessary criticism of the left-wing workers, but in the DEEDS of the bureaucrats.

Except that it is on a much higher historical plane and therefore more difficult to visualize, the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union might be compared to that of the bureaucracy of the trade unions in the capitalist countries. Identifying themselves with the Workers' State, the Stalinists consider and label any attack on their mistakes and crimes as an attack on the workers' fatherland itself. In this they stand on the same premise as Hearst, who also identifies the Stalinists with the Soviet Union and attacks the latter through the misdeeds of the former, using if necessary the fact that Trotsky, who does not identify the Stalinist clique with the proletarian dictatorship and sharply criticizes their bureaucratic machinations in an attempt to correct them. (It is to be observed that Hearst does not even hesitate to use Lenin's critique of the Paris Commune for the same purpose, but the Daily Worker conveniently ignores this fact.)

The Stalinists have not answered the criticism made in Trotsky's pamphlet (that would be treading on thin ice), even though they have devoted much space to slandering it. The attempt of the Daily Worker to draw an equation sign between Hearst and Trotsky is merely a smoke-screen to divert from the real issues, a procedure in no way differing from that used by corrupt trade union bureaucracies.

The gist of the matter is this: Analogous to the case of the trade unions, any discredit which may come to the Soviet Union flows, not from the necessary and correct criticisms launched against the Stalinist bureaucracy by the revolutionists, but from the DEEDS of this bureaucracy itself.

That the destruction and defeat of imperialist powers is their aim mean no more than the declarations on peace and socialism of the Social Democratic leaders before 1914. The defense of the Soviet Union today and the liberation of the masses in capitalist countries depends today upon the building of new revolutionary parties and the new International.

Sometimes workers have protested that these are "Russian" questions and do not concern American workers. But it is clear that nothing can concern American workers more directly than questions of the trade union policy, labor party, war, and on all of these the situation in the C. I. determines the policy which the C. P. tries to impose on American workers. Whatever weakens the revolutionary movement and strengthens Fascism anywhere directly concerns us, in this world where peoples do not live within sky-high national walls, where the workers must build a new international economy or perish in the slaughter created by the nationalists and imperialists.

It is just because it is so tremendously important that we build a powerful revolutionary party in the U. S. that we must deliver the revolutionary movement in this country from the domination of the C. I. and the C.P.S.U. That can be done only if we understand the fundamental reasons for the degeneration which has taken place in them under the regime of Stalinism.

The Right to Vote for Stalin Is Granted

"Soviet Democracy"

In order to erect some sort of a partial screen to counteract the repulsive impression which has been created by Stalin's manhandling of his political opponents, under the guise of waging a struggle against terrorists, much publicity has been given to a great democratic reform: collective farmers, as members of a socialist society, have been given equal electoral rights with the industrial workers. Upon this score the flunkies have raised a hullabaloo about the entry into to kingdom of genuine democracy [but what was there yesterday?]

The Role of the Party

The inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants had its social reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat in a peasant country found its necessary and open expression in electoral privileges of the workers. The inequality of rights presupposed, in any case, the existence of rights. The Soviet system provided the toilers with a genuine possibility for determining the fate of the country. The political power was concentrated in the hands of the vanguard—party. Through the Soviets and the trade unions, the party was always submitted to the pressure of the masses. By means of this pressure the party kept the Soviet bureaucracy subordinate to itself.

It is utter nonsense that the peasantry has sensibly succeeded in reeducating itself socially during the two to three years of collectivization. The antagonism between the city and village still preserves

all of its acuteness. Even today the dictatorship is inconceivable without the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry. But the inequality in the electoral rights between the workers and peasants has lost its real content, in so far as the bureaucracy has completely deprived both the former and the latter of political rights. From the standpoint of the mechanics of the Bonapartist regime the appointment of electoral districts is of absolutely no significance. The bureaucracy might have given the peasant ten times as many votes as the worker—we would obtain the very same result, for each and all possess in the last analysis the one and only right: to vote for Stalin.

The secret ballot may at first sight appear to be a genuine concession. But who would dare to oppose his own candidacy to the official slate? An oppositionist, if elected by "secret ballot", would, indeed, be declared an open class enemy, immediately after the elections. Thus the secret ballot cannot effect any real change.

The entire reform represents a Bonapartist masquerade—and nothing more. The very need of such a masquerade is unmistakable testimony to the growing sharpening in the relations between the bureaucracy and the toiling masses. Neither the workers nor the peasants have any need for democratic reforms. So long as Stalin keeps both his hands upon the throat of the proletarian vanguard all constitutional reforms will remain Bonapartist reformism.

—L. T.

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W. P. on the Firing Line

THE pages of this issue of the *New Militant* are alive with direct reports of labor action on many fronts. Everywhere the American workers are stirring. The third great strike wave under the New Deal is in the making. From all indications, the strikes breaking out in various parts of the country are simply preliminary skirmishes which presage the deeper and more widespread labor rebellion to come in the next few months. And what is of exceptional significance in the situation is the active role of the members of the Workers Party in the struggles now under way and in the course of preparation. Our reports are not written in the office; they come direct from the firing line, from party members in the midst of the actions.

In the strikes at Los Angeles, Fargo and Toledo—three of the hot spots at the moment—party members are in the forefront, playing an active and, to a certain extent, a leading part. Our comrades are on the job at Akron where a great rubber strike impends. At St. Louis they are busy in the preparations for a strike of gas workers. In cooperation with other progressive and militant forces they are leading the turbulent left wing movement in the Illinois coal fields. Party members are the mainspring of the Unemployed Leagues, the most imposing movement of the unemployed in the entire country which only recently held a state convention in Ohio with 400 bona fide delegates.

This remarkable activity in the class struggle on so many fronts is a heartening sign of the times and a magnificent prospect for the future. The party of revolutionary theory is revealing itself, from the start, as the party of action. That road will lead unflinchingly to a rapidly increasing strength and expanding influence of our party. Clarity of principle and resolute, energetic action—this combination is the formula for victory. Our activity under this sign during the first period of the party's existence has already brought gratifying results and has started the party on the right road. Nothing can stop us if we stick to this line.

The Socialist Party Crisis

IF THE Socialist Party is turning revolutionary, as some conscientious people believe and some conscious deceivers maintain, nothing happened at the Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee to support the contention. On the contrary, the leading body of the party demonstrated once again at Buffalo that it has sufficient political affinity with the reactionary Old Guard to overlook its splitting provocations and allow six weeks longer for a reconciliation. At the same time the N.E.C. showed no less hostility to revolutionary ideas than that which animates the Old Guard itself.

And what else was to be expected from this body? The motion declaring the advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by revolutionary means to be "incompatible with membership in the party" was not a reversal of position or a betrayal of principles previously held by the N.E.C. majority. The party leaders were simply reaffirming the Detroit Declaration as they understand it, and not as pseudo-lefts and apologetic ex-communists explain it. Louis Waldman, spokesman of the Old Guard and champion of bourgeois democratic "socialism" without one percent discount, branded the action of the N.E.C. as a "capitulation" to the Old Guard. That, however, is an unjust accusation. The left reformists in control of the National Committee only remained true to their own color by their motion to purge the party of the troublesome "reds." Red is not their color.

What are they fighting about?—the perplexed and disappointed radical workers in the Socialist Party may well ask themselves. Not over principles, but rather over methods of coping with the radical sentiments of the socialist workers which have been given a powerful impetus by the debacle of social reformism in Europe and the sharpening class struggle in the United States. Not over roads to power in the struggle against capitalism—the N.E.C. majority is no less devoted to "democratic" methods than the Old Guard—but over power in the party. That is why the struggle against the Old Guard centers around organization questions and such abstractions

as "unity"; the real political blows are directed against left wing tendencies in the party.

What is the political tendency of the dominant leaders of the party which is so extravagantly—and so falsely—advertised as the "party of revolutionary unity"? They have made it clear long ago for those who judge actions politically and report them honestly. It was written in deeds once again at Buffalo. The Oklahoma *Guardian*, that priceless representative of Detroit Declaration socialism, gives over its columns to a campaign for a third party to include Huey Long and the LaFollettes and carries articles from the facile pen of the democrat, Upton Sinclair. That is O.K. with the N.E.C. of the revolutionized party; there is no censure for Ameringer. The *New Leader* dares—at this day, after Germany and Austria!—to present the Scandinavian socialists in the governments of capitalist States as comrades in arms. There is not even a suggestion of criticism from the party leadership. But the five Buffalo party members, appealing to the N.E.C. against their expulsion, are cynically referred back to the State Executive Committee—the very body which instigated their expulsion! And mention the appalling fact that there are people of "Trotskyist", that is, revolutionary Marxist tendencies in the party—as Oneal did accusingly at the meeting—and Norman Thomas promptly retorts: "Point them out to us and we will kick them out." In these acts of omission and commission the political tendency of the leaders of the "party of revolutionary unity" is revealed.

All this is not to deny that there are profound political causes for the internal struggle in the Socialist Party. At the bottom of the whole conflict is the impulse of the proletarian and youth sections of the movement for a revolutionary policy. But these elements have not yet clearly formulated their program or found leaders worthy of their cause. That is why their sentiments can be exploited so shamelessly; that is why they are made into pawns of an unprincipled struggle for place and position.

The Buffalo comedy warns the revolutionary elements again to formulate their own program and begin a real fight on principled lines. Such a fight will necessarily be directed against the present pseudo-left majority of the N.E.C. as well as against their reformist kin of the Old Guard. It will reject out of hand the treacherous formula of "unity" with scoundrels, reformists and labor fakers masquerading as socialists. The first plank in such a revolutionary program of the socialist workers will be: *Revolutionary unity!*—Break with reformism and reformists and unite with the revolutionary forces of the Workers Party!

The Paradox of New York

NEW YORK CITY contains one of the greatest anachronisms of modern times. It is at once the richest and poorest city in the land.

Here is concentrated the greatest wealth in all the universe.

Here are amassed the croesus treasures of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Astor.

Here the "400" form an aristocracy as would make the kings and nobility of old green with envy.

Here lies the center of the Morgan empire whose money power holds the million masses of the world in its grip.

The capital of the United States is in truth in Wall Street and its symbol is the almighty dollar.

New York as is commonly known has the largest population of any metropolis in the world and the plutocratic "400" form but an infinitesimal portion of it.

A report by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, of how the "other half", the 5,999,600, live tells a ghastly tale of rich and poor, of have and have-not. A sane observer from Mars would rub his eyes with incredulity over this striking comparison. Here they are summarized:

One million wage workers are unemployed. One out of every three workers employed in New York in 1930 is unemployed.

With their wives, children and other dependents the grand total of those affected by unemployment is 37 percent of the entire population of New York City.

Of the 666,000 unemployed families only 245,000 are on home relief.

Another 325,000 stricken families haven't applied or can't get near the government dole.

Those on relief don't live a kingly existence either—EIGHT (8) cents is the allowance per person per meal.

It is therefore not unnatural that 18.1 percent of New York's school children are suffering from malnutrition. That is, one out of every five border on starvation.

And piling suffering on misery, the allowance for rent is so meager that 17 percent of the families on relief were using food money to keep from being evicted.

New York is indeed the capital of the world—in poverty as in wealth. This it is because it most graphically epitomizes capitalism itself.

Our news story on the Mayor's report refers to a large section of the jobless as a reservoir of misery—

Let us add, a combustible reservoir of revolt.

Akron Labor Set for Siege

(Continued from Page 1)
aid in crystallizing resentment against the companies. The memories of Toledo, not over 100 miles away, are still fresh in Akron workers' minds.

A rapid increase in membership has heartened the unions and given them much additional strength. While they are still far short of the number they had last year (over 70 percent of the workers were in the A. F. of L. then), the long-promised action is finding a warm welcome among the workers. One local alone reported 625 new members in the last two weeks.

Support of the organized auto workers has been pledged and union leaders declare that the A. F. of L. unions in Detroit will walk out at the same time. Along with this, the rubberworkers will need the backing of all organized labor throughout the country in the forthcoming struggle. A victory at Akron would greatly strengthen unionism throughout the country.

It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to do their utmost to help win this strike. Our party at Akron has been prepared for the strike and will be in the forefront of the struggle.

Toledo in Grip of Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)
solidarity of the strikers will reach a new high when the organized working class comes out into the street to roar its defiance of the open shop bosses.

The sympathetic strike movement is in the air. Several unions are standing by, waiting for the call to action. The Central Labor Union has met to consider a general strike. All of Toledo is tense with expectation and only the most stubborn resistance of the conservative leaders of the central bodies can stem the tide—and then with the greatest difficulty.

Toledo can touch off the powder keg that has been gathering with resentment over the results of the New Deal since the last strike wave. Word has come that the Ohio Unemployed League plans to extend the FERA strike on a statewide scale. Bill Truax, President of the O.U.L., has addressed a letter to the State Federation of Labor asking that a joint action committee be set up to initiate a statewide strike on FERA projects. The demands of the O.U.L. in this proposed strike action adopted at its March 10 conference are: \$1.00 per hour; the thirty-hour week for common labor and the highest prevailing rate for skilled labor, and others which cover conditions of work.

As has been indicated above, the W.P. members are carrying on the tradition they established in the great Auto-Lite strike. They are in the forefront of all activities, in the thick of the battle with scabs and gunmen and in leading posts in the action committees. They are giving the party a reputation that it well can be proud of.

C. P. Members on Stand in C.S. Trial

(Continued from Page 1)
of the proletariat, a soviet government, but only an abstract "Workers and Farmers Government".

The honor of Communism was partially saved by the testimony of Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker. Warnick took a bold and uncompromising stand. He said that he had been among the instigators of the Workers' School, that the workers must be organized and given a communist education in preparation for the proletarian revolution. He stated that the workers would have to get this education in their own schools because, being a university graduate himself, he knew they could never be anything but miseducated in the capitalist controlled schools.

Decker took up a position much to the left of the others and even had the courage to mention that at a certain stage of the struggle soviets might be set up.

What is the cause of this miserable showing on the part of the defendants? It lies partly in the cowardly testimony of Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P., who testified as an "expert" on Communism and laid down the line for the others. It also lies in the confusion in the minds of these members of the Communist Party as to what Communism really is. They were committed by the old party program to the policy of "revolutionary unions", of united fronts from below, of social fascism, of unemployed councils, and a central slogan of soviet power. But all of them know that there are no more revolutionary unions, no social fas-

Starvation Faces Millions Of New York's Unemployed

(Continued from Page 1)

heat. . . . It also revealed that 24 percent of the families were crowded together so that there were more than two persons per room, excluding the kitchen.

"The rent allowance for 386 of these families was being supplemented definitely from the food allowance. In other words, 17 percent of the families on relief were using money sorely needed for food to keep a roof over their heads.

"In still other cases it was discovered that the family was meeting additional rent from boarders and part-time earnings. Upon discovery of this fact the Home Relief Division proceeded to deduct such income from the family relief budget, thus making it necessary for more families to turn to the food allowances to make up the differences."

Thus resulting, although the report does not mention it, in further malnutrition and sickness, demanding a larger food allowance, and in the end costing the Home Relief Bureau just as much as if they had originally permitted the family to supplement its relief allowance. But such an economy is far beyond the ability of the penny-clutching representatives of capitalism who administer relief.

"The private agencies include a regular clothing allowance in their budgets which average \$200 per

year for a family of five. . . . During the year 1934 the average Home Relief Bureau allowance for clothing was \$16.20.

Clothing Inadequate

"Month after month appropriations originally intended for clothing were subsequently assigned to meet the additional food and rent requirements of new families added to the rolls. . . . Occasional and inadequate allowances for clothing work a particular hardship in families where there are small children who need clothing in order to attend school. . . .

"A survey of every Home Relief precinct in the city resulted in additional evidence that the Bureau has never been able to allow sufficient funds to cover even the barest necessities in clothing for either adults or children. The failure to provide clothing has been a vital factor in the breakdown of the morale of the unemployed. No man or woman can expect to remain employable or seek work if he is not decently clothed."

The report goes on. In summer the little food spoils for lack of ice. In winter the relief bureau fails to maintain a proper supply of coal. The misery and oppression rises in an overwhelming mountain.

There are 245,000 families on relief now. There are at least 325,000 more who will be forced on relief as the months pass. This in New York City alone.

Only a Spark Is Needed

(Continued from Page 1)

adherence to revolutionary Marxist principle reveals its patent enormous superiority over phrase-mongering, lack of principle and playing with principle. It is in the struggle against imperialist war that the "big" parties and the "big" institutions, built up on a weak or rotten foundation, crumple like a house of cards.

What can be expected of the Socialist Party in the form of leadership in the struggle against war? Worse than nothing! Right at this moment, when the sound of war drums become ominously louder, the parties of the Second International are preparing to play the same despicable part that made them so hated by class conscious workers during the war of 1914-1918. In the Scandinavian countries, the social democracy is in the government, taking over in advance the job of mobilizing the working class for the capitalist powers—that be and restraining them from revolutionary action. In France, as in other so-called non-Fascist lands, the social democracy is preparing to head the war recruiting drives under the slogan of "Defend democracy against Hitler Fascism!"—as the Allied social patriots of 1914 defended France and Russia from German Kaiserism and their Entente brothers under the skin defended Germany and Austria from Russian Czarism and Japanese autocracy.

Blind also would be the worker who trusted to the Stalinist party to conduct an effective struggle against imperialist war. The crew which has lost one battle after another, which has destroyed the revolutionary and labor movements in one country after another, which has made an art of capitulation, is hardly the one to lead a fight under the conditions of war. The party which retired from the field without the firing of a shot when Hitler took over power, and which made such an ignominious showing in the battle of the Saar, will not prove to be a bit abler in a sterner test. The party which cannot think or act for itself, which is a mere puppet of the Soviet foreign Office will not be able either to combat imperialist war or fulfill the elementary obligation of a class conscious proletarian: effectively defend the Soviet Union. The party which has already committed itself in part to the piratical League of Nations, and in whole to the misleading pacifist nonsense about "disarmament" as a preventive of war, will wilt and collapse at the first serious moment.

Now more than ever, therefore, must the basic principles of Marx and Lenin in the anti-war struggle be emphasized. The imperialist war can be conducted only on the basis of revolutionary principle, of the consistently pursued class struggle. All talk of fighting imperialist war which does not proceed from the need of utilizing the crisis of the ruling class for the purpose of carrying the class war into its camp and ending the war by overthrowing the imperialist war-mongers—is so much wind. All talk of class war against imperialist war is so much more wind unless it is based upon a correct revolutionary policy of mobilizing the workers NOW, TODAY, in their every-day battles, in their unions, in their strikes, for a growing movement against the capitalist enemy.

The struggle against capitalist war is an extension and enhancement of the struggle against capitalism—not something apart from it. They will not fight capitalist wars who do not NOW fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants at every step in the road—and that means the Socialist Party. They will not be able to fight capitalist wars who are not NOW able to fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants, who by their stupid and opportunist policies actually aid the latter to consolidate themselves—and that means the Communist Party.

If the fight against war demands a fight in the class war today, then the latter demands a militant working class party capable of organizing, coordinating, planning and carrying out this class war. The fight against imperialist war, which now clouds the whole world horizon, boils down basically to the work of redoubling and multiplying tenfold all energies to build up the revolutionary party of the working class, the party of consistent Marxism, the Workers Party of the United States, and the Fourth International which it heralds.

ism, no unemployed councils, the Townsend Pension groups. They all realize that the policy of the Communist Party in California is now a labor party based on Sinclair's EPIC, on the Utopians, on

LEFT . . . JABS

British Bourgeois Hypocrisy
"It is our difficult privilege to be the torch bearers of ordered freedom in Europe"—said Stanley Baldwin, actual leader of the British government. Why so modest? Why only Europe? How about India? And Africa? And why forget the war to bring "ordered freedom" for the peddlers of opium and religion in China? Uriah Heep should have entered politics. He'd have been a great statesman, almost the equal of McDonald or Baldwin.

Britain, Hitler and Peace
The London Times, commenting on the recent moves of Hitler, says: "Though Hitler's action in introducing conscription was most provocative, the deed has been accompanied by words strongly expressive of peace. Whatever happens the statesmen of Europe are now at work in a new spirit." That should be consoling to the cannon fodder! Again the Times says: "Germany is peace-minded in this sense, that she would rather get her way peacefully than by violence." In this sense a rattle snake is a veritable pacifist.

The "Great Engineer" Tries a Comeback

"Ex-President Hoover breaks self-imposed silence to defend fundamental American principles"—News items. This is the same guy who said in 1928 that if he was elected President "with the help of God we will be in sight of the day when poverty will be abolished in these United States". God must have sabotaged him. And lest we forget—in March 1930 this self-same American fundamentalist said "within 60 days everyone will be back to work." He continued to feed the starving American workers with similar statements until he found himself flat on his "American fundamental principle" at the foot of the White House steps. His recent statement was read before the California Republican Assembly and enthusiastically cheered. "Hoover never had a chance when he was president," sobbed the Republican chairman. Neither did the starving bonus marchers who were gassed and bayoneted at Washington. Today with the Roosevelt smile changing to a paralytic grimace, even Hoover hopes for a comeback.

Justice In Harlem
An 18 year old Negro girl screamed when she saw a boy being beaten in Kress 5 & 10c store. She was arrested and taken before Magistrate Rinaud. This "most learned and upright judge" said he "did not think she screamed with malicious intent" but fined her \$10 or three days.

Harmless Substitutes All
"Yerba Mate is a harmless substitute for coffee and tea. . . . With each package of Mate we will send you a copy of Goldman's booklet 'From Communism to Socialism'."—Advertisement in the Socialist Call. The Socialist Call itself substitutes "turning the other cheek" where real blows are required. It is the organ of the Militants in the S.P. and is as pacifist in its attitude to the hard boiled Old Guard as the New Leader, organ of the Old Guard, is militant in its attack on the Militants. A "harmless substitute" sums up the entire policy of the Militants and the Socialist Call, to say nothing of Goldman's pamphlet.

Thomas Offers Olive Branch

(Continued from Page 1)
membership in the party; called upon the New York State Committee to accept the Declaration of Principles; reiterated the clause of the constitution permitting Yipsels 18 years or over to join the party; called for the reinstatement of the suspended Yipsei organization on the basis of party discipline without obliging them to support any particular party paper; called upon the New Leader to pledge its allegiance to the Socialist Party of the U. S. and, if this is complied with, the N. C. will advise the suspension of the Socialist Call. The Old Guard was given six weeks in which to act on this decision.

Among other matters dealt with at the meeting was an endorsement of the reorganization of the Indiana state organization. The terrified radicals of the N.E.C. based this action on the precedent set by the Hillquit machine in expelling the Left in 1919! A decision was made to propagate for a Farmer Labor Party though not taking immediate steps in its organization. The five Buffalo party members who appealed to the N.E.C. against their expulsion were referred to the State Committee—that is, to the body which directed their expulsion in the first place.

SPEAKER:

Max Shachtman

THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Saturday, March 30, 8 p.m.
Labor Temple 14th St. & 2nd Ave.

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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THE CRIME OF SACRAMENTO

AN EDITORIAL

The conviction of eight leaders and active workers of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, and consequent sentence to the penitentiary, is a crime of the first magnitude, not only against the individual victims but against the entire working class of America, against all forces in the country working for a better and happier future.

A blow has been struck at Sacramento against labor rights painfully acquired in generations of bitter struggle and sacrifice. Reaction, conspiring in the dark to thwart all the aspirations of the oppressed people for a better life, has scored a victory. Eight militants will pay for that reactionary victory with the loss of several years of liberty. The workers everywhere will pay for it in their struggles against exploiters emboldened by the precedent.

Those guilty of the Sacramento crime are, first of all, the industrialists and bankers of California, their cover organization, the Associated Farmers, and their agents, the prosecuting attorneys, the court, the vigilantes and deputies, the police and the hired stool pigeons—the whole state apparatus of repression and oppression.

Accomplices in the crime are the cynical and corrupt leaders of the Communist Party who shamefully subordinated the interests of the defendants to an internal party factional struggle against them, and sacrificed the class interests involved in the case to sectarian considerations in the struggle against another party.

They played down the historic case and robbed it of the national prominence which was its due; they kept the defendants—members of the Communist Party—in jail for six months before the trial, refusing to provide bail for them; they broke up the united front movement of defense and protest; while the trial was on they slandered one of the defendants, Norman Mini, who is distinguished only by his superior intelligence and integrity; they imposed courtroom tactics on their attorney which worked exclusively to antagonize the jury and jeopardize the chances of the defendants.

Despite all this the jury had to deliberate 66 hours before reaching a verdict. Four jurors held out for acquittal, finally consenting to a horse-trade which convicted eight out of fifteen defendants. A powerful united defense movement, an intelligent courtroom policy and a loyal attitude toward all defendants would undoubtedly have brought a different result at Sacramento. The American working class will do well to probe this tragic experience to the bottom. The day of reckoning will come for the capitalist perpetrators of this crime and also for their accomplices, the perfidious leaders of American Stalinism.

NY Left Wing Leaves YPSL And Joins WP

Resign as a Group in Protest against NC Decision at Buffalo

Twelve young socialists who have constituted the New York left wing group of the Young Peoples Socialist League have joined the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League in a body. This is the first answer of the revolutionary socialists to the treacherous decision of the N.E.C. meeting at Buffalo declaring the advocacy of revolutionary views to be "incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party."

A public mass meeting to welcome the young socialists into the ranks of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League will be held at Irving Plaza, Sunday, April 14 at 8 P.M. Dave Atkins, Julius Bertman, Manny Garrett, Joseph Carter and James P. Cannon will speak.

The statement of the young socialists clearly explains the reasons for their resignation and their adherence to the Workers Party and the S.Y.L. They record their repeated warnings against the Old Guard, the majority of the National Committee (Hoan-Thomas) and their criticisms of the vacillating, centrist "Militants."

Analyses Confirmed
"Our analyses"—says the statement—"were completely confirmed by the decisions of the Buffalo meeting of the National Committee of the S. P. and the 'Victory' reports spread by the leaders of the New York 'Militants'."

"At Buffalo the majority of the national committee retreated from their plan to take immediate decisive action against the Old Guard. They gave them six weeks in which to consider a compromise proposal. At the same time a heavy blow—this time a serious political one!—was directed against the true revolutionary elements, that is, against those who favor the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. According to the N. C. majority revolutionary socialism has no place in the S. P. and the Y.P.S.L. Or as the suave 'Militants' would have it: revolutionary Socialists can remain in the Socialist movement only if they do not propagate a revolutionary program! For what is the essence of revolutionary so-

cialism if not the revolutionary way to power?

"Politically the Hoan-Thomas majority are far closer to Oneal and Lee than to revolutionary Marxism. A split with the latter will not make Thomas and Hoan revolutionary Socialists or the Socialist Party a revolutionary organization."

The statement cites the entrance of the Belgian Labor Party into a capitalist coalition government as a warning sign as to the preparations of the Labor and Socialist International for a new war on the side of the national capitalist class. A repetition of the betrayal of 1914 can only be counteracted by the organization of revolutionary parties of the Fourth International. That is why they today, when war may soon be a reality, join the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

Struggle Against Reformism

"We call upon those who do not as yet agree with our views or the step we are taking to give serious consideration to what we have said. For we are convinced that only on the program of revolutionary Marxism, and through the medium of the revolutionary parties of the Fourth International can we defend the immediate interests of the working class and bring about triumphant world socialism. We are no less convinced that those of you who conduct a serious struggle against reformism in all its forms will come to the same conclusion and join the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League."

The signatories are: David Atkins, member of the S. P. 7th A.D., Bronx, two years; member of Y.P.S.L., Circle 4 Srs. Bronx, 4 years. Julius Bertman, member of S. P. 7th A.D. Bronx, two years; member of Y.P.S.L. Circle 12 Srs. Bronx, five years. Edward F. Dawley, Circle 6 Manhattan Y.P.S.L., two years; Evelyn Dorum, Circle 6 Manhattan, one and a half years. Frances Levinsky, Circle 13 Srs. Manhattan, seven months; Marion H. Berkowitz, Circle 14 Srs. Bronx, three years; Sam Roth, Circle 13 Srs. Manhattan, one and a half years; Edward Rosen, Circle 1 Srs. Bronx, three years; Alice Falek, Circle 8 Srs. Manhattan, two years; George Fleischman, Circle 3 Srs. Bronx, one year; Freda Lapedas, Circle 2 Srs. Manhattan, two years.

JOBLESS DRIVERS ORGANIZE

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Unemployed drivers, helpers and inside workers of Local 574 met here recently and planned to form an unemployed organization. A large mass meeting was held. An action and organization committee of 15 was selected to draw up a program, plan of action and list of demands.

Akron Rubber Strike Impends

Modern Strike Strategy

DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN GAS HOUSE WORKER

GAS WORKERS STRIKE 100% EFFECTIVE

Volume 1 Published by Local 18799, Gas House Workers' Union Number 2

LACLEDGE COMPANY DISCONTINUES FREE SERVICE

According to the statement of the Laclede Gas Company, the free service of the Laclede Gas Company, which has been in effect since 1927, has been discontinued. The company states that it is no longer able to maintain this service because of the high cost of gas and the increasing number of calls for service.

When the Laclede Gas Company discontinued the free service, it was a blow to the workers of the company. The workers had been relying on this service for many years and it was a part of their life. The company's action was a clear attempt to increase its profits at the expense of the workers.

The workers of the Laclede Gas Company are determined to fight back. They have organized a strike and are ready to go out on the picket line. They will not allow the company to treat them this way.

STRIKE PAPER GOES OVER

The strike paper of the Laclede Gas Company, which has been in effect since 1927, has been discontinued. The company states that it is no longer able to maintain this service because of the high cost of gas and the increasing number of calls for service.

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WOMEN'S ROLE IN STRIKES

The women of the Laclede Gas Company have played a vital role in the strike. They have organized the strike and are ready to go out on the picket line. They will not allow the company to treat them this way.

MASS MEETING TONIGHT, 8:00 P. M. — ELECTRICAL WORKERS' HALL

Following the example of Minneapolis Drivers' Local No. 574, the striking gas house workers of St. Louis are publishing their own daily paper. A facsimile of the second number of the "Gas House Worker" appears above.

St. Louis Gas House Workers Answer Bosses with Strike

Police and Scabs Fail To Terrorize Strikers; Two Unions Offer Aid

ST. LOUIS, March 30.—Swiftly and secretly Federal Union of Gas House Workers, No. 18799 struck a well-prepared blow for the right to organize. In this battle against the profit-gorging Laclede Gas Co., the Gas House workers have taken up the cause of the entire laboring population of St. Louis.

As one man the gas workers followed the call of the union to blaze the trail for labor organization in the very heart of open shop territory. With the exception of a few incorrigible bootlickers the entire staff of Laclede is on strike. From the main office to the coke plant to the street department and the meter readers the picket line marches for its rights.

Daily Strike Bulletin

Even as the workers left their jobs the union headquarters was humming with activities, preparations having been completed before the plant was struck. So effective has their action been that directly with the declaration of the strike came the immediate issuance of a daily Strike Bulletin.

The "Gas House Worker", name of this bulletin, has been greeted with enthusiasm by the men on the picket lines. Already it has served as a solidifier of the ranks—a spur to new militancy and struggle. Here

SUBSCRIBERS, ATTENTION

Watch the number after your name on the wrapper in which your paper is mailed. If the number after your name is the same as this number—16—it means your sub has expired and this is the last issue you will receive until we receive your renewal.

If you will send your renewal several issues in advance it will save work and expense in the office and insure your receiving the paper without interruption. Unless you do so you will inevitably miss some issues. No subscriptions can be back dated. Back issues will be supplied at the regular rates plus postage. Please cooperate!
—Business Manager.

Court Convicts 8 in Sacramento Amid Red Scare

Jury Acquits Six in Compromise After Sixty Six Hours

SACRAMENTO, April 3.—The Sacramento trial has come to an end. Eight of the defendants, including Norman Mini, were convicted, and stand to receive sentences of one to fourteen years. Six were acquitted.

The jury deliberated for sixty-six hours, taking one hundred and eighteen ballots before it reached a decision.

The defendants will be sentenced by Judge Lemmon on Thursday. At the same time an appeal for a new trial will be heard.

Those convicted were Norman Mini, Pat Chambers, Caroline Decker, Nora Conklin, Martin Wilson, Albert Houghard, Loren Norman, and Jack Crane.

Those acquitted were Jack Warnick, Fred Kirkwood, Harry Collett, Lee Hung, Mike Plesh, and W. H. Huffine.

The verdict bears out our statement that the trial was primarily directed toward smashing the Agricultural Workers Union. The eight convicted were the leaders of the union, the men the state was really out to get.

Of the eight convicted, two, Norman Mini and Loren Norman, received the jury's recommendation for probation.

The jury came to deadlock, the "plants" who were fired by the banks and farmer capitalists held out for conviction, while the bona fide jurymen held out for acquittal. The final verdict was a compromise.

The whole Sacramento police force was mobilized in and around the court house during the time the jury deliberated. The atmosphere was tense with the "red scare" stirred up by the presence of the police and by the flaming attacks in the capitalist papers.

Two of the jurors, interviewed after the trial, said they held out to the last for acquittals but compromised under pressure. They condemned Gallagher's provocative tactics, saying that there might have been more than four (there were two others) and they could have resisted the pressure. They admitted the convictions were a compromise forced by the anti-red sentiment in the city.

N.U.L. Helps Win Strike

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—After 16 days of battle representatives of the International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.) called on the local Unemployed League to help them in strike activity. The local responded to a man. The picketing was intensified. Five days after the League was called in the strike was settled successfully and a complete victory for organized labor in the Kanawha Valley was realized.

Albert Lea Strikers Duped by False Lawyers - Serve 60 Days

MINNEAPOLIS, April 1.—The case of the eight Albert Lea strikers who are today serving 60-day jail sentences for "illegal entry" is of special interest to the Northwest labor movement because it poses sharply the duties of labor lawyers to their clients; and because, out of this case grew the dismissal of Julius F. Emme, progressive trade unionist, from his post as secretary to the Minnesota Industrial Commission—a situation which is causing most widespread reverberations within the Farmer-Labor party and the trade union movement in Minnesota.

On Monday afternoon, Feb. 4, a delegation from the Albert Lea local of the Independent Union of All Workers called on Mr. Potter of the Potter Foundry Company. The visit was due to a sudden campaign of discrimination against union members by Mr. Potter. Potter was most unsympathetic during the short discussion, and suddenly called for a group of scabs who were standing nearby armed with clubs to "throw the delegation out". A skirmish followed in

which the union delegation came out on top. A strike was called on the spot.
Seized for "Bioting"
A few hours later three members of the delegation were arrested on charges of rioting. The next day two more were arrested. Attorney Baker of Mankato was asked by the Albert Lea local to take the case. The four other delegates were arrested during the next two weeks, the case finally coming to trial on Feb. 13.
In the meantime, Fosso, the right wing president of the Independent Union of All Workers, came to Albert Lea and eased Baker out of the picture, telling him (untruthfully) that the Albert Lea union had decided to engage Attorney Gallagher and Goldie instead. (Gallagher is a staunch Farmer-Laborite, Goldie is a lawyer from Minneapolis who has functioned for years in various labor cases.)
Anything Baker, and all who knew anything of the case, were

Guilty of Organizing



NORMAN MINI

Scottsboro Boys Granted New Trial

Is Victory for Negro Rights; Struggle Must Be Continued

After four years of almost uninterrupted mass pressure from workers and working class organizations all over the world, the United States Supreme Court has granted a new trial to Clarence Norris and Haywood Patterson, Scottsboro defendants.

The verdict was based on the legal fact that in the court where the defendants were tried Negroes were barred from jury duty. The exact legal point upon which the decision is apparently motivated is the following:

"Whenever by any action of a State, whether through its legislature, through its courts, or through its executive or administrative officers, all persons of the African race are excluded, solely because of their race or color, from serving as grand jurors in the criminal prosecution of a person of the African race, the equal protection of the law is denied to him, contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

Victory for Negro Rights

Unquestionably this decision is of tremendous importance insofar as it is the most unequivocal statement yet made with regard to the right of Negroes to serve on juries where members of their race are on trial. As such the victory cannot be too much emphasized for it represents a milestone in the struggle for Negro rights in America.

The decision will also apply to the five other boys who are still in the cell.

(Continued on Page 4)

CITY TENSE

Goodyear Vote Overwhelming For A Walkout

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, April 11.—While Akron, seat of the rubber industry, became more of a war camp daily this week as Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone tire companies prepared a huge force of deputies to smash any strike, the rubberworkers were gaining strength but were in danger of making fatal errors in their battle against the rubber barons.

A strike vote at the Goodyear local was overwhelmingly for a walkout, according to a survey, and labor was heartened by the large number of workers who voted. Although the local seldom had over 1,000 at the largest rallies, nearly three thousand cast ballots.

The Goodrich and Firestone locals, always considered much stronger than the Goodyear union, are expected to show greater strength in their strike vote this Sunday and should pull out more than half the plants, which have nearly 20,000 workers.

Danger in Strike Delay

The first danger that confronts the Akron workers is the possibility that they will be induced by William Green, president of the A. F. of L., to accept a compromise something like the auto-code agreement. The chiefs of the national A. F. of L. chiefs so far have been purely those of trying to club Congress into passing the unsatisfactory Wagner bill through strike threats.

Waiting too long before actually striking in order to fulfill all A. F. of L. constitutional requirements has already seen one important week pass by and more delay will tend to cause a downswing in the rising strike sentiment. Meanwhile the companies ship carloads of tires out and stock all their warehouses in event of a shutdown.

The company tactics continue to be that of provoking labor. Firestone, ordered by the National Labor Relations board to drop the company union, instead orders a strike vote to be taken by the company union.

Company Maneuvers

This follows on the heels of similar moves by the two other companies whose company unions voted "overwhelmingly" against a strike. This was done for propaganda purposes as full page newspaper advertisements claim that only a minority of workers want to strike, according to their ballots!

Two citizens committees have been publicly formed for the purpose of averting a strike. Of course, alleged liberal ministers, and prominent business men head the list of potential strike-breakers. Union leaders refuse to give any date for the actual walkout on the theory that it would harm labor's chances, although it could hardly be before April 8. There is danger, though, that this is but a camouflage and no official strike will be called.

Rank and File Restless

In that event, even the rubber companies think that a spontaneous rank and file movement will carry out the plans. In fact, the companies have taken every possible precaution to prevent a spontaneous walkout being effective this week, so restless is the mood of the rubber workers.

The most serious defect of the rubber workers is the lack of experienced strike leaders as time and again good strategy was not used to swing all labor behind the pending struggle. This seems to be overcome by the aggressiveness of the workers.

Issuance of a proclamation forbidding mass picketing, deputizing of hundreds of unemployed including National Guardsmen, erecting of barbed wire fences and other military precautions shows that the struggle will be a bloody one as workers refuse to allow any scabs to work while companies are determined to break the picket lines.

Regional SYL Conference

REGIONAL CONFERENCE of the Spartacus Youth League To Be Held April 13-14 District No. One: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pa. Contributions should be sent to Bill Streeter, c/o S. Y. L.

Fargo—A Labor Struggle That Rocked the Northwest

Since the following article was written, several new developments have taken place. The sixteen defendants have at last been released on bail after the most fantastic obstructionist tactics on the part of Judge Paulson. An investigation committee from the N. D. State Legislature surprised no one by bringing in a report unfavorable to the Union. The special strike bulletin has been succeeded by a new tabloid weekly, the *Gate City Labor Review*, official organ of Local 173. A Fargo Defense movement has been initiated in Minneapolis along non-partisan lines under the guidance of mighty Local 574, and has already succeeded in mobilizing public opinion for the Fargo strikers—and what is more important, has raised some cash to finance the appeal which the union defendants will make to the State supreme court.

To understand what is going on today in Fargo, it is necessary to paint in a sketchy background.

Since the I.W.W. days the labor movement in Fargo has been dormant. But the strikes of General Drivers Local 574, Minneapolis, had their repercussions in this city. In September 1934 Miles Dunne of the Minneapolis union was loaned to General Drivers Local 173, Fargo, to act as business agent at the latter's request.

Immediately things began to hum.

On November 3 a milk strike was called for Fargo and Moorhead. A day of hard picketing ensued, followed by a ten-day truce. Local 173 came out of the strike victorious, with a settlement setting forth a minimum wage of twenty dollars weekly plus commissions, an agreement for collective bargaining, seniority rights and no discrimination. The union switched its energies toward organizing the coal and transfer workers. Inside of a few months, the workers in these industries had signed up almost 100 percent. The union approached the employers and asked for a contract. This was coldly refused, and on January 22 the Fargo coal and transfer drivers went out on strike. The union laid down three principal demands: union recognition, no discrimination, and a uniform scale of wages.

Vigilante Trouble-Shooting

Following is a calendar of events since the strike was called. Early Sunday afternoon, January 27, a group of pickets went down to a nearby river to persuade an ice-cutting crew to come off the job. This was the signal for which the em-

ployers had been waiting. A siren was blowing, and three hundred deputized vigilantes, armed with clubs and ax handles, quickly assembled at the sheriff's office. Under the direction of States Attorney Bergeson, they were directed to the river. Approaching, they waved their clubs and yelled provokingly, "Why don't you start something?" to the pickets. The vigilantes closed in and arrested 18 of the strikers. On 4th Street South were 14 more pickets walking towards the river. These were also arrested and carted off to jail, charged with "riot", an ancient charge dealing with "an act in the direction of a riot", which was taken out and dusted off for the occasion.

Tear Gas for Children

The body of special police then marched on the union hall, located on the second floor of a building on First Avenue. It was learned later that the owner of the building, a local business man, had taken out riot insurance the previous Friday. Inside the hall were a score of women and children, plus about 75 men. An FEERA class in labor history was in progress, taught by a seventy-year old man, Mr. Aasgaard. Without warning, the hall was tear-bombed. This was accomplished by shooting aluminum bombs through the windows. A second bombardment was made and then "officers" formed a gauntlet from the hall entrance to the street. The prisoners were assembled as they came staggering from the stairs, eyes streaming from the effect of the gas. Several of the men from the hall were beaten by the vigilantes. Altogether, about 70 were arrested here, including three boys (one of them Towell Cruden, son of the Union's president), marshalled into line and marched to jail. This last batch was charged with "obstructing an officer". The books and records of the union together with the office furniture were seized by the vigilantes and turned over to Bergeson. The union hall was padlocked.

Thus 95 strikers were arrested that day. When General Drivers 574 in Minneapolis learned of the arrest, it offered to replenish the Fargo picket lines. Governor Moodie of North Dakota promptly stated he would "meet outsiders sent into the Fargo strike three to one".

The prisoners were held for bonds totaling \$47,000. By the end of the week only 46 remained in custody of the court, and picketing was again proceeding. In the meantime, the State legislature which was in session in Bismarck, passed a reso-

lution referring to the Fargo vigilantes as "dired things", demanding that the strikers be accorded their lawful rights, that all arrested be released from jail. A movement to circulate petitions demanding the recall of Bergeson got under way.

One of the arrested pickets, Ernest Falconer, shot and killed himself on his release from jail. Unable to comprehend the forces which held him in their grip, herded into jail like a common felon, he became despondent and took his life.

Packed Jury

On Wednesday, February 13, the strike trials began. By the following Tuesday the case went to the jury, hand-picked by the "law and order" machinery. A verdict of guilty was brought in, and on Feb. 23, William Cruden and Austin Swalde, president and secretary of the union, were sentenced to six months at hard labor, as was one other picket. The other thirteen were given two months. In the case of the leaders, bail bond was set at \$1,000 each, as the union's attorneys prepared to appeal the case.

As these lines are written, those jailed have not yet been released. Bail bonds have been offered by numberless sympathizers, only to be cynically refused by States Attorney Bergeson. That the latter is beginning to feel a bit nervous, however, is shown by the fact that he has moved to dismiss the cases of the 65 charged with obstructing an officer and the 14 charged with riot. Despite five weeks of this legal

terror plus the most vicious editorial barrage laid down by the local press at the beginning of the strike, one paper approvingly quoted a religious old woman as saying, "Miles Dunne should be taken out on the prairies, stripped to his underwear and made to walk bare-footed back to Minneapolis."

Just a word as to the Fargo employers. They have recently organized themselves as the "Associated Industries of Fargo and Moorhead" and documentary evidence is available proving that they have received no little help from the Minneapolis Citizens Alliance in carrying on their fight against the union.

One incident will show their temper. One of the unionists had the misfortune to lose a child a few weeks ago. The undertaker refused to bury the child without a cash payment. For ten days the dead child lay on a slab in the mortuary. Finally an emissary from the employers approached the man and told him credit would be advanced for the burial if he would quit the union and return to work. A friend then stepped in and paid for the burial. The man is still out on strike.

Local 173 is by no means beaten. A special daily strike bulletin (shades of 574) still appears. A troupe of union wrestlers and boxers is scheduled to perform nightly in nearby communities to raise money for the strike fund. All the roads leading into Fargo are picketed with immense signs, reading "16 Fargo Strikers Have Been Sentenced for 44 Months. Don't Trade in a Scab Town!" and "Industrial Pestilence Stalks the Streets of Fargo. Trade in Your Home Town!" The American Civil Liberties Union and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense have stepped into the case to assist in carrying the appeal to the State supreme court.

S. Y. L. Maps National Tour

The Spartacus Youth League is initiating a national tour. The representative of its National Committee, comrade Nathan Gould, will cover every city where we have S.Y.L. and W.P. branches in a coast-to-coast tour across the country. Branches are urged to make immediate preparations for meetings, affairs, etc. as outlined in the circular letters sent out by the national office.

The following is the route of the tour:

APRIL:
New York—13, 14 (Regional Conference)
Newark, N. J.—15, 16
Dickinson City, Pa.—19
Philadelphia—20, 21, 22
State College—23
Pittsburgh—24, 25
Youngstown, Ohio—26, 27, 28, 29

(Regional Conference 27, 28).
Cleveland—30, May 1.
MAY:
Columbus—2, 3, 4.
Toledo—5.
Detroit, Mich.—7, 8.
Chicago, Ill.—10, 11, 12, 13 (Regional Conference 11, 12).
Gillespie—15, 16.
St. Louis, Mo.—17.
Kansas City—18, 19.
Phoenix, Ariz.—22, 23.
Los Angeles, Calif.—24, 25, 26, 27 (Regional Conference 25, 26).
Fresno, Cal.—28.
San Francisco—29, 30, 31, June 1.
JUNE:
Salt Lake City, Utah—3.
Minneapolis, Minn.—7, 8, 9.
Chicago, Ill.—11, 12, 13.
Detroit, Mich.—29, 30.
JULY:
Toronto, Canada—2, 3, 4.
Buffalo, N. Y.—5.

1500 'Bootleg' Coal Miners Organize

MT. CARMEL, Pa., March 24.—About 1,500 "bootleg" coal miners jammed a hall in this city to lay the foundation for a permanent organization and in preparation for a mass demonstration of 15,000 independent miners at Harrisburg on April 1.

"Bootleg" coal mining has become an extensive industry in these parts, involving hundreds of thousands of unemployed coal diggers and doing an annual business that runs into millions of dollars. This form of individual appropriation, by which the jobless miners seek out a miserable existence picking coal on land owned by the companies, has become a dire threat to the profits of the coal barons.

The "Liberal" Governor George H. Earle gave these thousands of otherwise jobless miners the cold shoulder in arranging and extending invitations to various interests affected by this lusty "depression industry" for a conference to formulate a policy on coal "bootlegging".

The angered miners cheered to the echo a plan to swoop down on the State capital in hundreds of coal trucks. There the thousands of assembled miners will demonstrate that they are ready for a final fight should the state and coal company interests interfere with their only source of livelihood.

Thomas Kennedy, Secretary of the U.M.W. of A. and now Lieutenant Governor and Michael Heartneady, President of District 7 and now Secretary of Mines in Earle's cabinet were accused of "selling out the miners" and working in the interests of the coal companies.

The most significant feature of the meeting, however, was the number of hitherto unknown leaders who have sprung from the rank and file in the battle to preserve their means of existence.

Mike Demchak acted as chairman of the meeting and was elected temporary president of the organization.

Organizations of the Independent Coal Producers Association have 1,800 members in Shamokin, 600 in Kalmont and 600 in Atlas. Mr. Carmel is expected to have a branch of approximately 1,100 members.

Organizers are now in Shuylkill County preparing for April 1. A meeting is to be held on March 28 to give a permanent character to the organization.

This is to be followed by a convention when the majority of the coal mining communities are organized which will unify the branches and elect an executive committee.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LOBE

One of America's oldest industrial unions is fighting for its life. The threat comes not from the employers primarily but from the officialdom of large and powerful craft international unions who want to tear it to pieces.

The organized brewery workers have always been at odds with craft unionism. They always stood stubbornly for the right to organize all workers in and around breweries into their ranks. At the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor they were directed to turn over their teamsters, electricians, engineers, etc. to the respective craft unions. A referendum of the membership of the Brewery Workers turned down the proposal by an almost unanimous vote. Last year's A. F. of L. convention reaffirmed its previous decision but the brewers still refused to split their ranks.

Now the craft unionists, led by Dan Tobin of the International Teamsters Union, have begun a war to the death. In a number of cities jurisdiction strikes have been called. The Teamsters officials have joined hands with the employers to force craft workers out of the ranks of the industrial union. The boss signs an agreement with the Teamsters Union, fires any worker who stays loyal to the brewery workers' organization and hires men furnished by the craft organizations.

In Spokane, Washington, the union workers are all on strike or are locked out as a result. The district representative of the Teamsters has announced that a new stunt will be tried. An organization called the Brewery Inside Workers is to be formed. All Brewery workers in Spokane must belong to it if they want to work. It's a fight to the finish. And if all forms of unionism are wiped out in the struggle it can't be helped. Jurisdictional rights must be upheld.

Union Label

No one will disagree with the proposition that the marshalling of labor's purchasing power behind union made products is desirable. The worker's pay envelope can be a real weapon in the fight to entrench unionism. The "Union Buyers Clubs" which have been organized in a number of middle western cities are steps in that direction.

All too often, however, the union label is turned into a racket which actually works to the detriment of further organization. A union like the United Garment Workers, for example, will approach a boss with the proposition that he allow organization in his plant, in order to get the use of the label. The union in turn promises to push his pro-

duct in the unions, advertise it in the labor press and do its best to sell it to the labor movement in general. That is a good business proposition for small companies who are unable to carry on any advertising campaign of their own. It is good business, however, only as long as the number of union label firms is rather small. The inside track on the labor market is lost when a great many firms recognize the union and use its label on their products. In order to sell the union and the label, therefore, and to make it attractive to manufacturers, the union must keep itself small, refrain from any militant activities or organizing campaigns.

Metal Trades

One of the most intelligent reactionaries in the A. F. of L. is undoubtedly John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the Federation. Frey is especially concerned to find a way to stem the rising tide of industrial unionism which threatens the jobs of so many of his fellow-officials in the Metal Trades Department. He has developed the idea of joint agreements for all crafts in any particular industry as a substitute for industry organization on a genuine basis. The strike last year of the workers at the Butte Mines of the Anaconda Copper Company was settled on this basis. Now the department has signed an agreement with the Sinclair Refining Company which covers all of its affiliated unions which have workers in the industry. Local councils are being formed all through the oil districts to which all labor organizations in the field may affiliate. Grievances and negotiations with employers are to be settled in a matter similar to that used by the system federations of railroad shop crafts. At best it is a shoddy substitute for the real article. The oil field workers need genuine industrial organization.

WHAT TO ATTEND

April 7, 8 P.M.—Harlem Mass Meeting on recent events there at Union Hall, 200 W. 135th St. Speakers: E. R. McKinney, A. J. Muste, Simon Williamson, chairman. Free.

April 12, Friday, 8:30 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak in Brooklyn on "America's Role in the Next War". Auspices Flatbush Branch. Place to be announced later through District Office.

April 13, 8 P.M.—Spartacus Jam-boree at 2 W. 15th St. Dancing, entertainment, refreshment. Entrance by hat check, 15 cents.

April 19, Friday evening—Theater Party, Workers Party benefit, "Waiting for Lefty" and "Till the Day I Die". Tickets on sale at District Office (60c to \$1.65).

April 20, Saturday eve.—Spring Frolic and Chess Contest. N. Y. District membership, 2 W. 15th St., 2nd floor. Everyone invited. Paid "Red" Cabaret tickets honored at door.

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The Cross of Silver

Between Speeches Coughlin Engages
In Practical Business of His Own

By DAN EASTMAN

We shall sketch the events of Father Coughlin's life through the days of Roosevelt's rise, election, and the launching of the NRA. The events are not important, but as revealing the character and tactics of the ambitious priest in his effort to become an American Hitler. Later we shall consider his program, and see not only its failings, which are numerous, but that Father Coughlin himself hardly takes his own program seriously.

In the spring of 1931 Father Coughlin found himself, as a result of his persistent attacks on socialism and the red serpent, broadcasting over a national hook-up to an audience running into millions. He had become a political figure of some importance, a figure which various capitalist cliques were not long in enlisting in their services.

Lubricating an Oil Plot

One week, out of a clear sky, Father Coughlin delivered a tirade against three companies, two American, and one the Royal Dutch Shell, who "were conspiring to restrict American oil production in favor of the Venezuelan fields". He revealed a suspiciously accurate knowledge of the transactions whereby this "conspiracy" was formed.

It is reasonable to suspect that Father Coughlin obtained his information from, and delivered his tirade at the request of, some American oil company which was getting rocked on the Venezuelan deal. How otherwise could he have had inside advance information, and why otherwise should he light on this specific deal, relatively obscure and unimportant in an imperialist world? Why a Venezuelan oil plot, when he might as well attack the oil and tin plot behind the Chaco war, or the American companies involved in the Brazilian cotton plot, or the nitrate plot in Chile, or the antimony plot in China, or the sugar plot in Cuba, or any other of thousands of "plots" to restrict American production in favor of foreign? Plots that are the recognized and regular procedure of finance capital which, hav-

ing exhausted the home market, flees to foreign markets, where coolie wages offer hope of restoring profits.

That Father Coughlin should single out an obscure example of imperialist exploitation in a world where literally thousands are prominent in the news every day, inclines us to suspect that some motive other than high Catholic-patriotic indignation prompted his sudden attack on Royal Dutch Shell and its unnamed American co-plotters.

Perhaps it was that group of financiers centering around the Vanderlip-Rand Committee for the Nation, who moved the Father to indignation. Perhaps the Royal Dutch Shell neglected to invite this little group in on the deal. In any case we can be sure that Father Coughlin and the Vanderlip-Rand Committee have had some high old times together on other deals.

Father Coughlin supported Roosevelt in the 1932 elections, attacking Hoover for having favored the big investors over the little. The attack now appears a little ludicrous, since Roosevelt has carried the favoring of big investors over the little to a point far beyond Hoover's poor efforts. For charity's sake we may suppose that Father Coughlin in 1932 was not aware that the government if it is to support capitalism at all, must necessarily support big investors over little, that even he himself, Father Coughlin, prime minister of God, could do nothing more if capitalism was to continue than favor monopoly capital over small investors. For charity's sake we may suppose that he was too stupid to realize this, but even stupidity will not explain his continuing this stand to the present day.

Making Charity Pay

There is a question we would like to ask in this connection: Is an investment of \$111,000 a big investment or a little investment? The question is not without pertinence. After the bank crash in Detroit, in the spring of 1933, the Detroit Free Press revealed that Father Coughlin, instead of putting

the receipts from his Radio league in the bank, the usual procedure for receipts from a so-called charitable enterprise, had been speculating with them in motor stocks, to the tune of \$111,000, losing \$13,000 on one deal alone, \$13,000 gathered, according to the Father's own story, from the hard earned nickels, dimes and quarters which his appreciative listeners contributed.

We might note for future reference that other moneys were invested in tax free government bonds. This investment, safe enough in itself, is interesting in the light of Father Coughlin's platform, of which one plank comes out unequivocally for the abolition of tax-free bonds. We must also note that the stock brokers who handled the Father's account were the firm of Harris and Vose of New York, who will turn up again in this history along with the Vanderlip-Rand Committee and several other notables, including none other than the Chairman of the Republican Party.

For God and Silver

"This book," reads the preface of *The New Deal in Money*, written by Charles Coughlin himself, "is dedicated to those persons who still persist in believing that man is more precious than gold". A fine sentiment from the Priest's own pen, and a fitting caption for the next chapter of his life.

Only once during his entire career has Father Coughlin been ennobled away from his modest home, his \$750,000 Tower of the Little Flower. On the evening of December 9, 1933, he consented to give a lecture at Madison Square Garden in New York, a lecture on money. He spoke under the auspices of the Vanderlip-Rand Committee for the Nation.

His speech, as were and are all his speeches on the money problem, was for the abandonment of the gold standard and the monetization of silver; in short, silver inflation, the old greenback scheme, the root of ninety percent of past mid-western political insurgency. Father Coughlin, however, introduced a new note of righteous Christianity into the matter of inflation. Not only was it reprehensible to "believe man more precious than gold", and when Father Coughlin talks about gold he means gold specifically, he is not talking in biblical terms about wealth in general, but as he himself said, "I send a call for the mobilization of all Christianity against gold; the restoration of

silver is a Christian concern."

But a storm was brewing. Congress authorized an investigation to determine just who held the largest amounts of silver in the United States. The gold lobby in Congress, judging from their own souls, had a keen suspicion that the silver lobby was not entirely disinterested, that there might perhaps be silver speculation lurking in the back of all this Christian inflationism. They were right.

All Roads Lead to Wall St.

The investigators reported in April, 1934. Guess who held silver in quantities of 25,000 ounces or more? Frank Vanderlip, founder of the Committee for the Nation, E. L. Cord, member of the Committee for the Nation and financial giant of the automobile, aviation and shipbuilding businesses, Everett Sanders, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Harris & Vose, New York stockbrokers, and—the Radio League of the Little Flower, which topped them all with 500,000 ounces held on margin! Truly astonishing: all our old friends together again. Vanderlip, whose Committee sponsored Coughlin's Christian attacks on gold, Harris and Vose who helped Coughlin lose \$13,000 in speculation in automobiles, and the Radio League, Father Coughlin's own corporate child!

Father Coughlin never succeeded in explaining away this incident. His defense we quote from the New York Times of April 29.

He pointed out that in a speech the previous December he had said, "When at times contributions to the Radio League of the Little Flower surpass current expenditures the surplus is temporarily invested where it will be safest." He neglected to show how a gamble on silver was a safe investment, and further neglected to show how marginal investment always considered a risky business under any circumstances, made his investment any safer. The fact is that he gambled, and gambled as wildly as possible, covering \$300,000 with \$20,000, as he reveals when he says, "This time I purchased 500,000 of silver with an investment of \$20,000 through the firm of Harris and Vose."

He further neglected to clarify the connection between his marginal investment and his "mobilization of all Christianity for the restoration of silver". But that hardly needed explanation.

Five in California Quit C. P. And Join Workers Party

The following statement of five leading members of the Communist Party in Porterville, Cal., speaks for itself. The document is a classic; comment would be superfluous. Porterville is in the heart of the California orange belt. The now defunct Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union (wrecked by the C. P.) had one of its strongest centers here. The statement follows:

Porterville, California
March 27, 1935

District Committee,
District Thirteen,
Communist Party U.S.A.:

We are resigning from the Communist Party. Here are our membership books with the exception of comrade B. L.'s who burnt his up. There is no use talking, or for you to try explaining things any longer, because you bureaucrats make it impossible for us to work like Bolsheviks. Besides this, you're not just a bureaucracy but you're bankrupt to boot. The terrible mess you led the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union into, which resulted in its complete collapse, is positive proof of your bankruptcy.

And then the way you are now trying to get the A. F. of L. to give you a charter here in Porterville for the agricultural workers is about as crazy a thing as we can think of. You call a meeting, elect party members as officers, and then expect the A. F. of L. to give you a charter when your tactics are as plain as the nose on your face to everyone. Do you think the A. F. of L. is going to give the Communist Party a charter? We suppose you'll be getting out a leaflet in a couple of weeks "exposing" the A. F. of L. There's no hope, you're done for.

And to top all this off you want us to organize a Labor Party. What do you think we are anyway?

We quit. And we're going to apply for membership in the Workers Party. Its program is going to develop a real vanguard in America.

(Signed) T. H. JAMFSON
B. L. COLLINS
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Fascist Symptoms in the Third Party Movement.

The present majority campaign in Chicago gives symptomatic indications of the coming struggle to win the middle classes and the unemployed for the purpose of reaction. In this campaign the third party movement put forward its candidate, Jenkins, formerly a "progressive" republican associated with LaFollette. In his speeches Jenkins proceeded to lay the foundations (as does Father Coughlin) for that appeal to anti-Semitism which is the inevitable accompaniment of the rise of fascism. He denounced as those responsible for the notorious corruption in Chicago "a pack of crooked Jews who have disgraced our city." It develops that Jenkins has Nazi ties and that Pelley of Silver Shirt fame visited the Chicago Friends of New Germany to secure their support for Jenkins. Thus we find already on a local scale how the Third Party movement under present historic conditions plays a reactionary role and tends to assume fascist forms.

Nor is this observation based on the leaning of the movement towards anti-Semitism. The entire program attempts to translate into American terms the early demagoguery of fascism in its first strivings for a political foothold. Thus the booklet issued by this party calls for an organization whose members will be subjected to "a stern program of physical education." This is unprecedented in American politics and is a clear hint of the ultimate goal of creating storm troops and fascist bands.

Furthermore "the new party must be intensely nationalistic." It takes no clairvoyant to read into this phrase the entire program of American imperialism and the irreconcilable struggle between such a party and the organizations of the militant and revolutionary workers. The program calls for a new party for American business, agriculture and labor. It makes the following demagogic bid for the unemployed worker's support: "Business and labor and government have all failed the jobless American." "He is entitled to work and the new party will give him work and do it at once." Plainly there is here the attempt to pit the unemployed against the employed workers.

The new party reaches out for the petty bourgeoisie, overburdened by taxation. It is proposed to make the United States a "taxless nation" by using the profits from transportation, light and power, telephones, telegraphs, radio and similar (monopolized) public services to defray the cost of government. Here is the usual demagogic appeal to the small man against the trusts. Inflation is promised to the farmer in order to liquidate the

entire public debt by the systematic issuance of government currency over several years' time "without disturbing the financial structure of the country". Without exhausting the chimerical horn of plenty of the capitalist horn of plenty pictured by third party demagoguery, we may add that the soldiers have not been forgotten (they will be given the bonus), nor the youth who will be "given the opportunity or better be required to serve the country in some capacity for a short period of time." Naturally the fascists would be in favor of forced labor for the young or of universal conscription.

New Political Movements and the Class Struggle

To the Marxist it is quite clear that no new political movement arises without meeting urgent needs of one or the other of the two main classes in modern society. The working class is slowly coming to a realization through all its everyday experiences that strive with might and main as it may it cannot regain the former standards of living. Workers in one industry or the other may gain temporary success in bettering the conditions under which they gain their livelihood, but taking the class as a whole capitalism has exhausted its possibilities of granting to workers any real concessions in the way of wages or higher standards. The waves of strike struggles, each more militant than the last, end with the proletariat still suffering the same poverty, the same misery, the same intense exploitation as before. The lesson is being gradually driven home that the only way out is the revolutionary way, through the overthrow of capitalism. Hence the need for the Workers Party to give guidance to the class.

But in parallel fashion, the big bourgeoisie, in their greedy scramble to maintain profits against the desperate rivalry of the capitalists of other nations, find the apparent solution for their problems by withdrawing all the previous concessions forced from them by the workers, and by an intensive drive on the living standards of the proletariat and the toilers in general.

This gigantic struggle, assuming a myriad of forms, is reflected politically. To accomplish their purposes financiers subsidize new movements which rally the middle class under the banner of reaction for the purpose of eliminating democracy and preventing the workers from seizing the power. The third party movement must inevitably reflect this need of the big bourgeoisie under present conditions. The answer by the workers can be given not through a labor party but by means of the only force of defeating fascism, the revolutionary Marxist party, the Workers Party.

Harlem Mass Meeting

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE
E. R. McKINNEY
SIMON WILLIAMSON, ChairmanSunday, April 7, 8 p. m.
Union Hall, 200 West 135 Street
Admission Free

News from the Soviet Union

The Anti-Trotsky Crusade

The excerpts which we give below furnish a vivid picture of the latest crusade in the U. S. S. R. against Trotskyism, indeed against the slightest manifestation of sympathy for Trotsky. This picture, incomplete as it is, serves to show what little success, preceding Stalinist crusades have had in "burying" Trotskyism. We may add that this latest crusade will have no more success.

1. Under the heading "Purification of the Party" Pravda announces on December 14, that the Dnepropetrovsk City Committee came to an agreement against the expulsion of the Trotskyist, Tagetstskia, member of a Trotskyist cell in the university. This Trotskyist received the special protection of the Secretary of the Committee, a certain Levitine. From the 19th to the 22nd Pravda rehearses the story and censures the Party District Committee for its "rotten liberalism" toward the Dnepropetrovsk affair. On the 25th we learn that no less a body than the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has been forced to take action. Severe measures are invoked. The Dnepropetrovsk Bureau—Levitine, Skrypnik, Hechtman—is discharged. The District Administration is strongly censured for having tolerated Trotskyist elements. The local newspapers are also censured for having supported the City Committee. The Director of Culture and Propaganda, Segalovich is discharged for not having taken action against the Trotskyist elements at the University.

2. On the 23rd of December Pravda announces under the heading "A Trotskyist Professor" that at Rostov Agricultural College the Trotskyist Vladimir Prokofiev is head of the Department of Political Economy. In his courses Vladimir Prokofiev defends the Trotskyist position on the October Revolution and on the peasant question. . . . He even affirms that Soviet economy, up until the first Five Year Plan, depended on world economy. On the 26th Pravda carries the resolution of the Rostov Party Administration, expelling Vladimir Prokofiev, censuring the Director of the College, and warning the directors of other colleges to redouble their vigilance. Pravda, it seems, is not satisfied with this resolution; it came too late.

3. From Kompro Svietsdente for the 28th and Za Industrialsazu for the 29th we learn that the Buchir Collegium expelled several party members at Ufa for Trotskyism. A certain Strachnoff was expelled last February. He hid himself in one of the villages and went about building up a "counter-revolutionary" organization. The party members were in communication with him.

4. A "Trotskyist Nest" Pravda on the 30th announces a "Trotskyist Nest" at the Medical College in White Russia. Two students, Levitan and Mekovetz, asserted during an examination that "Trotskyism is the spring of Bolshevism." Another student, Rasomovski, proved that the standard of living of the

workers got worse every year. 5. At the Agricultural College, again in White Russia, the Trotskyist Polevich tried to provoke discussion on subjects forbidden by the party (Komsomol Pravda, Dec. 30).

6. January 4, 1935, Pravda begins the new year by informing us that several students at Dnepropetrovsk, by name Komarovsk, Glosman, Iorifoff, and Brochne, have been expelled from the party for Trotskyist opinions and activities. The expulsions are the wake of the campaign Pravda has been carrying on against Dnepropetrovsk.

"Ignored the Works of Stalin" 7. January 9 Izvestia announces sadly that the Agricultural College, founded by none other than J. Stalin, have all become regular nests of Trotskyism. Beside Vladimir Prokofiev at Rostoff, Trotskyist elements are discovered at Koursk. History Professor Serbent has been teaching Trotskyism in his courses. Professor of Political Economy Lodyshchenko, stated that while the Kulaks have been liquidated in so far as numbers are concerned, there still remained a qualitative base for their development. Professor of Economy Fokine stated that the demand for the liquidation of the kulaks was advanced by the Opposition in 1925-26, and only acted upon by the party four or five years later. Professor Uronitch showed a persistent tendency to ignore the works of Stalin in his courses. All these Trotskyists were expelled, but their influence remains, and a solid ker-

nel of Trotskyism has been created among the students. 8. Pravda, Jan. 10, Professor Plakoff, Professor of the History of Class Struggle attached to the Medical Faculty at Tchelabinsk, has been defending Trotskyists. Instead of expelling him the local Party Committee and its Secretary, Morosoff, did everything possible to keep Plakoff on the faculty.

One Expelled, One Censured 9. From the same Pravda for the 10th we learn that the Trotskyist Konstantinov, sometime expelled from the party, was invited to the tractor station at Malolazov. The administration of the tractor station knew that Konstantinov was a Trotskyist; in spite of that he was made assistant to the Director in Charge of Construction. One member of the administration was expelled, the other was censured.

10. On January 11 Pravda is bursting with information on the activities of Trotskyists. The Party fraction of the Peoples Commissariat for Agriculture for the U.S.S.R., expels J. J. Reingold, head of the cotton department of the Commissariat, for his Trotskyist opinions.

11. The same issue of Pravda announces a fact of prime importance. Golende, President of Gosplan (State Planning Commission), and Assistant to the President of the Council of Peoples Commissars for White Russia, expressed Trotskyist ideas; he expounded the abolition of the bread card system as the result of the powerlessness of the party in its war with the kulaks. Golende was formerly a member of the Left Opposition.

"Always True Bolsheviks" 12. The same Pravda informs us that Aristoff, a student at Gorki University, stated that Trotskyists were always "true Bolsheviks" in the course of an argument on the Kirov assassination during a political examination at the university.

13. Pravda, Jan. 18: The Secretary of the Odessa District Committee is informed that the Cherson City Committee is under the direction of Secretary Korostine, a convinced Trotskyist. Following a resolution of the District Committee Korostine is expelled from the party. Pravda adds, "We must remark that the example of Odessa, where propaganda work among the youth is in charge of former Trotskyists, is not an isolated example."

14. At Astrakhan are discovered the activities of the Trotskyist, Safarov, Director of the local Museum of the Revolution. Safarov was handing out Trotskyist pamphlets to the youth. His accomplice was the Acting Secretary of the City Committee of Komsomol, Malugin. The regular secretary gives money to expelled Trotskyists (Pravda, Jan. 19).

Twenty Cases in Twenty Cities Let us stop this enumeration. We have already counted twenty different cases of Trotskyist activity in twenty different towns in the two months since the assassination of Kirov. The number speaks more eloquently than any comment.

We might remark in passing that at Rostov they showed an old film of the Civil War in which Trotsky appeared several times. This film was labeled "counter-revolutionary", "contributing to the popularity of the counter-revolutionary Trotsky". In connection with this affair several responsible officials were expelled from the party, and several other very high officials—the Director of Censorship, the Director of the Movie Trust, and the leaders of the Movie Picture Workers Union, for example—received severe censures, some even fired.

shaken to its depths. The working class has already engaged in several battles on its own account. At Cavalla the whole working class and petty bourgeois population armed themselves and drove out the authorities. They held out for five hours against the Venizelist troops, but they were finally vanquished.

In spite of the censorship we have been informed that over 100 communists and workers were brought before the firing squad.

The workers at Serres and Drama also fought heroically against the Venizelists.

The large masses of the people outside of the cities have not as yet arisen, as they feel that the Tsaldaris government is merely defending legal power against a coup

d'etat by the Venizelists. But we can be sure that their passivity will not last long. The mobilization has already stirred them deeply. Famine is at our doors. Numerous sections of the petty bourgeoisie have been ruined. It is quite clear that we are entering a period of sharpening crisis in which the masses will begin to battle for their own interests.

In spite of all material obstacles our organization was the first at its post. By leaflets and by direct agitation we explained the course for the working class, to turn against its oppressors, to convert the war for the opposing interests of the two camps of the oppressors into a class war for the interests of the working class.

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NEW MILITANT

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Fling Back the Challenge!

The impending gigantic struggle of the A. F. of L. rubber workers' unions at Akron, Ohio, center of the tire industry, for their right to organize and to bargain collectively which is leading them to call an industry-wide strike deserves the support of every class-conscious trade unionist in the country.

Although they are handicapped by certain weaknesses like the passing of the peak production season, the rubber-workers are determined to fight courageously and militantly to overcome these obstacles.

The rubber barons in the impending fight will be the spear-head of a nation-wide employers' drive to break the working class in the basic industries.

This challenge must be flung back to the employers and nation-wide support be given to the rubber workers. The workers must turn this first major battle of 1935 into the opening victory of the working class in forthcoming struggles.

Attempts to smash the strike through terror of national guards and hired thugs must be met by a thunderous country-wide protest which will serve to check the bosses.

The Workers Party in Akron and throughout the country pledges itself to help rally the working class and its allies behind the struggle of the rubber-workers.

New Recruits

From New York City on the Eastern coast and from California in the West, out of the Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L. in the first case and the so-called Communist Party in the second, new recruits for the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League are reported in this issue of the *New Militant*. In both instances the new recruits to the banner of revolutionary Marxism consist not of isolated individuals but of groups of militants who, by conscientious study and the test of diverse experience have convinced themselves of the necessity of such a decisive step.

The drift from the Socialist and Stalinist parties, as well as from the ranks of the disaffiliated radical workers, toward the Workers Party, which began immediately after its formation last December, has continued steadily and grows in scope. The movement thus far is of modest proportions and moderate pace, but it is steady and the general direction is clear. The advance guard is moving already—and that is what is important and significant, for the movement of the advance guard today heralds the mass movement of the militant workers tomorrow.

Utopian short cuts and magic prescriptions to create revolutionary mass movements overnight are no part of our philosophy. We proceed from scientific premises and chart our line of development on the basis of the accumulated experiences of the international labor movement. The movement that will challenge American capitalism—and finally overthrow it—must indeed be a mighty movement of the masses. By this conception we mark ourselves off from all sectarians who worship dogmas in a closed circle. But the road to the masses is through the vanguard. By this conviction we differ with all opportunists and utopians, with all political quacks and their alluring schemes to get rich quick.

Only a revolutionary theory, tested in struggle and assimilated into the blood of its adherents, can guide the masses to the revolutionary victory. The carriers of this theory are the class conscious militants, the workers' vanguard. The party which attracts them today by the tens and hundreds will make its way to the thousands and eventually to the millions. The steady recruitment of the most advanced and experienced revolutionary militants from all camps in the labor movement into the Workers Party is rapidly establishing the new

party as the center of revolutionary unity. That is the augury of its future as the party of the revolutionary masses.

Tom Mooney Appeals

The desperate financial condition of the Mooney Molders Defense Committee, overburdened with expenses and debts by the drawn-out struggle, has prompted Tom Mooney himself to wire appeals to sympathetic labor organizations and publications for immediate aid. The *New Militant* has received this appeal and gladly transmits it to its readers herewith:

The New Militant,
2 West 15th Street, New York:
"Our defense is penniless. Absolutely necessary we raise immediately ten thousand minimum to present case to California courts for financial condition is desperate. Our distinguished counsel volunteering services without fee. Won't the *New Militant* contribute something now toward actual court expenses. Profound appreciation. Fraternal Greetings.
Tom Mooney.

The National Committee of the Workers Party considered this appeal at its meeting last week and decided to obligate itself to raise \$100 as a first contribution to this fund. In addition, it was decided to urge members and sympathizers of the Party to raise the matter in their unions and fraternal organizations and try to secure donations to be sent direct to the Mooney Molders Defense Committee.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, requiring Mooney to seek further recourse in the California state courts before appealing to the higher body, imposes another agonizing delay and heavy legal expenses on the defense committee, despite the voluntary services of the distinguished attorneys in the case. Mooney needs financial help, and the fact that he needs it is sufficient reason for every class conscious militant to make a little sacrifice and to bestir himself to an extra effort to see that he gets it. There is no extra deader to the heart of the rebel worker, and none with a stronger claim, than the cause of Tom Mooney.

Local 22 Elections

The smashing defeat of the "United Dressmakers Committee" in the elections in Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, was a victory of the labor movement over twin evils which are alien to its historic purposes and hostile to its healthy development.

The so-called "United Committee" was just another name for as crooked a combination as ever set out to cheat and betray the workers under cover of radical slogans. The "United Committee", claiming to represent the "rank and file", was nothing more nor less than a united front of the old "club", a reactionary and racketeering group, and the past masters of the art of union wrecking, disruption and slander, who have made a "racket" of radicalism, the Stalinists. Behind these two unprincipled gangs not a few militant workers, befuddled and confused into thinking that Stalinism represents "Communism", were mobilized.

But, fortunately, not enough to affect the result. The dressmakers have learned something in the bitter experiences of the recent years. They applied that knowledge to their own interests and the interests of the union in the elections of Local 22. 70 percent of the total vote was cast for the administration slate headed by Zimmerman. That vote is the hand-writing on the wall for the Stalinist-racketeering combination in the needle trades. Incidentally, it sounds "taps" for Stalinist domination in their last stronghold, the Furriers.

In supporting the Zimmerman administration the members and sympathizers of the Workers Party in Local 22 only chose an alternative dictated to them by concern for the interests of the union. No one having the slightest regard for the needs of the dressmakers could do anything in the circumstances but register the most emphatic condemnation of the unscrupulous C.P.-"Club" combination. In doing so they did not give an unconditional endorsement to the Zimmerman administration nor withheld their criticisms of it. Still less should they do so now.

An ugly aspect of the situation is the fact that Local 22 has come to be regarded as a pawn in the Browder-Lovestone wrangling for place in the official Communist Party. All progressive and militant members of the union must oppose. unitedly any attempt to bring the Progressive Group under the domination of official Stalinism when the Lovestone-Browder deal goes through.

Scottsboro Boys
Get New Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

awaiting their second trial, attorneys stated, because they cannot be tried again on the present indictments since all the boys were originally named in the bills handed down by the Grand Jury.

The unanimous decision of the court stated that the evidence overwhelmingly proved that it was a regularly established system in the Alabama courts to bar Negroes from jury duty and that there was sufficient evidence to establish the

fact that there were many such Negroes barred who were eligible. It was just about four years ago that nine Negro boys were pulled off a freight train and charged with raping two white girls. Within a few days they were sentenced to death in as breathless a legal lynching spirit as ever the Jim-Crow south had yet witnessed.

Victory Not Yet Complete
The victory is not yet complete. The Scottsboro boys are still behind bars. Lieut. Governor Knight of Alabama says that he will seek new indictments to prosecute the cases "to their conclusion". This knight of reaction must be answered. And the way to answer him is by the renewed campaign of mass protest rising from the mil-

lion-throated working class of the United States.
The Scottsboro Boys Must Be Freed.

WORKERS SCHOOL NOTES

New Classes:

History of Russian Revolution:

Those interested in the history of the Russian Revolution are invited to enroll for the class which meets Friday evenings, 8:40 to 10:10 P.M. Henceforth the class will function under the guidance of Joseph Carter.

Trade Union Strategy and Tactics:

This class has been reorganized and will function under the guidance of Karl Lore. It meets Thursday evenings, 8:40 to 10:10 P.M.

Albert Lea
Strikers Duped

(Continued from Page 1)

insistent that the arrested men should stand trial on the charge of "inciting to riot" and exonerate themselves from the ridiculous accusation. Fosso, Gallagher and Goldie, however, felt quite otherwise. These three prevailed upon the indicted men to agree to plead guilty to the lesser charge of "illegal entry" rather than to fight the "rioting" charge, Fosso stating that the I.U.A.W. had no money to fight the case. After much arguing, the arrested strikers reluctantly agreed to do this, mainly due to their inexperience.

Olson's Recommendation

The case was scheduled to come up before Judge Peterson, a man with a notorious anti-labor bias. Baker, with some other members of the I.U.A.W., drove up to St. Paul and interviewed Olson, telling him of Peterson's prejudices, and asking for another judge. Governor Olson recommended Judge Senn of Waseca, who then set on the case. After agreeing to hear the plea of guilty to the charge of illegal entry, Senn sentenced the men to 90 days in the county jail.

This, then, was what Attorney Gallagher and Attorney Goldie did for the Albert Lea strikers: secured for them 60-day jail sentences, on a charge of which none of them were guilty. And to this day, these two "labor" lawyers believe they did everything possible for the Albert Lea men. Their whole conception of protecting a labor client is to induce the judge and the prosecution to "trade off" for a guilty plea a lesser charge. Of the social and moral implications of a labor case they have not the slightest awareness. "Labor lawyers"—the term is a mockery when applied to such attorneys as these. Gallagher and Goldie do all the "lawyer-ing" while those whom they defend do all the "laboring"—for sixty days in the county jail. These two lawyers closed their whirlwind defense by presenting bills for \$100 a day for their work.

The progressives in the I.U.A.W. were naturally angry at this gross miscarriage of justice to their brothers in Albert Lea. Together with the Northwest Trade Union Conference, they asked Baker to go back on the case. Attorney Baker, who, incidentally, is a man with a well-developed social outlook, gladly agreed to this. It didn't take him long to discover that the charge of "illegal entry" was not even contained in the indictment. Upon this basis he drew up a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Senn happened to be away at the time. Baker discovered an old law which permitted the court commissioner to issue such a writ. The commissioner then issued the writ and the jailed prisoners were about to be freed when Judge Senn got news of this. The judge immediately issued a restraining order, brought Baker into court and venomously attacked him for his efforts on behalf of the strikers.

Supreme Court Ruling

Undaunted, Baker, by an incredible amount of effort, managed to bring the Judge's action before the State Supreme Court, who ruled that the Judge was in error in issuing the restraining order. Baker rushed back to Albert Lea and sought another writ of habeas corpus, which Judge Senn then denied.

This, then, is the status of the case at present. Several of the prisoners will be released on April 6, having served their sixty days in jail on a charge of which they were innocent, and which was not even mentioned in the indictment. It is possible that action may be brought against the court authorities for false imprisonment.

Baker's sincere and capable activities on behalf of the strikers have attracted wide attention in the state, and have opened the minds of large sections of the working class to an entirely different conception of what a labor lawyer is really like in action. "From now on," said one member of the Austin Union a few days ago, "judges in Minnesota will ask a worker twice if he is guilty before they reel off a sentence."

Emme's Dismissal

It was for speaking on this case at a sectional conference of the Northwest Labor Unity Conference held in Austin on March 2 that Julius Emme was fired off the job he held as secretary of the Minnesota Industrial Commission. Emme criticized Judge Senn's decision and suggested that heat be put under any judge that would sentence innocent men in such a manner.

This remark of his was expanded and spread over the front pages of the St. Paul newspapers in a lurid manner, the account being written by a newspaperman, a labor spy, who had sneaked into the Austin conference. This was the excuse that Frank Starkey, a notorious labor faker and a member of the Industrial Commission (appointed by Governor Olson, incidentally) was looking for. Starkey wings hand in glove with the right wing fakers in the State Federation of Labor. Emme was summarily dismissed from his job without the semblance of a trial. But this is

Conferences Prepare May
Day in N. Y. and Chicago

Decision to hold a number of parades on May Day, all converging into a huge demonstration at some central point, likely Union Square, was the most important development of the conference of trades unions, political parties, fraternal bodies, etc., held at the Rand School, Thursday, March 28.

The conference was called by the New York Local of the Socialist Party, which is controlled by the right wing, Old Guard. The invitations were carefully restricted. The Workers Party, Communist Party (Opposition), and all other political organizations opposed to the S. P. were not invited. Apparently the Yipsels are now included in that category, as there was not a single Yipsel local represented. Militant Socialists were also conspicuously absent.

Delegates from the Workers Party, S.Y.L., C. P. (O.), etc., who attended without invitations, were seated by the vote of the conference. In addition, the credentials committee reported 350 delegates attending, 78 from the S. P., 139 from the Workers' Circle, 100 from local trade unions and central bodies, 28 from the Unemployed Union, several delegates from the I.W.W., etc.

August Claessens was elected chairman and ruled that motions whether carried or not would have no more force than suggestions to the arrangements committee. A motion for one united May Day demonstration of all political tendencies was made by a representative of the International Pocketbook Makers Union. Considerable discussion pro and con followed. An amendment by Nelson (Lovestonites), I.L.G.W.U., to invite the Communist Party but not the "dual unions" brought confusion to the issue. With many delegates demanding the floor, discussion was ended by Claessens, who made the usual S.P. speech, "the disgrace of Madison Square Garden," "splinter groups", etc. etc. Both amendment and motion were defeated, though the motion did get considerable support.

Representatives of political parties and groups other than the S.P. were excluded from the arrangements committee. A motion to change the name from "Socialist and Labor Committee" to "Labor Committee for May Day" was voted down by a small majority. This question will no doubt be raised and fought again at the arrangements committee.

The New York District of the Workers Party will cooperate wholeheartedly to make the parades and demonstration as militant, colorful and large as possible. Plans are being worked out to make the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth sections one of the most lively sections in the entire parade. Floats, banners, music, uniforms for the S.Y.L. etc. are being prepared.

A call for one united May Day demonstration was sent out by the Workers Party in letters to the S.P., C.P., trades unions and other organizations.

CHICAGO—On Sunday, March 31 at 10 A.M. the Provisional Committee of Chicago Labor May Day, called together a conference to plan for a May Day celebration. Over 100 delegates representing trade unions, fraternal organizations, political parties and youth organizations responded to this call, initiated by the Socialist Party, the I.L.G.W.U., the International Pocketbook Workers Union, the C. G. of the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Federation of Trade Unions, and others.

The conference opened with an address on May Day by Lederman, the manager of the Pocketbook Workers Union. He was followed by a report of the credentials committee, which marked the first struggle in the conference and belied Lederman's plea for unity on May Day. The credentials committee proposed to unseat the delegates representing the Stalinist "A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance", the Lovestonites and the Workers Party because these were communist organizations.

Unity Wins Out

Intervention on the part of the militant socialists led to a motion

another story, and will be presented in next week's *New Militant*. Incidentally, the Austin Union has unanimously demanded that Fosso resign from the presidency for his cowardly and stupid advice to the Albert Lea strikers, as well as for his general reactionary policies which he is trying to impose on the heretofore militant Independent Union of All Workers.

It is possible that the Albert Lea case will be reopened, that the men will stand trial on the original charge and be fully vindicated. The Albert Lea and Fargo cases have driven home sharply the need in the Northwest for a broad labor defense movement which can command the services of experienced and intelligent labor lawyers—lawyers who will be backed up in their courtroom work by the power of a well-informed and fighting mass movement. There is a great field for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense in the Northwest.

to take up each organization separately. As a result of the fight made by the militant socialists and the Y.P.S.Lers, the Workers Party, represented by Albert Giotzer, was seated, through a vote of 49 to 29. The Lovestonites were also seated, while the "A. F. of L. Committee" was unseated by an overwhelming vote.

The conference then rejected by an almost unanimous vote, a united front with the Stalinists, who came before the conference with a plea of unity.

The greater part of the meeting was taken up with the character of the celebration. Four proposals were placed before the gathering by the provisional committee: 1) to hold an open air mass meeting; 2) to hold a march demonstration to close with an open air meeting; 3) to hold a mass indoor meeting; and lastly, 4) a Sunday, May 5, 30-hour week parade and mass meeting. The latter depending upon whether the Chicago Federation of Labor could be induced to participate.

W. P. Proposal Adopted

Upon the motion of Giotzer, the second proposal for a mass march demonstration and meeting was adopted by a majority vote, after considerable discussion. The conference also decided to make attempts to involve the I.L.G.W.U. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in this march, and to endeavor to get these organizations to call off their separate meetings in order thereby to hold one May Day celebration.

The chief slogan of the conference will be: The national 30-hour week. Other demands include: Union wages on relief projects; complete social insurance; support of the Lundeen Bill; against war and fascism, etc. A provision was made that additional slogans and demands could be incorporated by the executive committee.

Executive Committee Elected

The conference closed with the election of an executive committee to put the decisions into practice and to work out the details of the celebration. Among the members of this committee are: Arthur MacDowell, Cook County Secretary of the Socialist Party, Lederman of the Pocketbook Workers Union, Patterson of the Workers Committee on Unemployment, Mordecai Shulman of the S. P.; Giganti of the C. G. of the Workers Committee and Albert Giotzer for the Workers Party.

The prospects are bright for a rousing May Day celebration in Chicago. The Chicago organization of the Workers Party calls upon all its members, sympathizers and friends to watch for the details of the march and prepare to participate under the banners of our Party.

"The Collective
Propagandist"

"A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator." It is "a part of an enormous pair of bellows, blowing every spark of the class struggle and of popular discontent into a general conflagration."

Thus spoke Lenin himself, master of theory and master also in the field of practical achievement. If the symbol of the bellows applied to the organ of a revolutionary party was ever at any moment in the United States.

To take the popular discontent stirring everywhere in this country today, still manifest largely in the hearing given to utopians, false prophets and mountebanks and transform it into a revolutionary conflagration! To enable the fighting elements in the unions to take the leadership in steel, automobiles, textiles, rubber, away from the bureaucrats who want to put down the fire of discontent so that the discontent of the workers with rising prices and falling incomes, with sham company unions, with labor hating bosses, may be fanned into a conflagration sweeping the nation like a prairie fire during this spring and summer! That is the task of the Workers Party.

To achieve that task the *New Militant* must be distributed in increasing thousands. It must become the paper of the American workers. Our field workers, our comrades in the front line trenches in the strike areas, our comrades who have to meet the arguments or the slanders of other parties and groups, the party organizers and members who meet the militant workers in the unions and unemployed leagues and win them for the party,—all must be armed with the *New Militant*—their work must be supplemented by the *New Militant* going in thousands into the factories, mines, stores, offices and workers' homes.

Blow "every spark of the class struggle into a general conflagration!" That means, today, support the *New Militant* subscription campaign.

National Committee of W. P.
A. J. MUSTE, Secretary

CAPITOL
NEWS
LETTER

BY JACK ELDER

HUMAN AND DIVINE . . .

WASHINGTON.—Philip Murray, puppet vice-president of the United Mine Workers and plant tool in the hands of Lewis, gets a job with the NRA. Appointed to membership on the National Industrial Recovery Board, he will hereafter sit side by side with Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as A. F. of L. spokesman in the New Deal's primary scheme for class-collaboration.

Murray gets his job (which involves control over a lot of patronage) and the A. F. of L. at once forgives and forgets.

It forgives and forgets Richberg, chief betrayer of the organized labor movement from the first day of Section 7a to date. Richberg, the A. F. of L. chiefs were saying only a few weeks ago, was a double-crosser, a traitor, a Judas. They were condemning him as the chief saboteur of collective bargaining. Today, once again, Richberg, Green and Lewis are pals, members of a happy little family.

The Executive Council forgives and forgets the President's renewal of the automobile code. Only a few weeks ago, the A. F. of L. leaders were crying to high heaven because the President acted without paying the least attention to the Henderson-Richberg report. They were clamoring for the suppression of the Wolman Automobile Labor Board. Today, once again, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats look toward the President as its firm friend.

They forgive and forget the scandal of the recently-approved tobacco code; the paralysis of the labor relations boards; the overwhelming torrent of non-compliance with wage and hour requirements; the enactment of the Work Relief bill permeated by the philosophy of low wages.

All, in short, is the best in the best of all possible bureaucratic worlds. Wage earners have nothing to complain about any more. The Administration, its heart in the right place, has finally recognized the co-equal status of labor with management. The problems of unemployment, starvation wages and stretch-out have been solved. The economic order of the United States has been revolutionized.

For where Hillman once sat alone as the A. F. of L.'s spokesman on the NLRB, he is now joined by Murray. Two jobs in the place of one. Twice as much opportunity to sell out the unorganized toiling masses.

Unfortunately, there is not as much cause for elation among the workers as there is among Green and Co. The whole Executive Council of the A. F. of L. might be named to the NLRB for all the difference that would make on the matters that really count. What has the NRA done so far to reduce unemployment, increase weekly earnings, and to the real income of workers? The answer—as all official statistics show—is nothing. What can the NRA do in view of its encouragement to production and price control, to cartels and monopoly? The answer—as a moment's reflection will indicate—is less than nothing.

THE PITFALLS OF
LEWISDOM . . .

The wage conferences between the United Mine Workers and the operators are still dragging on. Outwardly at least the deadlock is complete. The operators propose to continue the wage and hour standards of the present bituminous coal code. The union proposes to raise wages and shorten hours.

Will this mean, if no agreement is reached, a truly militant strike? Not if John Lewis can help it. A safe and peaceful "suspension" until such time as coal inventories are reduced, is possible. But Lewis will work as hard to suppress any vigorous strike as he has worked to suppress all coal strikes from the very outset of Section 7a.

It should not be forgotten that the bituminous coal code is equipped with labor boards in which the U.M.W.A. and the operators have equal membership. The code very definitely limits the right to strike. The code very definitely provides for compulsory arbitration. These provisions were written into the code by Lewis and his cohorts for the specific purpose of preventing the rank and file workers from getting out of hand.

JAMBOREE

given by the
Spartacus Youth League
SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 8:30
Dancing, Games, Refreshments
2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.
Admission 15c by hat check.
Proceeds for National Tour.

WAR!

The Enemy Is
In Our Own
Country

NO MATTER how highly developed the armed strength of a nation may be, the coming war, like the last one, will be fought by the masses who are compelled to employ the weapons of warfare.

But before the workers of all nations can be driven to the trenches, their minds must first be poisoned with chauvinist gases, the bayonet of lies and misrepresentation must first rip out the bowels of their class solidarity.

In the last war, the masses were led to fight for Pan-Slavic czarist expansion in the name of the struggle against Japanese autocracy and German Kaiserism; the enemy of the Russian workers was in . . . Tokyo and Berlin. The German worker was called on to defend the Junker's fatherland from Russian barbarism and French "revenge"; his enemy was in . . . Moscow and Paris.

In most countries, the official Socialist parties turned recruiting sergeant in behalf of the imperialists. It required the immortal Karl Liebknecht to exclaim: "The enemy is in our own country!" In 1917, the Russian masses learned the meaning of these words. They turned on their real enemy, they took power, they brought the war to an end in their way.

The working masses are now being mobilized for imperialist war in the same way. Only, today it is not the Kaiser who is "forcing a war upon us"; his place has been taken by Hitler.

Does Fascism mean war? Yes, but only because Fascism means the rule of capitalism organized in the nakedest, most dictatorial and murderous way. It is imperialist capitalism that produces war, be it organized as an autocracy, a constitutional monarchy, a Fascist state, or a "democratic republic."

The social democrats are merely repeating their old role when they shout about the need of the workers defending the "democratic" countries against the "Fascist aggressor."

The Stalinists are merely lending a helping hand by creating illusions about the League of Nations, about "disarmament" as a cure for war, about the "capitalist powers that do not want war" and the "capitalist powers that do want war."

Does this mean that it is a matter of indifference to the workers whether or not they are ruled by Fascism? Not at all! Just because we are ready to fight tooth and nail for the right to organize, to speak, to meet, to publish our press, to strike, to picket, to fight for improved conditions and for freedom from capitalism—we stand intransigently opposed to the imperialist war. These are precisely the rights that are curtailed or abolished by even the most "democratic" countries the minute war is declared.

Many battles were fought in the class war to win these rights; battles are fought every day to preserve them. We will not surrender them lightly. We will fight to retain them, in the only war the working class can support—the class war—because we need them to defend ourselves better against the daily attacks of capitalism, because we need them for the speediest and most effective overthrow of capitalism!

It is Hitler who crushes the German proletariat. It is and will be American capitalism that exploits the American working class and reduces it to gagged and fettered serfs.

The enemy is in our own country!

Ever greater numbers of workers will realize this profound truth.

It will immunize them against the poison of chauvinism.

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Labor Rallies to Aid of Akron Strike

Juror Hits Verdict in California

Goldman Appeals for New Trial as Deal Is Uncovered

SACRAMENTO, April 4.—Sentence was not passed today upon the eight workers convicted of criminal syndicalism Monday. Judge Dal M. Lemmon's schedule was upset when, on the motion for a new trial, Albert Goldman, attorney for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, instead of limiting himself to dry technical arguments, exploded a bombshell which forever destroys the validity of the guilty verdict in the minds of all but the frame-up prosecution and the court.

Opening the defense argument for a new trial, Goldman denounced the verdict as an illegal horse-trade. The crowded court was electrified when he read an affidavit by a juror affirming this view. The judge immediately discounted Goldman's argument, but broke off proceedings to seek legal authority not to grant a new trial. Court will reassemble April 10 for further argument, Goldman having left Sacramento today for his home in Chicago. In the meantime, the judge has refused to set bail.

The affidavit impeaching the guilty verdict especially in the cases of Norman Mini of the Workers Party and Caroline Decker of the Communist Party, is signed by Howard S. McIntire. An accountant, he worked 27 years in the State Adjutant-General's office and is a Past Master of the local Masons, who last week presented him with a diamond-studded watch-chain. McIntire held out for 118 ballots before agreeing to a horse-trade on Mini and Decker in order to get a verdict.

Jurors Threatened

McIntire, who is indebted to one of the local banks back of the prosecution, finally gave in because of threats by other jurors. During the deliberations, Foreman Backliffe and Mrs. Mary A. Perry, instruments of the prosecution, denounced as Reds those jurors who opposed convicting everybody on two counts. They threatened not only McIntire, but Juror Mrs. Clara F. Keith, whose son is a traffic cop, and Juror W. W. Jackson, former railroad worker who lives off a Southern Pacific pension. Fully conscious of the State's failure to make a case, McIntire nevertheless surrendered after a fight lasting 66 hours, and a horse-trade was arranged.

McIntire's affidavit was given voluntarily to the defense in order, as he stated, to get a new trial for innocent people. Immediately after the verdict he sought out Attorney Goldman in the lobby of the latter's hotel to tell him about the horse-trade. He shed tears of shame and regret. Next day he encountered on the street Jack Warnick, acquitted defendant, Norman Mini's father, and Herbert Solow of the N. P.L.D. to whom he told the same story. On the second day after the verdict, he sought out Solow and Warnick in the former's hotel room, and there expressed a desire to try to undo his action. As a result he composed a statement, which he then swore to before a notary and (Continued on Page 2)



ROLL, TIRE, ROLL!

Toledo Auto Strike Looms

Continue Fight for the Scottsboro Boys

In handing down its unanimous decision to set aside the verdict in the Scottsboro trial, giving a new trial to Clarence Norris and Heywood Patterson, the United States Supreme Court performed a political act of the highest significance. The Supreme Court gave nothing from the goodness of its heart or from the mere formal excellence of its juridical brains. Seething unrest among the Negro masses, and, to a degree, its organized expression in the Scottsboro campaign has bumped square into the oppressive exploiters and discriminators against the Negro population. The decision of the Court is a political reverberation of that collision.

The victory is only a partial one. The scene shifts back to Alabama where, in a new trial, the ruling class will try another maneuver in their attempt to railroad the Scottsboro boys.

As a result of the Supreme Court decision Governor Bibb Graves has ordered a revision of jury boxes in Alabama. The prosecutor—now Lieutenant Governor Knight—has promised a new and ironclad case. It is obvious the state will now try to avoid all technicalities without giving the boys any better chance.

Some Negroes may be allowed on the jury. They will be drawn from the thin middleclass stratum of the

Death and Destruction 'Peace' Record of 1934

During 1934 throughout the world 2,400,000 men and women died of starvation and 1,200,000 men and women committed suicide because they had no further means of existence. At the same time the social order which permitted and condoned this state of affairs evolved as a remedy to alleviate this misery the peculiar device of destroying 1,000,000 wagon loads of wheat 207,000 train loads of coffee 516,000,000 pounds of sugar 50,000,000 pounds of rice 50,000,000 pounds of meat.

—Steel, in The N. Y. Post.

Negro people, and, lest any of these go astray, intimidation—open and concealed lynch threats—will be used against them.

Now, if ever, real victory is not far off. The I.L.D. has always been the cat in the boot; yet so near and yet so far.

Only a mass movement can save the Scottsboro boys! The Supreme Court will not and can not save the boys!

The I.L.D. alone cannot save the boys! Only by building a mass defense, with all working class elements represented with rights of criticism, can the Scottsboro boys be finally freed.

The Scottsboro boys shall not die!

Men Flocking into Chevrolet Union

BULLETIN

(By Wire to the New Militant)
TOLEDO, O., April 9.—Despite instructions from the A. F. of L. to the workers not to participate in the election at the Chevrolet plant in Toledo arranged by the Auto Labor Board, 1,326 men voted for the A. F. of L. and only 508 voted for no affiliation. Only a handful failed to vote at all. Organization sentiment is running high, and the workers are flocking into the Federal union. Action talk is heard everywhere and a strike appears likely in the immediate future.

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, O., April 9.—Organization of the production and skilled and office workers in the large Toledo plant of the Chevrolet Motor Corp. is proceeding rapidly following two jammed and enthusiastic mass meetings conducted by the Toledo local of the United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union.

Over 900 workers have attended the meetings and it is expected that all will be signed up in the union by this Saturday. This is one of the most successful attempts which has been made to unionize a plant (Continued on Page 4)

Solidarity Pledged by Cleveland & Detroit

Intervention of Perkin Threatens to Continue the 'National Run Around'

LATEST STRIKE ASPECTS AT A GLANCE

The Cleveland Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Council have formally pledged their support to the Akron rubber workers' union.

F. J. Dillon, A. F. of L. auto head in Detroit, announces that "in the event of a strike in the Akron rubber factories we are prepared to give support."

"Impartial observers," say press reports, "are practically unanimous that the walkout (in Akron) will be under way before the present week is ended."

Secretary of Labor Perkins has stepped into the Akron situation, conferring with company officials, in hope of averting the strike of rubber workers.

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, April 9.—Akron's 30,000 rubber workers stand poised and ready to strike against the provocative attacks of the Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone companies and establish union recognition. Certain outstanding facts this week indicate that the rubber struggle is the most important political event for the working class since the New Deal.

Labor Supports St. Louis Gas Workers Strike

Trick Settlement Rejected - Ladies' Auxiliary Is Organized

ST. LOUIS, April 6.—The strike of gas house workers goes into its second week with ranks firmer than ever, with mounting enthusiasm, and with wider and wider support.

The strike received fresh impetus last Saturday with the endorsement of the St. Louis Central Trades Council, bringing the entire organized labor movement of St. Louis behind the strikers. The decision came after several prominent officials of the C.T.C. visited the offices of the Laclede Co. in an attempt to lay the ground for a settlement. Gosling, head of the company, refused even to interview them.

Labor Movement In Support

The support of the Central Council greatly strengthens the strike, bringing ever wider circles of the labor movement to the aid of the strike.

The Laclede company, frightened by the success of the daily strike bulletin, has begun a campaign of slander against the union in paid advertisements inserted daily in the capitalist press. The bulletin has answered the company lies as frequently as they appeared, making it embarrassing for the company to continue.

A women's auxiliary, organized last week, which includes the wives, daughters, sweethearts, and sisters of the strikers, is doing fine work in feeding the men, in assuring water distribution of the bulletin, and in raising money to support the strike.

"Settlement" Rejected

The union unanimously rejected a "settlement" proposed by the Mayor's Committee last week, a settlement which bore all the earmarks of a company lawyer's work. Under its provisions union men could have been fired wholesale for organizing. Not only that but there was no mention of seniority rights, and one of the union's main demands, that the service charge be revoked, was completely neglected. (Continued on Page 4)

Nation-wide Strike Against War Stirrs Students

On April 12, at 11 A.M., thousands of students throughout the country will go out on strike against war and fascism. The response on Friday will be an indication of the strong anti-war sentiment on the part of the student youth. As a militant anti-war manifestation the strike should receive the support of every student and worker and their organizations.

It will be an indication of the disillusionment with capitalism's fake peace promises and the determination not to be cannon fodder for the next imperialist war.

It is unfortunate that such a strong expression of student opinion should be misguided and diverted into channels which will mar the

success and effectiveness of the demonstration. No small measure of the responsibility for this can be laid at the door of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Communist League. Proper guidance and leadership can be given only by the working class through its organizations. The Spartacus Youth League, realizing this necessity, appealed to the Y.P.S.L. and the Y.C.L. for a national united front of political working class youth organizations to give leadership and support to the strike. To date no answer has been received. The strike committee is in the hands of the Socialist S.L.I.D., the Stalinist N.S.L. and the Methodist Youth Council.

In every school where it has any foothold the S.Y.L., while affirming its support of the strike, has attempted to correct false slogans advanced, has analyzed for the students the nature of imperialist war and has pointed out the only method of ending it—revolutionary struggle against capitalist war. In many instances the slogans raised are purely pacifist and entirely distort the role of the students in the anti-war fight, helping to spread the illusion that the students can conduct their struggle entirely independently of the working class. Where the slogan "Against War" was raised, S.Y.L.ers succeeded in some cases in making "Against Imperialist War" the central issue of

the strike. In Franklin Lane High School, Brooklyn, where the administration attempted to avert a strike by persuading the students to call it after school hours, we were active in getting the students to agree to walk out at 11. In N.Y.U. members of the S.Y.L. in conjunction with the Student League for Industrial Democracy called an anti-war rally at which they demanded that Prof. Sidney Hook be allowed to speak at the strike mass meeting. This was in protest against the National Student League policy of allowing only people who agreed with their line to speak. In City College of New York members of the S.Y.L. fraction issued leaflets exposing

the pacifist channels into which the local strike committee was leading the strike and calling on the students to avert the danger. In Penn State College the local S. Y. L. branch issued militant leaflets calling for support of the strike. Lincoln High School S.Y.L.ers have issued the first bulletin which analyzes the war question and calls for support of the strike. Throughout, though criticizing wrong policies and slogans and attacking all attempts by the organizations in the official united front mechanically to control and dominate the local united front committees, the S.Y.L. has asserted its support of the strike and assisted in the preparation for it.

While newspapers and preachers—in particular preachers—cry against the workers, the workers calmly continue to get ready for a stiff battle which can only be described as impending civil war. The workers' ranks continue to grow. The strike vote proves that. Scabbing will be done only by few misguided workers, if they can get in. It doesn't seem likely that they will. Of course, the A. F. of L. has promised nation-wide support. This promise must be made a reality. Otherwise the struggle of the Akron workers against the entire capitalist structure will be made more difficult.

Juror's Affidavit Flays Sacramento Verdict

Horse-Trade Uncovered; Goldman Calls for New Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

The local population is still divided into those for and those against the verdict, but there are few people left who regard it as anything but a political horse-trade having nothing to do with law or evidence. Infuriated reactionaries, partly deprived of the benefit of judicial covering in the anti-union drive which culminated in the criminal syndicalism indictment, are renewing vigilante activities. They have threatened the lives of several acquitted defendants and have ordered all of them out of town.

Stalinist Prisoners Reconsider

McIntire is being subjected to sharp pressure from his bank and other forces to get him to say he gave his statement out of fear of Red terrorism! Prosecutor McAlister, who is filling the local press with stories that he and several jurors have been threatened with death since the verdict, has sent agents to all jurors demanding statements against McIntire.

The 8 convicted defendants are back in the County Jail, where 40 prisoners are sick from poisonous food. All eight express the hope that there will be a united appeal struggle. The Stalinists among them look sheepish at any mention of their endorsement of the C. P.'s attacks on Norman Mini who is once again in jail with them. All said a friendly good-bye to Goldman and to Solow, who has served as California representative of the N.P.L.D. since December, when they left today for the East. Caroline Decker has asked that if and when bail is set pending appeal, the N.P.L.D. use its bail funds for her again.

The latest Western Worker, however, denounces Mini, class war prisoner now facing sentence of 1-14 years in San Quentin. It states that the jury recommended probation for him because he "conciliated" the prosecution. Obligated to explain how come the jury also recommended probation for Lorine

Norman, 100 percent Stalinist, this rag says that the jury (which it has repeatedly called a "Fascist jury") had consideration for her health!

ARE YOU INTERESTED in these problems?

The Housing Question in America. Strikes on the 1935 Horizon. American Trade Union Problems. In a Billion Dollar Industry. The Problem of the Labor Party. The Roosevelt "Security" Program. Marxism: Science or Method? Where is Stalinism Leading Russia?

The Abolition of the Bread Cards in the Soviet Union. Stalin the Theoretician. The Political Situation in Spain. Why the Saar Was Lost. Lessons of the Paris Commune. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg. All these questions are dealt with in the MARCH ISSUE of

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.

PITTSBURGH HEADQUARTERS

All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party are invited to visit the new headquarters of the Pittsburgh Branch of the W. P., located at 564 Sixth Ave. at cor. of Wyle Avenue.

Just Off the Press

The Suppressed TESTAMENT OF LENIN With two explanatory articles by LEON TROTSKY 10c each \$7.00 per hundred

WHICH PARTY FOR THE AMERICAN WORKERS?

Letters to Worker-Correspondent by A. J. MUSTE 5c each \$3.50 per hundred PIONEER PUBLISHERS 96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

N.U.L. Pickets White House



Parties Unite Against War

A border dispute between the Central American republics of Costa Rica and Panama, both completely dominated by American imperialism, is threatening to lead to an armed struggle in that region. The Talamanca zone is in dispute. With the exception of a strip one-mile wide bordering the coast, which according to Costa Rican law must remain national property, the disputed zone of Talamanca is totally in the hands of the United Fruit Company. The causes of the conflict therefore can be traced to imperialist interests which in Central America more than almost anywhere else will tolerate no restrictions on their domination. A patriotic hysteria is now being fanned by the professional scribblers and other "patriots" of both countries.

A united front manifesto has been issued by the working class organizations of the two countries, calling for a conference of all anti-imperialist organizations of Panama and Costa Rica. The appeal is signed by the Workers Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Panama (standing for the Fourth International), the Communist Party of Panama (Third International), the Marxist Socialist Party of Panama (Reformist), the U.G.T. of Costa Rica (trade union center), and the Tenants League of Panama. The appeal ends with the following "categorical declaration":

"Whatever may be the outcome of the proposed border settlement, we workers of Costa Rica and Panama will not follow our respective capitalist classes if the conflict should lead to a war. In such a case, the proletariat of each country will regard it, its inescapable duty to fire not a single shot at the class brothers on the other side, but to turn its arms against its own ruling class which stays at home.

"Against the imperialist war!"

"For a Workers and Peasants Government!"

"For the revolutionary way out of the present crisis!"

Boston Conference Prepares Joint May Day Celebration

By L. SCHLOSBERG

BOSTON, April 7.—A provisional First of May Committee was organized here composed of the Socialist Party, joint board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, joint board of the Cloak Makers Union, joint board of the Cap Makers Union, and the Workmen's Circle.

A conference was held Sunday, March 31, where the following organizations were represented: seven unions, seven S. P. branches, and six Workmen's Circle branches. The delegates of the Left Wing organizations who sent delegates to the conference, such as the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth, Students of Harvard University and also a representative of the Communist Party, who came and acted as an angel for a united front of all labor organizations, were not seated. However, four members of the Workers Party were seated as delegates from the Workmen's Circle and the Ladies Garment Workers Union. Three of these comrades were in the leading committees of the conference.

At the beginning of the conference 27 delegates supported the extreme reactionary attitude of the Right wingers of the Socialist Party and 15 were with the progressive elements, but after a demonstration of the practical attitude of the comrades of the Workers Party, an amendment was made by our comrades that the conference should confer with all radical organizations and organize a bona fide united front for a May 1 demonstration.

(It should be mentioned that the leaders of the Right wing told us that if we did not fight to have the Communist Party recognized, our delegates would be seated. Our answer was: "We did not come to

get prestige for the Workers Party, but we want to have a bona fide united front May 1st demonstration representing all political views.")

The amendment was carried by a 21 to 13 vote. A committee of eight was elected, including three members of the Workers Party, comrades William Konikow, L. Schlosberg, and Chlipovitz.

S. Blumfield, district organizer of the C. P. and Weber, secretary of the C. P. came to the first conference and displayed their typical attitude. After a three hours "conference" with them, the representatives of the Communist Party stated: "Speakers of the Workers Party and the Communist Party Opposition should be excluded."

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

S.Y.L. North-Eastern Regional Confab to Map Future Course

By SOL STEVENS

On April 13 and 14 the New York-New England section of the Spartacus Youth League will meet in its first regional conference. This conference is of great importance to the S.Y.L. and the W.P. A thorough analysis of the activity of the last four months, the gains and the mistakes, will characterize the conference. Delegates from about 15 branches, comrades from the field as well as those engaged in local work, will meet to deal with the problems facing the League.

The Workers Party, to which the S.Y.L. is politically subordinate, will send delegates to the conference, to assist the comrades in their discussions and plans. The recent American Youth Congress, the coming Student Strike, the anti-

war struggle and the R.O.T.C., the question of a national union for the organization, are some of the problems to be taken up.

We are coming to this conference with the report that the S.Y.L. has doubled its membership nationally since its first national convention last December. Based upon the discussion of past achievements plans will be laid here for future work.

The Spartacus Youth League is on the march—on the road towards building a mass revolutionary youth organization. The Regional Conference will be the first step to record our gains and plan our work. Then we march on! All eyes now on the Regional Conference.

WORKERS

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For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Spartacus Starts National Tour

The Spartacus Youth League is initiating a national tour. The representative of its National Committee, comrade Nathan Gould, will cover every city where we have S.Y.L. and W.P. branches in a coast-to-coast tour across the country. Branches are urged to make immediate preparations for meetings, affairs, etc. as outlined in the circular letters sent out by the national office.

The following is the route of the tour:

APRIL: New York—13, 14 (Regional Conference) Newark, N. J.—15, 16 Dickinson City, Pa.—19 Philadelphia—20, 21, 22 State College—23 Pittsburgh—24, 25 Youngstown, Ohio—26, 27, 28, 29

(Regional Conference 27, 28).

Cleveland—30, May 1.

MAY: Columbus—2, 3, 4.

Toledo—5.

Detroit, Mich.—7, 8.

Chicago, Ill.—10, 11, 12, 13 (Regional Conference 11, 12).

Gillespie—15, 16.

St. Louis, Mo.—17.

Kansas City—18, 19.

Phoenix, Ariz.—22, 23.

Los Angeles, Calif.—24, 25, 26, 27 (Regional Conference 25, 26).

Fresno, Cal.—28.

San Francisco—29, 30, 31, June 1.

JUNE: Salt Lake City, Utah—3.

Minneapolis, Minn.—7, 8, 9.

Chicago, Ill.—11, 12, 13.

Detroit, Mich.—29, 30.

JULY: Toronto, Canada—2, 3, 4.

Buffalo, N. Y.—5.

An Appeal for Victor Serge

Our Spanish comrades have just called our attention to the case of Victor Serge, because of his decided Trotskyist leanings.

Two years ago Victor Serge, author of "The Year One of the Rus-

deal, Richard Bloch and Andre Malraux, who were asked to intervene, failed to do so. They also were silenced. Why was Serge sent to Siberia? Now that the two years have passed are they intending to

Serge himself was taken to bed with a high fever.

The Barbusse, the Gides and other such "Friends" of the Soviet Union, have not said a word. It is rather to the workers of the var-

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The old Wobblly spirit seems to be alive again in Cleveland these days. A string of strikes in small stove, metal barrel and machinery plants, of foundry workers and charwomen, has culminated in a really important walkout of 1,200 employees of the National Screw Company. The fight has been carried on with the usual aggressive I.W.W. tactics. There have been continuous arrests, a bomb scare was cooked up, more than a dozen of the organizers and active committeemen have been clapped in the jug, held for 48 hours or more and then released without any charge being made against them. The union charges that the company violated an agreement for a ten percent raise when the Associated Industries, an employers' organization, promised to help in breaking up the organization.

COME-BACK?

Does it mean that the Industrial Workers of the World are due for a comeback? Will the traditions of Lawrence, McKees Rocks and Mesaba Range come to life again in a revived Wobblly offensive? The evidence is against it.

Many of their best elements have gone elsewhere. The hard facts of the present day scene in the labor movement are against them. The fundamental confusion in regard to the function of political action which cracked up the old movement, works with even sharper emphasis today. Outside of the Cleveland situation, the I.W.W. has played a prominent part in only one other place. In the early stages of organization in the Detroit auto plants, they tied up the Murray Body Co. by an effective strike. But the I.W.W. is out of the Detroit picture today and its place has been taken by the Federal locals of the American Federation of Labor. In Cleveland itself, as a matter of fact, they form but a tiny part of the entire body of organized labor. It was estimated some six months ago that over 100,000 workers were organized into A. F. of L. unions in that city. The figure has no doubt fallen since, but not enough to affect the picture to any considerable extent.

RAT AGENCY

A. A. Ahner is coming up in the world. At one time he had a hard job keeping his head above water. Labor had exposed him in Milwaukee, in Dubuque, Iowa and in other cities where he had carried on his rotten trade as head of an industrial spy agency which furnished thugs and stool pigeons for union breaking purposes. The union organization campaign hit St. Louis and the Ahner Detective Engineering-Detective Engineering Agency began to lap up the gravy. When the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union struck the

clothing industry of the city he supplied strong-arm men to handle the girls who walked out. His agency has been in the thick of every important labor struggle since. His latest employer is the Laclede Gas Company which has hired him to smash the strike of gas workers.

Such scab-baiting agencies are common enough. There is an angle to the case of A. A. Ahner, however, which lifts it out of the ordinary run. Late in 1933 it was whispered in the inner circles of the trade union movement of St. Louis that a prominent union official, czar of one of the most powerful building trades organization in the city, owned a one-third interest in Ahner's little business venture. It is a line of inquiry which it might be well worth while to follow up.

NECKTIES MERGE

Since 1906 the organized neckwear makers have been organized into a Federal Local of the A. F. of L. At present there are about 3,000 organized, all of them in the New York market. Efforts to spread the union to Chicago, Philadelphia and other centers have not been successful. The Federal local form cramped their style. No sizeable war chest could be accumulated with which to do the job. In recent years the industry has shown an ever increasing tendency to leave New York and it is now estimated that about 7,000 more workers are unorganized, chiefly in these outside centers.

Last year the local applied to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for affiliation. In February the executive council of the American Federation of Labor approved the transference of the charter to the A.C.W. and by the end of April it is expected that the local will be a functioning branch of the Amalgamated.

A strong progressive group has been functioning for some time in the local union. In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers the fight for union democracy and militancy must be kept up. The Progressive Unionists of America, to which the neckwear workers' progressive group is affiliated, has a real job to do.

BRIEFS

Okey O'dell, leader of last summer's militant union strike at McGuffey, Ohio has kept up the work. He now reports widespread organization of agricultural workers in Northwest Ohio, Southern Michigan and Eastern Indiana. Headquarters have been established at McGuffey.

April 20, Saturday—Party and Social. Bronx Branch, W. P.

PIONEER BOOK NOTES

We have just unearthed 100 copies of THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION (75c) and THE STRATEGY OF WORLD REVOLUTION (25c). Both have been out of print for quite some time. If your library doesn't contain a copy of these books—now is the time to get it.

Through special arrangement with the publishers of Trotsky's THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, we are able to offer, for a limited time only, the three volumes of this great work for \$6.00.

We have recently imported a number of books from England that have not been available on this side of the Atlantic for many a year. Every student of Marxism and the movement should have a copy. They are:

THE STUDENTS MARX, by Edward Aveling \$.75
KARL MARX, by Achille Loria75
THE BOLSHEVIK THEORY, by Raymond Postgate 2.00
SELECTED ESSAYS, by Karl Marx 2.00
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The NEW MILITANT

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Editor of New Militant:

At the present the chief task of the "leaders" of both unions in the fur trade is to pass the blame for the situation facing the fur workers on to someone else. It is particularly difficult for Ben Gold and the other leaders of the Fur Workers Industrial Union to "explain" their new and sudden passion for unity. Leaflets are issued which explain nothing. Speeches are made by past masters in the art of speaking but instead of dealing with their own past zigzag course they attack those who for years had a correct position on the question of unity.

I have been charged with advising the liquidation of the F.W.I.U. That this statement is untrue is known to all, including Gold and Winogradsky. That the sudden spin around which they were given by their party has made them dizzy, and they might be excused if it weren't for the fact that the very existence of a union in the fur market is endangered by their nonsense. Let us look over the record.

Is it necessary to quote material to show where Gold and the Communist Party stood? Every fur worker knows that for years they denounced not only the International Furriers Union but the whole A. F. of L. as "Fascist", "Social Fascist", "scab agencies", "company unions", etc. Anyone who spoke against this view was a target for the famous "splitting squad". From this position, from "bloody criminal battle", from denunciation, the leadership of our union turned overnight into advocates of unity with our brothers in the A. F. of L. Did they really expect that anyone would take their sudden change seriously? It will take months of work, months of friendly collaboration with the furriers in the International, to break down the impression which years of Stalinist misleadership has given in the fur market. The fur workers within and outside the F.W.I.U. must be reeducated.

An editorial in the Militant, March 24, 1934, put forward the position of the Communist League

have sacrificed so much for the building of the Industrial Union, they must realize one thing—we must face the truth that maintaining the Industrial Union outside the American Federation of Labor can lead only to the elimination of the Left wing in the trade. There is only one way open to us therefore, to enter the A. F. of L. as an autonomous local, and thereby maintain our unity."

These two paragraphs represented my views then. They still do and they also point the correct course for the union to follow. The leadership of the F.W.I.U. has wasted years. They have put obstacles in the way of unity. Their methods of struggle have played into the hands of the reactionary leaders of the International. This must be clearly understood. The greatest obstacles to unity of the furriers today are, on the one hand, the bureaucratic clique in the International and, on the other, the zigzag Communist Party leaders of the F.W.I.U.

Who are the liquidators? The road I proposed was the road of unity, the road of merger. This road was denounced by the C. P. last year as "social fascist". Recently the Communist Party has announced to the world that they are for the merger of independent unions with the A. F. of L. unions wherever possible; failing that they are for joining the A. F. of L. as individuals. Their past policy made unity impossible. Their present policy leads to liquidation. I oppose both. I am for fraternal cooperation with the members of the International Union now and for continuing our campaign for unity. A little truth-telling and self-criticism by Gold would be his best contribution to that campaign. His failure makes it necessary for the rank and file to speak up all the louder. — J. RABINOWITZ.

WHAT TO ATTEND

April 13, 8 P.M.—Spartacus Jam-boree at 2 W. 15th St. Dancing, en-

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

"My doctors say I react favorably to the excitement of roulette," says Charles Schwab as he sails for the French Riviera. There he meets in secret session with representatives of Krupp, Vickers, Schneider-Crusot, Skoda and other munition makers. "We have renewed the agreement of the International Railmakers' Association," they tell curious reporters. . . . Two days later Hitler scraps the Versailles Treaty, increases the German Army, orders huge supplies of munitions and starts the nations of the world on an armament race. . . .

MERRY ENGLAND: One half the people jailed in England are incarcerated for non-payment of debts reports Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour. . . . A restaurant exclusively for dogs has been opened in London by Lady Herbert Scott who already has a dog's beauty parlor nearby. Soup, fish, meat and cereals is served to dogs in the restaurant or food may be sent out to them. . . . "We want bread," is the cry of 70,000 unemployed as they tramp to Glasgow from from all parts of the British Isles. . . . All first class sleeping passengers on London-Glasgow trains receive hot-water bottles to keep their feet warm. . . .

ECONOMICS: Since 1932 the RYC has spent \$3,000,000,000. Of this \$7,300,000,000 went to the Bankers, Railroads and Industrialists; \$1,300,000,000 for relief. . . . "I left my Pullman drawing room and spent three hours talking with the day coach passengers. People are fast losing faith in capitalism," sighs Robert Babson, big business prophet. . . . In a 68 page report the Research and Planning division of the NIRA reaches this conclusion: "Although payrolls in December 1934 were only 60% of the total of 1926, dividends and interest were 150% of the total for that year. In short, the income enjoyed by those who received dividends and interest was 50% higher than in 1926, even though the national income has declined nearly 40% since that date and the volume of production has declined by one third." . . . "The depression will end in two months and the nation will realize it not later than July," predicts Charles (Hell and Maria) Dawes (former Vice President, in case you've forgotten) . . .

LABOR: Thirty-six of the last thirty-seven decisions of the Wolman Auto Board have gone against the workers. . . . Discussing collective bargaining, Frances Perkins says, "We must continue to have faith in our basic conceptions." . . . Bill Green spent seven weeks trying to get an interview with Pennington. . . .

Since 1920 dictatorships have been set up in 15 major nations involving over 250,000,000 people. . . . "Contrary to many views," says Pat Hurley, former Secretary of War, "the World War actually made the world safe for Democracy." . . . Hitler has taken 500,000 men from the relief rolls and placed them in the army. . . .

CRIME: Al Capone, by dickering with the Government, has succeeded in reducing his income tax \$101,862; from \$322,842 to \$220,980. . . . The national anti-crime drive of the Department of Justice, up to March 15, had netted 2,389 smugglers, dope peddlers, bootleggers and counterfeiters. . . . Statistics show that 90% of the banks that closed since 1929 did so not because of the depression but because of criminal acts on the part of the bankers. . . . So far less than 2% of bank presidents indicted for crime have been convicted. . . .

SOCIETY NOTES: At least 500 families live in coke ovens near Connellsville, Pa. . . . Andy Mellon recently passed \$68,000,000 in gifts to his son and daughter to avoid income and inheritance taxes. . . . Mrs. Irene Davis, of Greenville, Ala., a widow with three children, was awarded a silver loving cup as one of Alabama's greatest women. She borrowed a mule from a neighbor and for every day the mule worked she hoed corn for the mule's owner, thus enabling her to keep off the rolls. . . . Before going deep sea fishing on Vincent Astor's yacht, Nourmahal, President Roosevelt took time off to visit with the honeymooning Duke and Duchess of Kent. . . . In spite of repeated requests, the President has never seen fit to grant an audience to a representative of the 22,000,000 on relief. . . . Mr. and Mrs. O'Piper, on relief in East St. Louis, welcomed triplets, increasing their family to nine. "If the Lord sees fit to give them, we'll see fit to provide," say the parents. . . . Margaret Sanger's birth control bill was defeated in the House Judiciary Committee by a vote of 15 to 8. The 15 voting against have 8 children between them. . . .

Trojanovsky Poses as Doctor for Capitalism

By A. J. MUSTE

It was pointed out in a recent issue of the New Militant that the Communist Party in following out its new "labor party" line was flirting with left liberal congressmen. In California Utopians and legislators who stand for Upton Sinclair's Epic plan for the abolition of poverty within the borders of one state (deduction from the "theory of Socialism in one country" and leading eventually to the abolition of poverty in the tenth ward perhaps?) seem to be regarded as "comrades to be" in the new labor party.

This is, however, mild stuff compared to the line which Ambassador Trojanovsky gave the Bond Club of New York in his speech on March 22.

The ambassador of the Workers' State was addressing the gentlemen of the Bond Club on the peace policy of the Soviet Union. He suggested that the United States might agree to refrain from helping an "aggressor" in the next war. This would exercise a restraining effect upon "hot-headed adventurers" (Marxian analysis of the war mongers). He went on to give the Soviet diplomat's definition of "aggression".

He expressed encouragement over the prospect of "general acceptance" of this definition "among countries interested in the observance of peace" (and which imperialist nations may they be?)

Physician for Capitalism

But "this would be merely a first step on the road to maintaining peace." At last we are to get the Bolshevik doctrine, one opines, especially as the ambassador goes on to assert: "We have to dig to the bottom of contemporary troubles." Breathless workers hang on his words. What is the true road to peace, according to the oracles of Moscow? Here it goes: "It is necessary to work out practical plans for the economic rehabilitation of the world and especially for Europe." Can it be that Trojanovsky actually means that not workers' revolution but the economic rehabilitation of capitalist countries is the road to peace? In order to dispel all doubt he went on to say: "Probably the advice of broad-minded business men would be available and useful in this connection."

When British or German Social Democrats collaborated with "broad-minded business men" for the economic rehabilitation of capitalism in one country instead of using the crisis for the overthrow of capitalism, what did the C. I. say that was? And when the ambassador of the Soviet Union offers collaboration with "broad-minded business men" for the rehabilitation of world capitalism as the road to world peace, what shall we call this policy?

Don't Rock the Boat!

Socialism can be built in one country, the Soviet Union, according to Stalinist theory, even though the rest of the world remains capitalist. From this nationalist standpoint it appears quite logical that the Soviet Union should help rehabilitate capitalist countries in order, let us say, that it may obtain credits from them. Since the Communist parties presumably cannot follow a line in contradiction to that of the present rulers of the Soviet Union but rather exist primarily or well nigh exclusively for "the defense of the Soviet Union," the Communist parties also must not "rock the boat" in capitalist countries, must maintain the status-quo of the Flaminio government in France, must actively or passively, openly or tacitly, help in the economic rehabilitation of these countries.

Thus the Soviet Union through the present leadership of the Communist (Stalinist) International is used not for the overthrow but for the rehabilitation of capitalism, not to build but to emasculate the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries. These nations get a chance to organize their forces for the eventual attack upon the Soviet Union. The one real defense of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries, is destroyed. The destruction of the workers' state is prepared.

Pacifism with a Red Color

The policy of the Soviet Union is not a proletarian peace policy—the only true peace policy is that of working class revolution—but a

"One way out of the depression is for the American people to eat a lot," says Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture. . . . The average American family is compelled to spend \$3.31 more a week for food than it spent two years ago. . . . "Fish and potatoes are cheap," comforts Secretary Wallace as he announces that meat prices are scheduled to rise 22% and dairy products 6% in the next six months. . . . Almost a million pounds of relief meat were allowed to spoil in warehouses in Toledo and Columbus. "No attempt was made to distribute the spoiled meat to the unemployed," declares the relief director.

pacifist policy. Pacifism has ever proved and will again prove the road to war, to the ruin of the masses. The Stalinist policy is not internationalist, but nationalist. It is not progressive, it is reactionary.

If the workers of the Soviet Union, those who made the revolution, knew what was happening they would overthrow this regime. But they do not know. They cannot know. The arguments Stalin uses against party opponents is exile or a bullet in the head. Those who do understand what is happening are well high powerless to do anything about it. Well may we reiterate, therefore, the statement of the Declaration of Principles of the Workers' Party: "The effective defense of the Soviet Union today and the support of those revolutionists in the S. U. who fight for the reform of the Soviet State and the revival of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time

based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and workers' democracy depend therefore upon the building of new revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries and a new revolutionary international."

Upon this depends also the liberation of the masses in capitalist countries from unemployment, poverty, Fascism and war. To this task the Workers Party dedicates itself.

It is no wonder to us that the C. P. daily subjects the Workers Party to bitter and slanderous attack. That does not disturb us. It furnishes daily confirmation of the fact that the C. P. has no real answer to the issues that we raise, that it is well aware that the W.P. and the other parties throughout the world, striving for the Fourth International, are its real and destined to be victorious, foes.

By that same token we are the heralds to the workers of the world of the new revolutionary movement. In place of the party and the international which have organized defeats we shall organize victories. For the Workers Party! For the Fourth International!

Confusion Reigns in Ranks As C.P. Veers to Lab Party

By AL DASCH

The Labor Party announcement of Earl Browder's at the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance, followed two weeks later by the resolution of the central committee which was merely a re-echoing of Browder's speech, caused some surprise. Particularly so, since for at least five years it had been regarded as the height of renegade and social-fascism to advocate such a policy. Nevertheless, from the topmost strata of the Stalinist regime down to the ordinary rank and file, the phenomenal monolithism of the Communist Party is manifesting itself by the unanimous acquiescence of the party membership in this new policy. This despite the fact that no discussion was held within the C.P. itself previous to Browder's proclamation before the non-party gathering at Washington. What was unprincipled, incorrect and

class-collaborationist has become overnight the quintessence of "revolutionary" strategy.

Perversion of Theory

The theoretical backwardness of the members of the Communist Party is well known. Outside of some general knowledge of Marxian fundamentals and Leninist teachings (which for the greater part have been either diluted or perverted in accordance with the need of the Stalinist bureaucracy) their political knowledge is confined to parroting each and every official ukase and pronouncement that is issued. It is safe to say that for years the bulk of the membership of the C.P. hardly thought of any arguments in favor of a Labor Party. Yet, after Browder's speech appeared in the Daily Worker everybody was for it, even if no one could advance more than a few feeble arguments for it. This stultification of the membership has taken place under the aegis of the Stalinist bureaucracy which needs a servile and docile following in order to bolster up the myth of infallibility and omniscience. The membership, fed for years on the perversions of Leninism, has long since lost the faculty for independent thought. All that is left is to agree.

A Bewildered Membership

The truth of the matter is that as far as the majority of the party is concerned the latest turn, following upon the new line on social-fascism and the trade unions, has them bewildered. While not disagreeing with it (and how can they?) they are confused by it. Neither the lectures by Browder or Halthaway upon the subject, nor the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued two weeks after Browder's Washington speech, has cleared up matters. Some regard it as a new tactic to be used in winning the masses to Communism. Others see in it merely the same C.P. with the name changed to that of the Labor Party and that the backward American masses, who are not receptive to the ideology of Communism, will be fooled into it. Still others think it will be a coalition of all working class groups plus the trade unions dedicated to a policy of class struggle with the members of the C. P. playing the driving force within it. In all seriousness, from what can be gleaned from the resolution of the Central Committee, the idea of the change of name to sneak one over on the masses seems to be the one in favor.

The Basis of Reformism

In some vague and ambiguous manner the impression has been spread that by combining the political forces of the working class with the economic organizations a labor party can be forced which will combat the dictates of the capitalist class. This is a profound error.

Under certain circumstances and at a given period in the development of capitalism, labor parties could wrest concessions from the ruling class who, at that stage, were able to grant them. During the period of the upward curve of capitalist development, the capitalist class, due to its unlimited opportunities and the enormous profits it was extracting from industry and from imperialist exploitation could afford to grant reforms: a reformist party was the medium through which this was obtained. The Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Labor Party in England are examples of such organizations.

Today, American finance capital is in the stifling embrace of the same chronic crisis that paralyzes the rest of the capitalist world. Capitalism is in its decay stage; the curve it is describing is downward, not upward. In order to continue making profits with the open market closed and the colonial world divided among the various imperialist powers it is necessary to unleash a campaign of wage cuts against the working class. Capitalism in this period will not grant reforms unless forced to do so by a militant proletariat. No reformist party can organize the proletariat for that struggle. In its decline capitalism turns towards fascism. For the struggle against fascism the proletariat needs a revolutionary party and not a reformist one.

Only a party with a revolutionary program can fulfill the historic and necessary tasks of the American proletariat. No reformist party can lead the struggle to overthrow American capitalism. To spread such a doctrine is to prepare the workers not for victory but for defeat. Against the agitation for a Labor Party the revolutionary-minded elements will counterpose the revolutionary Workers Party of the United States.

lems Club, S.L.I.D. have swung away from the Stalinist orbit and turned toward the Fourth International.

CHICAGO MEETING

April 19, Friday, 8 P.M.—"Do we need a Labor Party?" Speaker: Albert Glotzer. At National Socialist Institute, 3322 Douglas Blvd. Auspices: W. P., West Side Branch.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. W., BRONX—
Question: Define the following: Imperialism, chauvinism, opportunism.

Answer: "IMPERIALISM is capitalism at that phase of its development in which the domination of monopolies and finance-capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired very great importance; in which the division of the world among the big international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the earth amongst the great capitalist powers has been completed." (Lenin, "Imperialism")

CHAUVINISM is extreme nationalism or patriotism, and is usually spoken of by Marxists in contradistinction, implied at least, to the internationalism of the working class and its political movement. The word, itself, had its origin in a certain individual, Nicholas Chauvin, and ardent admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte, who acquired notoriety through his exaggerated and demonstrative devotion to the emperor and the imperial cause.

OPPORTUNISM, in a general sense, is the attempt to make immediate partial gains, of one form or another, at the expense of the historical interests of the class. The theory of "the partnership of capital and labor" is opportunistic since it tries to reconcile the workers to capitalism in the hope of securing temporary concessions.

Question: What have Marx or Engels to say on the theory of "permanent revolution" as against the theory of "socialism in one country"?

Answer: Marx and Engels did not have occasion to counterpose their INTERNATIONALIST position against any nationalist conceptions in quite this manner, since the theory of "socialism in one country" did not acquire the force in the labor movement it now has, since its introduction by Stalin in 1924. The founders of the revolutionary proletarian movement, however, literally color their writings with the red of internationalism, whenever they speak of the "permanent revolution".

As an example, in the "Address of the Central Authority to the Communist League," made as early as April, 1850, speaking of the relations of the party of the proletariat to that of the democratic petty bourgeois, they had this to say:

"The democratic petty bourgeois, far from desiring to overturn the whole of society for the revolutionary proletariat, strives for a change in social conditions which will make the existing society as endurable and comfortable as possible for him. . . . But these demands can in no way satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeois wants to bring the revolution to an end as quickly as possible, and with the settlement at most of the above claims, it is our interest and our task TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION PERMANENT, until the proletariat has conquered the state power, and the association of proletarians, NOT ONLY IN ONE COUNTRY BUT IN ALL THE DOMINANT COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, has advanced so far that the competition with the proletariat in these countries has ceased, and at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians." (Emphasis ours.)

Allentown Gains In Sub Drive

Allentown last week had a score of 5%. This week the score stands at 38% and they are still going strong. This shows what can be done in the drive. Salt Lake City has forged ahead to 30 percent during the week. Cranford has entered the field with 2 subs, a worthy showing for the efforts of one individual.

Minneapolis has piled up a still larger score and promises further increased efforts in the next weeks. Davenport has made another increase in bundle orders.

The big three—New York, Chicago and Philadelphia are still far behind. Chicago has promised a better showing in the near future. We are waiting to see it. But there is no excuse for such poor showing on the part of industrial centers of this type. They should be leading the way, since the opportunities for easy distribution are present in such places. We ask the comrades and friends in these sections to get busy at once. Get the subs and send them in—we will do the rest.

A donation was received this week from Comrade S. in Bangor, Pa. We need many more such to keep things going. Send subs and donations NOW to the Business Manager:

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

The "Gods" Clash in Harlem

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

For some time, Father Divine, who is believed by many to be "God," has been meeting up with stiff competition in Harlem. In fact, a three-cornered battle has been going on between him, Mother Horn and the well known Elder Michaux. Just as to which of these gods will be victorious, we are unable to predict at this stage of the game.

Mother Horn and the Elder

Divine has the advantage of his two competitors in that it is believed by many that he is "God" and is the creator of both Horn and Michaux. He can remove them from the carnal world whenever he sees fit. However, Father Divine is said to be a generous, or should I say, a "God," man, and resorts to revenge as little as possible.

Mother Horn, the goddess of Black Harlem and Melody Queen of Radio City, once offended Divine. Her popularity affected the growth of his Kingdoms. He thereupon swore vengeance. Hell Fire and the like against her. Mother Horn was to be struck dead and made an example of; but the magic curse had no effect upon the Goddess. She still lives and her followers still shout and dance at West 135th St. Occasionally they make their appearance in Radio City. She seems to have as much power as Father Divine.

The Elder is Popular

The second competitor of Divine is Elder Michaux. Michaux got his start in Canada, but ended up in New York City. His sermons

and religious theatrical performances have attracted quite a following in Black Harlem. He is somewhat handsome and very popular among the women. Father Divine, who is void of personality, cannot stand for this. But what can he do about it? The Elder has Jesus on his side and Divine dare not put him out of commission. And what makes it worse, Michaux is not in the Kingdom, and cannot be cast out.

Father Divine in a Jam

Why should Father Divine worry about his competitors? He is "God" and can remove any obstacle that gets in his way by the "mere waving of his hand." He, no doubt, looks upon the whole affair as a farce, because he finds time to descend from his luxurious Kingdoms among the beautiful daughters of men. He looks them over—and is alleged to have had an affair. The earthly husband came in and inspected the scene, and laid four inches of steel between Father's "godly" ribs. He was bewildered at the behavior of the "God" and did not strike his wife.

Father Divine loves his children, and to avoid a celestial scandal, and to have a little personal comedy, he wandered into the Hospital to stop the flow of his "holy blood."

Father is somewhat a better business man than Michaux. Besides being in the Kingdom business, he owns grocery stores and meat markets. No wonder none of his faithful servants have ever known hunger or cold.

Divine, moreover, believes in so-

cial equality. This is his only progressive idea. He often states that the Communist Party is going his way—but cannot reach its objective without his assistance. The Communist Party is cognizant of this fact, and James W. Ford seems to follow Divine's dictates.

Divine's Kingdoms are composed of Black and White male and female angels, but they never indulge in sex life, since in Heaven they have no use for marriage or divorce. In the Kingdoms men and women may sleep together, because Father has taken away their earthly desires. And, perhaps, if they did have an affair Father Divine would make them unconscious of the act.

"God" in Contempt of Court

A short time ago Father Divine took the wrong man's wife into his Kingdoms. The husband was not afraid of divine power. He saw the police and the affair ended up in the court of Judge Panken. Judge Panken must have felt somewhat chagrined to have the "Creator of Heaven and Earth" standing before him for trial. But the Judge is a skeptic Socialist, and he asked Father if he was "God." Divine was hesitant about answering at first, but Panken pushed the matter and said he would fine "God" for contempt of court if he remained mute. Thereupon Father consulted his earthly attorney, and finally told the Judge that he was not "God," but that the people liked to call him that, and he liked for them to do so.

of Tours (at this convention, held in 1920, the majority of the Socialist workers went over to Communism). He condemned the resolution of the Seine District, warning the party against Trotskyist "insurrectionism." He said he could hardly recognize his own party any longer, so changed had its political face become.

Stalinists Furious

The Stalinists are in a regular frenzy. No longer able to crush Trotskyists by bureaucratic terror, they now devote scarce heads and long articles to "The Trotskyists Who Mean Nothing." Maurice Thorez himself, the chief of the Stalinist Party, stirs out of his office to deliver speeches in which he warns the socialists that "the Trotskyists who mean nothing" wish to destroy the Socialist Party.

Recently a young militant, a follower of Pivert, who for a long time had remained merely a sympathizer, applied for admission to the Trotskyist group. His motive: "Since the last National Council," he said, "I have known that nothing can be done with all that." "All that" being the apparatus of the S. P., Paul Faure and Co. It is significant that he came to the Trotskyists not when he wished to reform the S. P., but when he had lost all hope in the party and wished to go along toward the building of a new revolutionary party.

PHILADELPHIA.—More than three fourths of what was once a strong National Student League branch at Temple University has come out in support of the Workers Party and the Fourth International. Two have become members of Spartacus Youth League and two others are members of the Workers Party. Half a dozen more are heartily in sympathy with the program of the Workers Party. They have co-operated to a great extent with the Workers Party movement in Philadelphia by helping to sell literature, attending forums, widening the influence of the Workers Party in the city.

New Militants and New Internationals have triumphantly supplanted Daily Workers and New Masses. In the last two weeks over twenty-five New Militants have been sold to the student body. The entire radical and progressive student organizations such as Modern Prob-

Left Wing Group Scores Gains In French Socialist Ranks

From the New Leader, organ of the American Socialist Party we copy the following tribute to the activities of the French Trotskyists:

"The Communists having declined to conclude a united front with the Trotskyists (!), the latter have joined the Socialist Party (of France: S.F.I.O.) where they function as a separate group and are conducting energetic propaganda. It is interesting to note that they publish a paper, Verite, with the following trade mark: 'Organ of the Bolshevik Leninists Within the Socialist Party.'"

"At a meeting of the Central Committee of the S.F.I.O. Pivert (leader of the 'Left wing') demanded, quite in the spirit of Trotskyism, the creation of an armed workers militia. 'And a break with the social-pacifist conceptions of legality,' i. e. abandonment of political action and embracing of armed insurrection."

"In putting forward this demand the Left elements referred to the defeat of the 'Reformists' in Germany."

Influence Rapidly Growing

From other sources we have received further information on the activities of the Trotskyists. Their influence in the S.P. has grown rapidly, until almost every militant, in the Seine district at least, is a propagandist for their ideas.

Their platform is advanced in every internal discussion in the party. Their press, La Verite, and their pamphlets have a wide circulation not only inside the party but outside as well (at public meetings, on the streets, at demonstrations). At a demonstration on Nov. 10, 800 copies of a special number of La Verite were sold in a few hours. In the principal sections of the Seine District of the S. P. Trotskyist occupy responsible posts and are at the head of practical work. They are the prime movers in propaganda and membership campaigns. They have taken a leading part in the creation and development of physical defense corps and military committees, the embryos of workers militia.

Trotskyist orators advance their

slogans (program of action, militia, armament, general strike, etc.) at numerous public meetings. On occasions they even speak in the name of the Trotskyist faction. (At Drancy recently at a meeting of about one thousand militant workers called by Doriot, a Trotskyist presented the platform of the faction by invitation of the local S.P. section, at the same time another orator spoke for the official S.P.) An indication of the influence of the Trotskyists is the attendance at their forums. The last meeting of the Friends of La Verite was attended by over 400 militants while the Friends of Bataille Socialiste (Left Socialist Pivert group) drew only 80.

Resolution Adopted in Paris

In addition to direct mass work the Trotskyists have directed their energies toward influencing the left elements in the S. P. At the last Federal Council of the Seine in February a resolution containing the principle Trotskyist slogans was adopted by a majority. The left Socialists voted separately, a part voting with the Trotskyists.

The resolution contained the Trotskyist analysis of the present situation in France, called for the "United Front Toward Power", condemned "Parliamentary Cretinism", called for armament, militia, propaganda for the general strike, etc.

Marceau Pivert, one of the left Socialist leaders, defended the above resolution of the Seine District before the National Council of the party in an extremely hostile atmosphere (the N. C. was elected on the base of 1932 and does not reflect the real sentiment of the Party today), and raised goose flesh on the old hobby horse S. P. politicians when he spoke of militia, arms, and insurrection.

Since that time Pivert has moved further to the left, until he now advances the Trotskyist slogans openly in public meetings and in the S. P. paper Populaire.

Naturally these Trotskyist activities have raised a furore in the old guard of the S. P. Paul Faure, the National Secretary, expressed fear of a repetition of the Congress

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Spotlight on Akron

WILL the rubber workers strike? American labor everywhere awaits that decision. Feverish preparations are reported from Akron—the elements of a small-scale civil war are present. The situation is loaded with dynamite not only for Akron—but for the entire country.

If the 30,000 rubber mill slaves break the chains then the first major strike battle of the year will shatter the illusory peace of 1935. Next to the textile strike it will be the biggest single struggle under the New Deal. The first strike in a basic industry, Akron will give the signal and point the way to the workers in automobile and possibly steel. Courage and audacity in rubber and the million-headed labor movement will follow the lead in a movement which will spread like wild-fire—against the NRA.

The Akron workers are long suffering, patient until they can no longer endure it. Labor boards, regional and national decisions and counter-decisions—if the workers anywhere know that NRA means National Run Around, they are in Akron. An ominous sign for the strike is the activity of Mrs. Francis Perkins. The rubber trust means to smash unionism in the worst way. Arbitration under these circumstances, under the same set-up that has so long held the workers at bay, can yield nothing but more promises and a crushing blow to labor.

It becomes increasingly clear as the days go by that the danger to the rubber workers comes from an enemy within the ranks of labor itself. That enemy is the bureaucracy at the head of the A. F. of L. and of the rubber union itself. Against it the workers must be vigilant to the last. The treacherous silence of Pres. William Green in the face of a situation that cries out for the maximum support, is characteristic. If allowed his way this Baptist gentleman would be content to leave the Akron strike still-born. In the automobile and the coal situations labor was left high and dry by the course pursued by Green and Co. Strike and the struggle that goes with strike is as foreign to them as it is to capitalist government officials. They fear it even more.

Either the strike comes now or the new union will take the sad consequences, as it did in the automobile industry. There is no other road. For months on end the rubber workers have been promised and stalled, stalled and promised. Their faith in the union was fast diminishing until the recent strike talk filled the air. It has now leaped to a new high. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats cannot again postpone this strike without undermining this confidence for a long time to come.

The responsibility of the militants and progressives in all the unions for the Akron situation is indeed tremendous. The fate of their organizations and the future of unionism in the basic industries will be gravely affected by the struggle and its outcome in rubber. Victory for the bosses in the struggle, or by means of an indefinite postponement of it, will herald a more ruthless attack on unionism than the workers have to date experienced. Victory for the workers and a new day will unfold for organized labor.

The pledge of support by the Cleveland Federation of Labor is a step in the right direction. Let its example be taken up everywhere and transferred from paper to life. And let the support go side by side with the insistence that the strike take place. This is half the battle.

The Danzig Elections

THE press is almost unanimous in its evaluation of the election results in Danzig as a defeat for the Nazis. Soberly and realistically speaking, it is, however, only a temporary check on Hitler's drive to integrate the German-speaking territories into his Third Reich. As several of the foreign correspondents remark, the decline of the Nazi vote in the presidential elections of 1932 was also deemed a defeat for the Brown Shirt forces in its time. Looked at from the point of view of political perspective, the present incident is no more indicative of a trend than was that of 1932.

The Nazis fell short of their goal, which was the immediate "Gleichschaltung" of the Hanseatic city. But the figures show that they gained an increase of over 30,000 votes above the amount they piled up the last time. Yet, the Socialist and Stalinist newspapers join with the others in rating this achievement as a failure! In so doing they show that they are entirely under the sway of the enemy's spirit.

From the Fuehrer's standpoint it was a failure, because he had concentrated all his forces, his best organizers, his best orators for

a complete victory. The social democrats and the so-called communists merely echo the dissatisfaction of the conquerors when they hail this incomplete victory as a defeat. This attitude betrays the miserable slavishness and helpless prostitution of their position. They exult in the fact that the victors haven't gobled them up altogether.

And how did they fare in the elections? The reports say: the social democrats held their own and the communists lost. That is far more indicative for the international working class than the camouflage of a Nazi defeat with which these two miserable bankrupts try to cover up the fact.

Coming after the show of abject impotence they displayed in the Saar, the revolutionary workers can only be strengthened in their determination to rid themselves of these two parties of illusion and betrayal. Without falling prey to despair they will unfailingly draw the only conclusion left for fighters: To prepare for real struggle against Fascism and the war that is brewing, by building anew, by straining every force toward the speedy creation of the Fourth International.

Reversion to Type

“COMING events cast their shadow before.”

Those who lived through the pre-war days and today watch the witches' cauldron of war being stirred again well know how true this aphorism is.

With equal force these words apply to the social democracy. The betrayal of 1914 is being prepared again and the official apology, now, unlike the pre-1914 days, is ready long in advance of the outbreak of war.

The latest issue of the *New Leader* carries a scare-headline saying: "No Peace with Hitler." This caption is a direct quotation from an appeal issued by the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party from Prague. It is addressed not to the working class but to the "world", presumably on the occasion of the initiation of the international diplomatic parleys.

"The road to peace," continues this manifesto which the *New Leader* says "may well prove historic", "lies over the destruction of the existing despotism. There is no other." Superficially considered this is indeed a very radical declaration, especially as it comes from those whose capitulation made this "despotism" possible.

What is significant here is the fact that this plea is addressed to the world, a euphemistic way of saying the international capitalist class. The appeal is "No peace" or in simple English: "War". The motive: "despotism".

Thus when the imperialists of the entire world have drawn swords, the social democracy urges them, with France at their head, to hasten the day of the conflict. It does not call on the working class to war on its own capitalism but in the spirit for which it is so noted, it exhorts one capitalism to make war on another.

As if the capitalist class of any other country is interested fundamentally in "despotism" or freedom! Profits, the maintenance and extension of profits, is their one criterion. Germany today threatens to upset the division of spoils demanding a greater share for itself. Capitalist interests that dominate the French and Italian nations are ready to embroil the world in a bloody conflagration so that this shall not happen.

Should such a war break out it is as certain as tomorrow that they (Mussolini too!) will speak of "Hitlerite tyranny", "despotism", etc. The very same shibboleths employed once before, only now Der Fuehrer substitutes for Der Kaiser. The social democracy were loyal funkies then. They are preparing for the same role again, in their cabinets but for the same rulers.

"But," says the German social democracy—and this "but" is the necessary face-saver—"it is false and unjust to hold the whole German people responsible for a criminal regime under which the best portion of the people suffer most."

A significant parallel may be drawn here between the social democrats and their war idol—Woodrow Wilson. Did he not proclaim in his war message to Congress that the U. S. had no grievance with the German people, but rather with the irresponsible despotism that ruled over them?

The declarations are the same, the results are the same and even the actors are the same. Philip Scheidemann, traducer of the German proletariat and butcher of the Spartacists is the true inspiration of this manifesto. On July 9, 1933 he declared in the *New York Times*: "It must be the task of the entire world to paralyze these adventurers [Hitler, Goering and Co.]. That this may not exclude a bloody civil war is self-evident."

Learn from the past! These people have changed their fatherlands temporarily. They remain, however, staunch as before, in their support of capitalism—in war as in peace.

To be against Hitlerism inside Germany and outside of it is to be for class war and against imperialist war in every land, as well as in Germany itself.

Lamentations, and appeals to world capitalists to launch a "democratic" crusade against Hitler is not merely a pitiful confession of bankruptcy. It also reveals that the social democracy is helping whip the working class into shape for service in imperialist war. Seventeen years have passed since the end of the last world war, but the Second International is still playing its despicable role!

15 Points of Father Coughlin

Analysis of Program of Detroit Priest Reveals Fascist

Trend in Fundamental Aims and Method

By DAN EASTMAN

The platform of Father Coughlin's League For Social Justice:

1. Liberty of conscience and education.
2. A living annual wage.
3. Nationalization of banking, currency, and natural resources.
4. Private ownership of all other property.
5. Control of private property for public good.
6. Government banking.
7. Congressional control of coinage.
8. Cost of production plus a fair profit for agriculture.
9. Labor unions under government protection.
10. Recall of non-productive bonds.
11. Abolition of tax free bonds.
12. Social taxation.
13. Simplification of government.
14. Conscription of wealth in war.
15. Human rights preferred to property rights.

Consummate Hypocrisy

Point No. 1.—Liberty of conscience and education: A Catholic who stands for liberty of conscience is a hypocrite. The Catholic Church is unalterably and everlastingly opposed to liberty of conscience, as the Spanish Inquisition, which tore, racked and tortured men for their beliefs, bears witness.

As for liberty of education: this is indeed consummate hypocrisy from a Catholic and a close friend of William Randolph Hearst. Since the Year One the Catholic Church has moved heaven and earth to maintain a monopoly on education, so that Catholicism might be indelibly stamped on the impressionable mind of youth. Liberty of education is hypocrisy from a Catholic, but when that Catholic contemplates with friendship and approval the attacks of William Randolph Hearst on every sort of lukewarm liberal teacher, that Catholic is simply insulting his audience when he pretends to support liberty of education.

The Wages of Slavery

Point No. 2.—A living annual wage: What is a living annual wage? Many workers "live" on four hundred dollars a year.

On February 5, 1934, Father Coughlin "called for a change in the provisions of the NRA which would fix minimum wages at 80c and maximum hours at 30, 40c an hour," he said, "is slavery!"

At this time his Shrine of the Little Flower was being constructed by scab labor.

He announced that "he would increase the wages of men working on the church Shrine of the Little Flower, by 10% effective the next day, thus setting the minimum wage at 55c an hour." The Shrine was about half finished when he made this move. The workers continued on the forty and forty eight hour week.

A few questions: If 40c is slavery, what is 55c? If 80c is a fair minimum, is 55c a living wage? Does Father Coughlin think that by employing scab labor he is helping workers to get a 30 hour week?

Point No. 3.—Nationalization of banking currency and natural resources: Nationalization of banking is remedied proposed by money cranks. Instead of having bank presidents part of the time and senators the rest of the time, these cranks expect to save capitalism by having the bank presidents senators all of the time. A strange

remedy indeed. As for nationalization of natural resources: what are natural resources? In an interview Father Coughlin admitted that he did not include mines in natural resources. By natural resources, it seems Father Coughlin means those natural resources which are already in public hands: water works, generating stations, etc.

No Offense Intended

Point No. 4.—Private ownership of all other property:

Father Coughlin hastens to reassure the capitalists that he has no intention of appropriating their factories, mines or forests under the head of nationalization.

Point No. 5.—Control of private property for public good: Father Coughlin runs back to reassure the workers that the private property he has just granted to the capitalists will be controlled for public good. (By a new NRA perhaps?)

Point No. 6.—Government banking: This is just repetition of point No. 3, for what reason we don't know, unless Father Coughlin ran out of harmless planks and had to pad out his platform with repetitions.

Point No. 7.—Congressional control of coinage: Repetition of point No. 3 again. When Father Coughlin gets hold of an idea he uses it for all its worth: Congressional control of coinage is not in itself a reform. All depends on what congress does in the matter of coinage. At best currency reform is only a minor matter that could not have the slightest permanent effect on the basic economic fallacies of capitalism.

"Fair" Slavery?

Point No. 8.—Cost of production plus a fair profit for agriculture: We are tempted to ask, so what? We remark that everybody, including J. P. Morgan, is for "Living annual wages", and "Fair profits for agriculture", etc. when it is merely a matter of talk. How 's Father Coughlin going to obtain this "cost of production plus a fair profit"? And how big a profit is "fair"? Profits are, we thought, unpaid labor, or the time the worker toils gratis for the boss. How can any profit be "fair"? By intensifying the AAA, which has succeeded along these lines to a certain extent in the case of the rich capitalist farmers?

"Coordinated Unions"

Point No. 9.—Labor unions under government protection: Now we are getting to the core of the matter. Labor unions are under government protection in Germany, Austria, Italy, in every Fascist state. In fact the very life of Fascism is the government "protection" of trade unions, protection against higher wages, shorter hours and strikes, "protection" that cuts wages in half, doubles working hours and slaughters strikers. Father Coughlin was active during the period when a strike in the Detroit automobile industry appeared imminent. He was active in "protecting" the workers from independent unionism, and from a strike. Just what his protection has brought them the workers can best answer.

We quote the *Detroit Times* at this period: "Make the Department of Labor a real power," says Father Coughlin. "Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining, the functions which the A. F. of L. is now trying to fill. Let it supplant the A. F. of L. entirely." Father Coughlin wants government

them nor abide by their results.

This fake maneuvering on the part of the companies has served as a boomerang against the bosses, because it angered the workers and drove them voluntarily into the federal union. Terrific speedup, differentials in wages and unbearable working conditions have added to the workers' desire for genuine organization.

Jim Roland, Chevrolet employee, who is famous for his "one-man picket line" on the Chevrolet plant last June whereby he compelled the company to reinstate him after he had been fired for joining the union, is the acting chairman of the Chevrolet shop section of the union. Among the union members who have taken an active part in organizing these key plants have been several Workers Party members.

Organization of the Toledo Chevrolet plant is of major importance for the entire motor industry, as this plant produces all the transmission parts for the Chevrolet Corp. Demands for a 6 hour day, 30-hour week, union recognition and wage increases are being drawn up to be presented to the Chevrolet company. It is very probable that the intensive union drive is the prelude to a strike which will break in the immediate future.

NEW HEADQUARTERS—

With the paint still wet on the walls, Branch 1 on Tuesday held its first meeting in its new headquarters at 420 East 19th St. The headquarters have been taken jointly with the Manhattan branch of the Spartacus Youth League.

boards to supplant unionism entirely. That is what he calls protection.

Point No. 10.—Recall of non-productive bonds; another higgling financial reform. He speaks of "the heresy that profits or interest should be gained from non-productive borrowings, such as war and relief bonds." Just how the government would raise money for relief if it did not issue bonds and pay interest on them Father Coughlin does not mention. Perhaps from silver speculation, or inflation.

Point No. 11.—Abolition of tax free bonds: Whatever might be the value of this measure, let it be recorded that Father Coughlin has not hesitated to invest in tax free bonds, as we have already mentioned in connection with the account of his speculations in 1933.

Point No. 12.—Social taxation: What is social taxation? If Father Coughlin means income taxes he might say so. Of course he doesn't mean any such thing, in fact he doesn't mean anything at all. By social taxation he hopes capitalists will know he means sales taxes and workers will think he means income taxes. A gag to fool the scissor-bill, and nothing more.

A "Simple" Government

Point No. 13.—Simplification of government. The simplest form of government, we remark, is dictatorship. Fascism itself is not very complicated.

Point No. 14.—Conscription of wealth in war. If Father Coughlin wants to conscript wealth in war, why not in peace as well? If ten million are starving on relief there is no conscription of wealth; but if ten million are being slaughtered in war, then there is reason to conscript wealth. The idea of conscripting wealth is nonsense unless it is the workers who do the conscripting or "expropriating." Otherwise, if "conscription of wealth" is not merely a campaign slogan it is a plan to cheapen the cost of war for bankers and profiteers.

Point No. 15.—Human rights preferred to property rights. There is one economy, the socialist economy, which really does prefer human welfare to property rights but Father Coughlin is no socialist. On the contrary, he wants to continue to prefer the human rights of the scab labor employed on his Shrine by raising their wages from slavery (40c) to 50c (semi-slavery or human rights?).

It is not by chance that Father Coughlin's platform is a closer copy of a true fascist program, as it appears in Europe, than the program of any other American demagogue. Father Coughlin has had the assistance of the Catholic Church in the preparation of his program, and the Catholic Church is already an old hand at Fascism. It is persecuted in Germany it is true, but in Italy it gives tacit support to Mussolini, in Spain it gives open support to the reaction, in Portugal it practically owns the fascist government, etc. etc.

It remains to be seen whether Father Coughlin has not appeared too early on the scene with his mature fascist program. It remains to be seen whether the masses still developing to the left will not choose their course and their leaders, will not carry through the American revolution, and cast down Father Coughlin and all his kind. The choice is plain: a workers' society or concentration camps decorated with holy holy crosses.

LEFT . . . JABS

This Changing World

The average Stalinist must stand in awe as he views the vast changes in his own world. The "social fascist" of yesterday is the "class brother" of today. The A. F. of L. "company and fascist unions" become "militant workers' organizations". "Red revolutionary unions" are buried under Browder's slogan "seize the warehouses". The "united front from below" is as dead as the dodo. The labor party which yesterday was denounced as a delusion and a snare, is now the road to revolution, etc., etc. In Soviet diplomatic affairs it is even worse. Sir Austin Chamberlain, who yesterday was the very symbol of imperialist hatred of the Soviet Union, is now quoted approvingly by Soviet leaders. "God save the King" is played in Moscow in honor of Captain Eden, arch-conservative leader of the British Tory "fascist" government. These rapid changes are reported to have affected a Bronx Stalinist to such an extent that he was found in front of the Prospect Workers Club raising his glass to the health of His Britannic Majesty, Earl Browder and our own beloved leader, King George.

Diplomatic Drees

Reports of the Berlin visits of Sir John Simon and Captain Eden and the visits of the latter to Moscow and Warsaw are covered in great detail in newspapers everywhere. Apparently not in the words of the diplomats but in their dress are we to seek the real import of these visits. Thus, arriving in Berlin, Sir John and the Captain wore civilian clothing, but were met by a guard of Death! Head Hussars dressed in somber black. The "pacifist" character of the Bloomfield Empire and the warlike aims of Hitler are apparent. In Moscow Captain Eden arrived wearing a soft black hat and a cloth top coat, but immediately changed into a long fur coat and a Cossack Astrakhan headpiece. The love of British imperialism for the Soviet Union was evidenced by that swift change. In Warsaw Captain Eden was welcomed by a party of officials wearing top hats with the exception of Foreign Secretary, Col. Beck, who wore a black derby. The absence of a top hat on Beck's cranium showed that his welcome was personal and that the Polish government was not according an official warm welcome to Eden and his policies. This nonsense is solemnly written by highly paid capitalist writers in Europe and cabled across to America. Its purpose is to cover up the cold blooded war preparations of all these cynical hat changing statesmen.

Words and Action

The New York "Mayor's Committee on Unemployment Relief" issued a report of thousands of words. The report stated that the relief allowance for food, clothing and shelter was too low, so low in fact that the unemployed were forced to live in condemned fire-traps, dress in rags, while thousands of their children suffered from malnutrition. The Mayor went into action at once. He set up a stool pigeon bureau with a policeman at the head to receive anonymous and other complaints against relief "chiselers". A "chiseller" being anyone who tries to eke out a starvation relief allowance by any other means. "This bureau is my own child," said the mayor; and indeed it must be admitted that whether it is his own or just another adoption from the city bankers, it certainly resembles the rest of his family. It has that "friend of labor" smell to it.

Anti-Fascist Meetings

March 1934: Socialist Party and trades unions hold anti-fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden. Speakers list includes Mayor La Guardia, Matthew Woll and S. P. and trade union leaders. The Stalinists broke up this meeting in wild disorder, charging that Fascists and "Social Fascists" were speaking and Communists barred.

April, 1935: C. P. controlled League Against War and Fascism and Civil Liberties Union hold anti-fascist meeting in Madison Square Garden. Speakers list includes a Methodist bishop, Republican Congressman, Farmer-Labor representative, Gorman of the I.T.W. ("betrayor of the textile strike"), professors, social workers, and other liberals, but no C. P. speakers. Why didn't Hathaway lead the embattled hosts to capture the platform for the C. P. at this meeting? Or does the Stalinist "change in line" leave to Methodist Bishops and Republican Congressmen such "little matters" as the struggle against war and fascism?

MAY DAY RALLY

Dancing, Skits, Refreshments
Saturday, April 27, at 8 P.M.
Presentation of May Day Banner
by Workers Party to S. Y. L.
at 2 West 15th Street
Admission 15c

Labor Backs Gas Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

The company has been importing a herd of scabs and strike-breakers, who are quartered on company property. Last week a "bomb plot" was discovered at the plant, and the Laclede company lost no time in advertising it in all the capitalist papers. The plot looked suspiciously like the work of one of the drunken gun-toters who swarm around the works, and proved a complete failure so far as its general effects were concerned. As the Gas House Worker remarked: "Who saw the bomber? A company gunman. Who reported finding the bomb? A bomber hired by the gas company to uncover bombers. Was the guilty one caught? Of course not, that would spoil the plot."

One Scab—Fifteen Cops

The gunman-scabs have been receiving the protection of the police. Every service call is now answered not by one repair man, but by one scab repair man and fifteen police, another little item the company can charge up to its fight against unionism. Like all scabs, the St. Louis brand has behaved badly, brandishing pistols and guns, and menacing the safety of all in their vicinity.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE
NEW MILITANT.

Toledo Auto Strike Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

of the giant General Motors Corp. As an evidence of the growing progressiveness in the union, the colored sweepers in the Chevrolet plant were brought into the Federal Auto Union along with the fellow-white workers.

Over 400 of the new union men appeared today in the plant this morning wearing their red union buttons for April. Hundreds of workers from the Willys-Overland plant are likewise joining the Federal Auto Union. With the addition of these two major corporations, the entire auto parts and production industry of Toledo, excepting the Champion Spark Plug Corp., will be unionized.

The rush to the genuine union has followed the calling of an election, by the Detroit Auto Labor Board, in the Chevrolet and Willys-Overland plants on April 9, for the supposed purpose of determining which group the workers wish to represent in collective bargaining. This election was engineered by officials of the two plants, which up until a few weeks ago were non-union, and the Auto Labor Board, in an effort to foist company unionism upon the workers. The union has publicly repudiated these elections, which it did not call for, and has flatly stated that its members will not participate in

NEW MILITANT

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Labor Marshalls Forces for Banner May Day

Raw Deal Put Over In Akron

Green & Co. Surpass All Records For Treachery

By ART PREIS

AKRON, O., April 14.—The great strike involving 35,000 Akron rubber workers, which was to set the spark to the 1935 wave of strike struggles in America, is over before it began—the latest and most sinister betrayal of organized labor by William Green and his lieutenants.

A group of militant progressives, which has been growing in the last few weeks, led the opposition battle and, only after hours of desperate fighting, was defeated by the better organized official machine, which finally shoved through the agreement by a series of deceptive maneuvers and outright railroadings. This progressive tendency, which has been greatly strengthened and clarified by the events of the last 4 hours, will find a clear public expression in a mass meeting to be held by the Akron branch of the W. P. April 17, at which James P. Cannon will analyze the betrayal and outline the next steps in the fight to build an effective union.

The Game of Delays
The imposing of the treacherous agreement upon the rubber workers and the breaking of the strike by the A. F. of L. officialdom followed a carefully designed course. The strike, which has been looming for eighteen months past, was delayed month after month on the urging of the A. F. of L. officials, even after the rubber companies brazenly defined the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board that an election be held on the matter of representation for collective bargaining. When the government further demonstrated its unwillingness or inability to enforce its own ruling, these officials continued to point to the government as the agency from which union recognition might be secured instead of to the mass strength and militant action of the workers.

Last Minute Promises
Following an overwhelming vote by the unions last week in favor of strike, a last-hour course of delay was pursued by the A. F. of L. leaders in order to give the forces of the national government and local press a chance to get into full play. Every effort to set a definite strike date was deliberately brushed aside. While still urging the workers to prepare for action, the officials implanted in the minds of the inexperienced union members the belief that a strike might still be averted and that the demands for union recognition might be secured through the intervention of Francis Perkins and the pressure of the government.

As late as twelve hours before the signing of the actual agreement, Claherty and other organizers holdily proclaimed through the press that they would agree to nothing less than an election conducted by the Department of Labor off the companies' properties, in which the companies would unconditionally recognize the group securing the majority vote. It cannot be doubted that the terms of the final settlement were well known to Green, Claherty and Co. even while these misleading statements were being made to disarm the workers and leave them unprepared for the last crushing blow.

C. P. Plays Claherty's Game
A new angle was the role of the Communist Party in the Akron betrayal. During the last and most critical days leading up to the debacle, the C.P. in effect collaborated with the A. F. of L. officials, and in return for an indirect endorsement from the A. F. of L. leaders withheld all criticism of the obvious step-by-step course of treachery. The "non-aggression pact" with a vengeance!

Claherty, Bill Green's personal agent and chief figure in the betrayal, was several times played up in the Daily Worker during the past week in militant role. His statement that "he was not going to fight the communists, etc." was

(Continued on Page 4)

The Betrayal in Rubber—And the Road Ahead

By JAMES P. CANNON

AKRON, April 15.—After 18 months of organizing work and preparation the rubber workers went to Washington to get union recognition, the 30-hour week and the abolition of the company unions. They came back with the recognition of the company unions, no mention of the 30-hour week and a pledge, signed by their representatives, to surrender the strike weapon while the courts dispose of their "case" and the rubber production season slides down to its low point.

It was a deliberate, cold-blooded betrayal—the auto, steel and textile run-around all over again, with fancy trimmings. Scientific treachery reached its "peak" in the experience of the rubber workers, but in the furious reaction of the rank and file to this perfidy—if it is harnessing to a searching analysis of its technique—there is the making of a powerful movement for genuine unionism which can set the pace for the entire country.

An open struggle on the picket lines—the only place where any of the new unions can really be consolidated and "recognized"—is out of the question at present; the strike has been knocked in the head as effectively as slugs at the stockyards, armed with sledgehammers, knock over a steer. The rubber unions are dizzy from the cruel blows which have been dealt to them in the past week-end, but they are not dead by a long shot. The roar of militant protest and denunciation, which rose from the floor at Sunday's membership meetings, is the sign of unconquerable vitality, the promise of recovery from the cruel defeat. This will take time. What is possible right now, and what is needed, is a searching inquiry into the causes of the defeat; a probe of the complicated system of maneuvers and tricks

which left the rubber workers bewildered and helpless at the decisive moment. This is the task of the hour. The rest will follow.

As in the case of nearly all of the new mass unions which have sprung up in the past two years, the mass of the members at Akron, including even the best elements of the local leadership, entertained the greatest illusions about the policy and role of the government in the situation. They thought the government was on their side and depended on it to help them. This was a fatal miscalculation which ought to be clear enough now.

The policy of the government all along has been to stall and delay action, involve the workers in a labyrinth of hearings, appeals and negotiations, and paralyze the preparations for a decisive battle until the peak of the production season had passed. Then, at the decisive moment, Madame Perkins misused the confidence of the workers to shift the scene away from the picket line to Washington. There the stage was all set and the infamous pact was stamped through. The bosses got what they wanted—with the government seal on it. No wonder they are "jubilant." T. G. Graham, Goodrich vice-president, said: "The agreement puts everything back in the same status it was before the Washington conference." He was right, and so was F. O. Harold, Goodrich union delegate to the Central Labor Union, when he said: "The agreement doesn't give us a thing."

But the most important feature of this agreement that "doesn't give us a thing" is the fact that the government put it over, just as the government put over similar deals on the auto, steel and textile workers. This is the

(Continued on Page 4)

Resentment Is Bitter Over Trickery of "Settlement"

Inside Story of the Battle in Rubber Unions

By JACK WILSON

The railroad of the sell-out agreement arranged by Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy on Akron's big three rubber workers' unions this week put to shame the lousy auto-code agreement or any other previous capitulation of William Green to President Roosevelt and his other agents of capitalism.

Twenty workers at the Goodyear local walked out, half-sick, half crying, Saturday, April 13, when they received a report that Green, Coleman Claherty (his rubber organizer) and the Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone local presidents had signed an agreement in Washington which gave away the right to strike, didn't abolish the company unions and left all jurisdiction in labor disputes to a government board, not yet selected and having no power to enforce its decisions.

Nothing Is Too Low
While company union men jubilantly said, "Why it gives them nothing," and the rubber barons smiled, an aroused rank and file prepared to fight the treacherous betrayal in the Sunday meetings. But they didn't know to what depths the bureaucrats would stoop in an effort to smash the strike. They found out.

Claherty, red-faced and shifting uneasily from foot to foot, had scarcely finished reading the so-called agreement when a rank and file at Goodrich, shouted, "Where'd you get the guts to bring back that god-damned sell-out to us?" to the thunderous applause of other workers. More criticism was hurled as Claherty retreated and finally sat down apparently defeated. His henchmen then began their work. Smooth tongues argued, "we must support our leaders," and similar blather. It seemed to do little good. A vote was called. About one third of the Goodrich workers raised their hands in approval. The chairman said: "It evidently has passed." No negative vote was taken after the meeting was over

Goodrich workers walked out cursing, looking lost and humiliated. Claherty had "won over" the strongest local union.

The Rout at Firestone
Firestone was next. Shouts of betrayal, sell-out, down with the A. F. of L., bitter threats, more curses and eloquent speeches by progressives but to no avail. "Goodrich won't walk out and you boys can't do it alone. Why not be sensible. This is just a foothold, we'll get more later." Three hours of this and the Firestone workers gave up in disgust.

Goodyear workers were better prepared to meet the onslaught. Four days ago the progressives realized what would be done. They began organizing for a fight. Reports of the Goodrich meeting came in and inflamed the workers. The meeting began at the same time as Firestone's. Regular business took an hour and then John House, president read the "agreement."

A progressive from the rear immediately made a motion to repudiate the "agreement" signed. House ruled it out of order and said the approach would have to be a positive motion. He won.

A "Bold" Faker
Then a barrage by progressives placed throughout the hall sent House scurrying to cover. "I'll bust any guy in the face that says I want this agreement or that I sold out. You boys decide this," he temporized.

"We've had 18 months of boards. This is full of loop holes, Claherty has betrayed us. This means proportional representation. We don't want to depend on the government or Francis Perkins!", progressives argued while the Goodyear workers cheered them on.

A recognized progressive leader got up. He took the agreement from House's hands. He could barely speak he was so indignant. He threw the agreement on the floor. "It's not worth a damn. This is what I think of it." Shouts of approval encouraged him... then the telephone rang. "Firestone boys are giving in, looks like they'll approve the agreement." The speaker almost bawled; other progressives became sick in the pits of their

(Continued on Page 4)

Eight Are Sentenced On Coast

Two Refuse Mercy; Scorn Court in Speeches

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—The eight militant workers who were convicted on April 1 of criminal syndicalism were sentenced for indeterminate terms of one to fourteen years by Judge Dal Lemmon last Saturday, after he had denied a motion for a new trial.

The Judge refused to consider the affidavit of juror Howard McIntire, obtained by the N.P.L.D., in which he swore that the verdict was not the expression of the jury's actual opinion, but was the result of a compromise, a horse-trade. "As I view the affidavit," said the Judge, "it means absolutely nothing in this court. It is foreign matter, and the juror is precluded from questioning his own verdict." The opinion of the jury "foreign matter" in a courtroom!

Those sentenced were Pat Chambers, Caroline Decker, Norman Mini, Lorene Norman, Jack Crane, Albert Houghardy, Martin Wilson and Nora Conklin.

Refuse Probation
Lorene Norman and Norman Mini who both received a recommendation from the jury refused to ask for probation before the Judge.

"I feel," said Lorene Norman, "that an application for probation would be an admission of guilt, therefore I will make none in this or any other court."

Norman Mini, after summarily refusing to apply for probation was asked the usual question whether he could advance any reason why he should not be sentenced.

"Yes," he said, "Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep everything this court and this State represents away forever. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently, because we know that the future belongs to us."

NUL is Active Thruout Ohio

ALLIANCE, Ohio, April 16.—Four hundred Stark County Unemployed League members forced through court orders, Wire to Governor Davey demanding coal in 24 hours; or else! Davey sent coal!

WAYNESBURG, Ohio, April 15.—Local No. 6 Stark County Unemployed League supporting strike of Waynesburg Tilt workers, mass picketing, defying injunction. Other League sent pickets. For union recognition.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, April 15.—Ohio Unemployed League organization campaign on the way; six county conventions in six days. Truax, president O.U.L. at conventions of Auglaize, Putnam, Williams, Wood, Hancock counties. Says Truax, "Other conventions in line. State will be organized solid; no time to loose."

NEW LEXINGTON, Ohio, April 15.—The Perry County Unemployed League on strike today. Mass picketing closing down all projects. Against cut from 50 to 45¢ per hour. For a new relief administration. The unemployed answer the Roosevelt wage cut program with mass action.

PORT WAYNE.—Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed League, spoke here on Friday, April 12. Over 200 listened attentively as Johnson outlined the program of the N.U.L. The Allen County U. L. is reorganizing and a state convention of the U. L. is being called in June. Harry Conner, the president of the A.C.U.L. has announced that an intensive drive is to be made in Northern Indiana in the next three weeks.

Union Turnout to Be Biggest in Years

First May Day Finds Workers Party in Forefront of Important Labor Battles

By A. J. MUSTE

All reports about May Day preparations indicate that more American workers and more trade unions will participate in demonstrations this year than ever before. These workers are more militant, more free from illusions, more in the mood for new adventures than at any previous period. For the Workers Party of the U. S. observing its first May Day this is the most significant feature of this year's celebration. Its meaning must be clearly understood. It must be utilized to the fullest extent in all speeches and discussions on May Day, as well as in all our work in the ensuing months.

Workers Party To March With Unions in N.Y.

May Day United Fronts Concluded in Other Cities

The Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League, their friends and supporters, will assemble in front of their headquarters, 2 West 15th Street, for the huge May First parade and demonstration. This section of the parade will be headed by eight large red flags and the banners of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

Besides the general slogans of the united front, numerous other floats and slogans are being prepared. The Spartacus Youth League in uniform will march along with the Workers Party. Workers Party May Day buttons are already being sold. A special May Day manifesto is being issued by the National Committee.

Ten thousand copies of the special May Day issue of the *New Militant* will be sold and distributed along the line of march.

A band has been secured, which will live up to this section of the parade, and along with the other features will make the Workers Party-Spartacus Youth section one of the liveliest in the whole united demonstration. Friends and supporters of the party are asked to assemble at the headquarters early on May 1st.

Organizations Represented
The Workers Party is represented on the executive committee of the United May Day Labor Conference, made up of representatives of the leading trades unions, Socialist Party, I. W. W., Workmen's Circle, Communist Party (Opposition), etc., which meets regularly every Saturday at 1 P.M. in the Council Room of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at 3 West 16th St. Plans for making this year's May Day parade and demonstration the largest ever held in New York, were pushed forward at the last meeting of this committee, held Saturday, April 13. Reports of committees on publicly manifestos, slogans, organization, etc., etc. were given.

The plan calls for two huge parades, one starting from 15th St. and taking in all unions, political parties, and fraternal organizations meeting in that territory. The other will form up in the dress market near 40th St., and will comprise the bulk of the workers in the dress trade. Both parades will end in a monster mass meeting at the Mall in Central Park.

N.R.C. Strikers to Participate
Plots by the score, dozens of bands, thousands of placards, and one hundred thousand marchers are expected to make this the largest and most colorful May Day parade in the history of New York. The International Ladies Garment Workers locals are providing bands, pennants, arm bands, and banners for their marchers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are out to surpass them. Unions in the food, building and other industries promise a splendid turnout. Five thousand striking National Biscuit workers and their families will form one of the most important sections of the march. One hundred thousand copies of a May Day man-

(Continued on Page 4)

Half a century ago American workers, engaged in desperate and dramatic struggles for the eight-hour day, made the First of May a labor holiday. The idea was taken up a few years later by workers in other countries and presumably May Day became the International Labor Day. Of the associations which gather round May Day—anti-militarism, class solidarity, labor internationalism, revolutionary aims of the working class—we need not speak here.

Before the Crisis

May Day ceased, however, to be observed generally by the American workers. For a time, in certain of the larger cities, foreign-speaking groups demonstrated in considerable numbers; but even they became in large measure apathetic during the hectic boom period from 1924 on. In the main during this period American workers shunned May Day. They believed the propaganda of the boss press and of their own reactionary trade union leaders that May Day was for "foreigners," "ungrateful reds," etc. who did not appreciate the fact that the American working class was something unique and led a charmed life of perpetual prosperity under a special brand of capitalism, U.S.A. model.

The crisis has put a period to all that. It is clear that there is nothing unique about American capitalism, clear certainly that it leads no charmed life. As a part of world capitalism it is in decline, and in its decline brings untold suffering on the masses who in this land of boundless resources and an unsurpassed productive machinery have in five brief years seen their standard of living cut in half.

Rising magnificently at the first opportunity, the American workers have since the spring of 1933 made great advances in organization and fought a series of important battles. In the course of these struggles one illusion after another has been ruthlessly dispelled.

The New Deal has not brought back prosperity. The doubt as to whether capitalism can be reformed is eating deep into the minds of the workers.

Short Cut Proves a Trap
The NRA proved not to be a magic gate to union organization. The conviction that it is useless to look to the Roosevelt administration or to any capitalist government, to give genuine support to fighting unions gains ground.

Trade union leaders, committed to "cooperation" with the bosses and the bosses' government, sell out strikes, are seen to be "cooperating" indeed—to keep the boss on top and the workers under—and that lesson sticks in.

In the presence of such harsh realities rank loses its hold. The bunk of the militarists and super-patriots. The bunk of the red-baiters. The Hearst campaign has fallen flat among the workers. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy got nowhere with its latest attempt to oust radicals from the unions. In fact they themselves have to try now to put on a "radical" cover. They collaborate with Socialists, hoping that that will convince the workers that they are "as progressive as anybody." On occasion A. F. of L. demagogues collaborate, at least in effect, with Communists, as did Coleman Claherty in Akron recently when he was selling out the strike!

Radical Thought Gaining

The workers in ever increasing numbers are becoming interested in radical solutions for their problem. They will march this May Day proudly side by side with the Workers Party, with other parties

(Continued on Page 4)

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

PEACE ON EARTH: In June 1950 U. S. battleships and 5000 planes will maneuver over 500,000 square miles of Pacific Ocean in the most extensive naval "game" in peace time history. The government estimates the cost at \$1,200,000,000. In July the Japanese navy will play "games" over the same area. The physical and material groups and by their determined from breaking them up into small units. The government estimates the cost at \$1,200,000,000. In July the Japanese navy will play "games" over the same area. The physical and material groups and by their determined from breaking them up into small units.

Both unions are organized according to the plan at C Street and A Street. The plan at C Street and A Street. The plan at C Street and A Street.

Good will toward men: Dr. Clarence A. Harbison, President of Brown University, the author of "Such a Thing as a Christian," said that the Christian religion is a "game" played by a few men for the amusement of a few more men.

Radio Workers Are Fighting For One Nation-wide Union

PHILADELPHIA—Some time ago a union of radio workers was organized in the position of the union. Repeatedly sentiment was voiced that the A. F. of L. should be in the position of the union. Repeatedly sentiment was voiced that the A. F. of L. should be in the position of the union.

Mass Picketing is Effective in FERA Workers Strike in Ohio

Press; Organize Union; Make Cains

On the FERA strike front, the National Labor Relations Board has been asked to order the FERA to pay back wages to the strikers. The National Labor Relations Board has been asked to order the FERA to pay back wages to the strikers.

Workers Party in Fort Wayne Militant Joins

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LOBE

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1935

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By KARL LOBE

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1935

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NEW MILITANT

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The Betrayal in Rubber

policy and the role of the government in labor disputes. The failure to understand this is what caught the rubber workers off guard and made them easy victims of the run-around.

The rubber workers, including many of the best local leaders who are heart and soul for the union, saw the issue too simply: the workers versus the rubber companies. But experience showed that it was much more complicated. The government run-around was also a factor in the situation; at the critical moment, thanks to the mistaken faith of the rubber workers, it turned out to be the decisive factor. The rubber companies could never have put over such an agreement directly. So the government, through Madame Perkins, did the job for them. The fact that the workers didn't expect a dirty trick like this and were taken by surprise prevented them from mobilizing their forces to reject the sell-out agreement and go through with the strike. In the general demoralization the strike was broken before it started and the fight for union recognition lost for the time being. The government had a big hand in this result.

Lesson No. 1.—The new unions must rely on their own strength and expect nothing from the government but the run-around.

"It becomes increasingly clear as the days go by that the danger to the rubber workers comes from an enemy within the ranks of labor itself. That enemy is the bureaucracy at the head of the A. F. of L. and of the rubber union itself." These words appeared in an editorial in last week's issue of the *New Militant*. Similar warnings were sounded in previous articles in the *New Militant* and in the March issue of the *New Internationalist*. These were the only papers in the country to try to put the rubber workers on guard against the betrayal which finally overwhelmed them. Yet, it is perfectly clear now that Green, Claherty & Co. worked from the first, and with especial effectiveness at the last, in the complicated frame-up machine which ground out a humiliating defeat for the workers.

The rubber workers didn't see this, at least not with sufficient clarity, and this led to their undoing. These faithless leaders have demonstrated time and time again that their ideas and ways of life are alien to those of the struggling and exploited workers. They dread the thought of struggle. Above all they fear the growth and development of real mass organizations of the most exploited workers which would bring the fresh breeze of militancy and class struggle into the labor movement. Their field of action is the conference table and their deliberate strategy is to trade away the rights of the newly organized workers for political crumbs and concessions, legislative favors, appointments and even outright bribes for themselves. They never lift a finger to help a strike, but work like demons to prevent them or to sabotage and disrupt them.

No, the line-up in the struggle of capital and labor is not simply, as too many of the rubber workers thought, the unions versus the companies. It is far more complicated and deceptive. The government, exploiting the illusion of impartiality and even of "friendship" for the workers, in reality serves the bosses and demoralizes the trusting workers with flank attacks; the treacherous officials of the A. F. of L., masquerading as "labor leaders," stab them in the back. Madame Perkins put the government seal on the company union "agreement"; Green and Claherty put the union label on it. It took all these deceptive machinations to wreck the strike movement of the rubber workers for the time being. The struggle to regain the lost ground has to begin with an understanding of this shell game and the cappers and come-ons who participate in its operations.

A part of the technique of the labor traitors, employed with exceptional success in the rubber situation, consists in talking militantly at moments when the workers clamor for action and even in putting forward individual members of the machine to play the radical. As the rubber strike movement reached the boiling point they even declared a truce with the Communist Party. In return for this favor the Communist Party refrained from criticism of Green and Claherty at the moment when their treacherous machinations were obviously coming to a head and when a timely warning against them was most urgently needed. When the calculated blow was finally delivered the workers were taken unawares. In the general confusion, disappointment and demoralization the shameful "settlement" was railroaded through the local unions at Akron.

Lesson No. 2.—Expect nothing from the officialdom of the A. F. of L. and its appointed agents but the most cynical betrayals every

time. Those who fail to point this out to the workers, and above all those who know it and keep quiet about it, play the part of accomplices in this treachery.

When it comes down to a test of strength the workers, thanks to their numbers and their strategic position in industry, are much stronger than the bosses and can easily defeat them on a local, national and world scale. The defeat of the rubber workers is not fundamental. They have not been vanquished in a test of strength; they have been tricked, betrayed, out-manuevered. And, above all, they have paid the price of their own lack of organization.

The bosses, plus the government, plus the labor traitors, could not have put over the sell-out agreement if the progressive forces in the local unions had been prepared and organized to meet it. The forces of the enemy worked like a well-oiled machine. The bosses, Madame Perkins, and the labor leaders all knew their parts and played them at the right moment—and then they all worked in unison to railroad the settlement through. The local progressives were not ready. They were not well organized. And before they had time to catch their breath the job was done.

Had the progressive and militant elements in the local unions thought the thing out more fundamentally; had they seen through the complicated game of the three-team combination—bosses, Perkins and Green—and put the rank and file on guard against the frame-up; had they organized their own forces to take the offensive and smash the betrayal the moment it was sprung—if they had done this while there was yet time there would be a different picture in Akron today. The traitors would have been swept aside by a human avalanche. The rubber unions would be enforcing "recognition" on the picket lines and the whole national movement of insurgent labor would be rallying around them. The Akron rubber strike would most likely be setting the pace for a great national strike wave of far greater proportions and potentialities than that of 1934.

Let the bosses and their hirelings worry about the possible consequences of such a struggle. The workers have nothing to lose. Every experience proves over again that there is no way to gain anything or to advance the cause of labor a single inch except by determined struggle. This struggle didn't begin in Akron this morning, although the conditions were ripe for it. In the last analysis only one thing was lacking: a serious organization of the progressive forces in the local unions.

Lesson No. 3.—The militant and progressive forces in the rubber unions must organize around a program of militant action to cleanse the unions of the influence of traitors and convert them into fighting instruments of the workers. That is the way, and the only way, to scrap the company union settlement and get a real union settlement.

The "Lesser Evil" Again

WHAT stands out in the ranks of the Socialist movement of the world today is the desire to draw the right lessons from the terrific defeats suffered by the labor movement in the past two years. The present leadership of the American Socialist Party came into power on the wave of working class dissatisfaction with the old-line reformist policies which brought the proletariat to such catastrophes. But whereas thousands of workers have showed an intense desire to find the revolutionary Marxian path, the new Thomas-Hoan leadership has allowed recent events to pass over its head without making any decisive impression. Their "radicalism" goes only so far as they find it necessary to keep the membership satisfied with what is a fundamentally reformist course.

This view is reinforced by one episode at the Buffalo meeting of the socialist N.E.C. which has not been given sufficient attention. From the Bulletin issued on the Buffalo meeting by the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association (R.P.C.) we learn that:

"On a motion by Hapgood to picket the Spanish embassy in Washington, D.C., the N.E.C., working under the advice of Devere Allen (who is regarded by the N.E.C. as the authority on the Spanish question), voted down the proposal because such action might endanger the then present Lerroux government which, it was maintained, acted as a buffer to the coming of Fascism—the Gil Robles forces. Here, we have, aside from the question of the necessity of the demonstration or not, the theory of the lesser evil all over again, and the condemnation that was hurled against the old guard for a defense of such action in the case of Germany now becomes the accredited policy of the N.E.C. When the N.E.C. can undertake to espouse such ideas, it is high time for those comrades who really and sincerely want to make our party a revolutionary one to begin to re-evaluate the present National leadership. In regard to the Right wing, there have long ceased to exist any illusions about their social democratic policies. But in reference to the N.E.C. and their supporters, illusions still continue to exist and some of us have been proudly boasting about our newly found revolutionary principles."

What the Bulletin says about illusions of the "Militants" can easily be subscribed to. It need only be added that the illusions of the authors of the Bulletin concerning the "revolutionary" nature of the Communist party and its apologists in the Lovestone camp, are no less pernicious than the illusions which they themselves condemn.

"But this same class struggle that results in our conviction will someday generate an irresistible wave that will sweep every thing this court and this state represent away forever."



May First to Be Banner Day

(Continued from page 1)

and groups, with which they used to think it disgraceful and "un-American" to associate! Brushing away from their eyes the webs spun by the bosses' propaganda, they are making May Day their own again! Thus May Day emphasizes once more the correctness and the critical importance of the decisions of the founding convention of the Party on the mass organizations and mass work. We must get into the unions and the unemployed organizations. We must become intimately bound up with them and with their struggles. Never has there been such an opportunity to draw close to the masses, masses that are in motion, masses bent upon struggle. To neglect this opportunity is treason of the blackest sort.

The Wrong Way

For revolutionists to draw near to the masses does not mean, however, to come down to their level of political development, to cater to their prejudices, to take a place at the tail-end of the procession. The Communist Party having treated the workers like robots for years may now treat them like children to be humored and given a stick of candy. Neither attitude grows out of true respect for the worker, and the second will no more win the American worker in the end than did the first, which has had to be ignominiously abandoned. The C. P. having for years branded A. F. of L. bureaucrats as social-fascists may now embrace them as "comrades in arms." Neither attitude was based on a realistic analysis and neither is a service to the working class.

The confidence won by responsible revolutionists because they fight side by side with the masses in their struggles, because they labor harder than any others to build the unions and the unemployed leagues, that confidence so hardly won is precious. It must not be prostituted by giving any countenance to the Utopian notions of a Long, a Coughlin, an Upton Sinclair, or whoever it may be, with the idea that there is something "American" about this tactic, that having thus "gone along" with the workers, with big masses, we have a "movement," we are no longer "isolated from the masses," and presently we shall slip over a revolutionary program on this "movement." Having a yearning for being lost in a crowd is a very human failing. So is the desire to win a following quickly. But it is not a distinguishing mark of a revolutionist. Such "movements" as we have mentioned do not overthrow capitalism. If they do not turn Fascist, they end in a swamp or in a blind alley. Even a very superficial reading of American history makes that clear.

Against False Shibboleths

The responsible Marxian party will use the confidence that it wins from the masses to expose illusions, fallacies and falsehoods. On this May Day in the United States it will agitate against every form

Raw Deal Put Over in Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

The American workers have certain peculiar conditions to face and only at our peril do we ignore that fact. But the American worker is not now, any more than he was in the Coolidge-Hoover era, some peculiar species of animal. He is a worker under capitalism. His interest is one with that of the workers of all lands. This May Day 1935 gives us an unprecedented and priceless opportunity to tie in his struggles with the world-wide struggles of the working class, to teach the lesson of Revolutionary Internationalism. It is well that the Workers Party of the U. S. is in existence to seize that opportunity.

For a Workers' World

Marching side by side with our brothers, sisters, comrades, in the unions and the unemployed organizations, we raise the banner of the Workers Party and the Fourth International. We sound forth again the historic battle-cry of the international revolutionary movement. Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain! Given such a program and such a spirit the workers can be confident that—

"The earth shall rise on new foundations;
We have been taught, we shall be all!"

May Day in N.Y.C.

(Continued from Page 1)

ifesto will be issued. Buttons, posters, leaflets in large quantities are being prepared.

At the Mall in Central Park, speakers from all organizations participating will address the crowd. In addition it is proposed to bring veterans of labor's battles, ex-class war prisoners, and others, to take part in the demonstration. Goldman's band will play appropriate music for the gathering crowd and also at intervals during the mass meeting.

Following the demonstration a mass meeting of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League will be held at 8 P.M., May First, in Germania Hall, 16th St. and Third Avenue. A good program of music, singing, etc., is being arranged. Speakers from the Workers Party and S.Y.L. will address the meeting.

KANSAS CITY.—A united front has been formed around the May Day demonstration including, in addition to the Workers Party, the following groups: The Left Wing Socialists, the American Workers Union (unemployed organization), the Communist Party, the Continental Technocrats. No outdoor meeting has as yet been planned, as the reactionary city officials consistently refuse a permit for any sort of open air demonstration or parade.

An indoor mass meeting is planned with speakers on "The 30-Hour Week," "Social Insurance," and "Fascism."

Raw Deal Put Over in Akron

Day by day, as progressives looked to the one-time denouncers of the A. F. of L. as a "company union" and its bureaucratic officials as "fascists" to point out in uncompromising words the openly apparent moves toward the betrayal, the C. P., instead of uttering any warning or denunciation of the betrayers, imparted an air of radicalism to these leaders in return for the right to trail in their company and gain "respectability" in the eyes of the workers.

Browder Swallows His Tongue

Earl Browder, national secretary of the C. P., spoke Friday night to over nine hundred workers in Akron and deliberately refrained from even mentioning Green, Claherty and Co. In last Saturday's *Daily Worker*, at the very moment when the entire scheme to break the strike should have been clear to anyone with even a pretense of class-conscious judgment, Browder issued a statement on the Akron situation in which he warns the workers against the government but not against their own treacherous leaders with whom he was in alliance. These he addresses in the *Daily Worker* with "comradely words"! So capitulating to the bureaucrats was Browder, that Wilbur Tate, an official A. F. of L. organizer, who spoke from the same platform, was reported in the Akron daily press as being more militant than Browder!

Akron press reports on the morning following the signing of the agreement fully indicated the extent of the rubber bosses' victory. Officials of the Big Three plants and heads of the company unions were described as "jubilant." One rubber official declared, "We don't see what all the fuss was about. We have always given our employees precisely what the terms of this agreement call for."

Dragging Through the Courts

The terms of the agreement place company unions on an equal status with real unions, contains no guarantee of recognition to the genuine union, prevents the calling of a strike while the injunction cases against the companies are tried in the Appeals Courts and through the U. S. Supreme Court, which may drag on for endless months, and forbids the holding even of an election until the court decisions are handed down.

The unions must now prepare to fight an attempt to discharge and black-list the outstanding militants and progressive local leaders and to withstand a reign of intimidation and terror which may be launched against union men in the plants as the companies continue their counter-drives to smash the union.

Workers Party members in Akron will continue to assist in organizing the progressive unionists to fight the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom, and help renew the courage of the union men to combat when he spoke on his own behalf to fight for their union and build it to greater strength by more correct and militant leadership and policies.

LEFT . . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

"WAR IS HUMAN"
"War is simply human, and Marx on this point, as on plenty of others, talked nonsense."—New York Daily News editorial. "Plenty of wars," says the News—"have been fought for the love of Christ" or "for pure cussedness." Some examples might have been given by the editorial, such as the Opium War on China, the Mexican War, the Spanish American War, the Japanese War in Manchuria, or again we might mention the human motives, far removed from capitalist greed, that brought each and every country into the World War. J. P. Morgan's "human" and "love of Christ" part in America's entry into that general slaughter as another touching example that proves how wrong Marx was. American marines out of "pure cussedness" I suppose, travelled around the world, and finally got a chance to die for the "love of Christ" and Rockefeller at Socony Hill, China, in 1928. The Duponts also show a human touch in providing playthings for those wishing to exercise their "pure cussedness" in slaughtering men, women and children.

WHO ARE THE SOCIAL FASCISTS?

"Does the Trade Union Unity League support proposals for a labor party? No, it rejects social fascist proposals for launching a labor party, which would be only another capitalist party."—Labor Unity, December 1933.

HAPPY NAZILAND!

Paderborn, Germany, April 11.—Elizabeth Freunderlich, 31 years old, confessed throwing her two children from a speeding train. "Poverty" was the reason given—(News Item). And Hitler continues his campaign for more children, but the birth rate continues to decline.

PRESERVATION OF CIVILIZATION

Twenty-one South and North American countries signed a treaty last week guaranteeing the protection of works of art in time of war. President Roosevelt hailed the treaty as "vital for the preservation of modern civilization." "This treaty possesses a spiritual significance," said the big-Navy President. When bayonets rip rip guts, shells shatter bodies to bits, and poison gas rained from the air destroy the men, women and children of these American countries, let us remember with affection the statesmen who took time off from preparation for mass slaughter to sign the Roerich Pact for the preservation of museums of art, etc.

AGAIN DIVINE AND FORD

An attack on the "spiritual racketeer," Father Divine, by Oakley Johnson in the *Daily Worker* has been "decisively rejected" by the Communist Party of Harlem, according to an answer in the *Daily Worker*, written by James W. Ford. Ford, according to Oglio, editor of *The Freiheit*, has a division of labor with Father Divine. One handles the "spiritual" needs, the other the political needs of Harlem's Negro population. In addition it now appears that they have also signed one of those defensive and non-aggression pacts, so popular with Stalinists. And by the way, has "self-determination" reached the point where we have a "Communist Party of Harlem?"

Inside Story of Rubber Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

stomachs. But they didn't give up for a while.

However, after nearly two hours of denunciation, and when the progressives had exhausted their ammunition, a Claherty-ite took the floor. More promises, more "stick-by-the-leaders" and the government . . . slowly the game became clear. Workers began to walk out, their faces dead set, the pain of betrayal was clearly evident.

When opposition began to die down, Claherty appeared—very nicely-timed entrance, of course. He pleaded eloquently as workers turned their faces in disgust. He winced when someone shouted "Betray!" but only momentarily. "The two locals used reason and you can't go out alone," he carefully began. Soon the demoralization crept in. Even progressives looked discouraged, lost in a dark labyrinth. The vote of approval passed by a small majority.

The Specter of Black-Listing

Workers left quickly after the meeting, shamed, disappointed, tears gleamed dimly in some eyes. A few brave workers openly charged, "dictatorship from the top," although expulsion was imminent. Progressives went home as one goes to a funeral. The dark specter of company blacklists, the black shadows of betrayal, the laughs of company union men haunted them.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy had negotiated an "agreement."

NEW MILITANT

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INTO THE STREETS ON MAY DAY!

Tobin Lifts Charter of Drivers Union, 574

JOINS WITH CITIZENS ALLIANCE

But Thousands of Truckers Swear Fealty To Local Leaders in Reinstatement Fight

By F. X. FERRY

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 25.—Local 574 of the General Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers, which during 1934 began to write a new militant labor history in Minneapolis, was again thrust into the forefront of the labor struggle. This time, however, the fight which is to be waged by "574" is against a united front extending from the "Citizens Alliance," a new reactionary bosses' "Committee of One-Hundred," D. J. Tobin, President of the Truck Drivers International Union, reactionary labor leaders in Minneapolis, to—the C. P.

The fight was brought into the open on Monday, April 14, when in an undated letter "574" was informed by Tobin that its charter had been revoked; the reason given for the revocation was "non-payment of per capita tax." Tobin's communication was read, on Monday evening, to a meeting of between 900 and 1,000 members of the union. The workers, who successfully battled the forces of police and specials: who drove 1,500 armed vigilantes from the Market Place during the strike in May, 1934; who fought on the picket line until their demands were met, and the Citizens Alliance was forced to its knees—these valiant workers now heard Tobin's statement outlawing them as union men. Some truckers heard the letter with a bitter curse against the reactionary leaders of the International, others (and they appeared to be in the majority) felt that the new attempt to disrupt their ranks will be repulsed and that the union will come out of the fight stronger than ever.

Fight for Reinstatement

Officials of "574" in speaking to the membership pointed out the need of fighting for reinstatement in the International, if necessary to appeal to the convention. One by one the workers who, tested in strikes of 1934, became the leaders of 574, showed that the interest of the workers in general and of those of Minneapolis in particular, will be best protected by retaining the charter, and continuing the fight against the bosses and against the reactionary gang of the International, as part of the A. F. of L. The workers were not easily convinced, but at last accepted the words of Vincent and Grant Dunne, of Wm. Brown, of F. Dobbs and others of the executive, that no effort be spared to gain the favorable vote of the delegates to the Central Labor Union and thus to prevent the expulsion of 574 from the local A. F. of L. central body.

There was no denial that the per capita tax is not paid up to the minute. But it was paid to the full financial ability of 574, which after the victorious strikes of last summer, was left with no money, but with the crushing burden of large debts, increased in the conduct of the strike. The fact, known to all members of the local, was pointed out to the meeting that two workers, Henry Ness and John Belor, were murdered by the strike-breaking crew of Police Chief Johannes and that about 50 pickets were shot. The local considered it as its duty to care for the families of the murdered workers and to pay for the hospitalization of the wounded ones. These emergency factors had been submitted to Tobin himself in a letter sent last October, asking for time to pay up the per capita tax, which request was never denied since the letter remained unanswered up to now.

Tobin's Real Reasons

Of course everyone knows that the charter of 574 was revoked, not because of the non-payment of a few hundred dollars (just a drop in the bucket for an International with a treasury of between three and four millions), but because local 574 is becoming too militant, and its leaders too dangerous to all the members of the latest "united front." During the strike, the employers more than once declared that "574" is O.K. but its leaders are "radicals" and "Bolsheviks." Tobin, in the magazine of the International (July 1934) pointed out that the "Communists and radicals who are bobbing up, here and there, in our newly organized local unions . . . were very prominent in the strike of Local No. 574" and called upon " . . . our people to beware of

March with the W.P. On May Day in N.Y.

All friends and sympathizers of the Workers Party in New York are urged to fall in with the W. P. contingent of the New York May Day parade. The party's section of the march will form in front of 2 West 15th Street—15th Street and Fifth Avenue—at 12 noon sharp.

Take your place with the revolutionary party of the workers in the march of New York's unions and labor organizations on May 1st.

Broad Unity For May Day In Allentown

Monster Parade to Voice Important Labor Demands

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Sixty-nine organizations representing more than 6,000 workers have joined in a solid united front for the biggest May Day demonstration that Allentown has ever witnessed. Among the organizations participating are: the Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Lehigh County Unemployed League, the American Federation of Silk Workers, the United Ribbon Workers, and many other union groups.

A monster parade will be formed which will march past the principal factories and end at Center Square where a huge mass meeting will be held, culminating in the singing of the International. A request has been made for the dismissal of all schools for the day. Many workers plan to call a one day strike.

A May Day Manifesto has been drawn up to be distributed to every worker in Allentown. Among the demands are:

1. For the complete unionization of all workers. IN UNITY IS STRENGTH.
2. For the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike and picket effectively.
3. Against Mayor Lewis' proclamation limiting picketing.
4. For CASH RELIEF and a 50 percent increase in relief allowances.
5. For a 5c car fare and free transportation of the children of the unemployed.
6. For the abolition of toll on the 8th St. bridge.
7. Against all sales taxes and for a steeply graduated income tax.
8. Against the destructive policies of the Roosevelt administration which have as their main purpose the raising of prices.
9. For the repeal of the Flynn Sedition Act and all criminal syndicalism laws. For the freedom of speech and press.
10. For the unconditional release of all political prisoners: Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro Boys, the Sacramento prisoners, the Fargo workers, etc.
11. For equal right for Negroes and the foreign born.
12. For the 30 hour 30 dollar week; with union rates where they are higher.
13. For the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill.
14. Against imperialist war and the division of relief funds for war preparations.

CARRY ON!



First of May Manifesto of the Workers Party of U.S.

Fifty years ago American workers struggling for the eight-hour day made the First of May a labor holiday. Later the workers of other lands made May Day the International Labor Day—a day to commemorate the struggles of the toilers and to do homage to the martyrs who had fallen in those struggles; a day of protest against nationalism, militarism and war; a day symbolizing the solidarity of labor the world over regardless of nationality, color, race; a day of defiance of labor's foes and oppressors; a day to march and to sing of brotherhood, of hope, of the ultimate victory, of a workers' world in which plenty, justice and truth shall reign!

The boss press and other capitalist agencies, and reactionary labor leaders as well, taught American workers for many years to shun the observance of May Day as something "foreign" and to regard themselves as set apart from the workers of other lands, leading a charmed life of perpetual prosperity under a "new capitalism." Today in 1935, after six years of economic crisis, which has inflicted unspeakable suffering on the masses in the United States and all other capitalist nations and which has clearly revealed that this capitalist system is everywhere in decline, greater numbers of American workers than ever before, thousands upon thousands of trade unionists who have never in the past participated in a May Day demonstration, are pouring into the streets. Brushing away from their eyes the webs spun by the bosses' propaganda, they are making May Day their own again. We of the Workers Party hail with joy this evidence that the feeling of solidarity with the workers of all the world, against the capitalists of all the world, is growing in the hearts of our fellow-workers.

In the year that has passed since May Day, 1934, the workers of the United States have fought on many a field—Toledo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Kohler, San Francisco, Portland, the textile towns of North and South! In the face of opposition from the czars of American industry refusing to recognize the elementary right of workers to organize; of the deceit of the Roosevelt administration which had led the masses to believe that it would protect this right; of betrayal at times by their own union leaders; yes, faced by police, militia, machine guns, the workers have marched on!

We pause on this May Day to salute the

heroic workers who were killed by ruthless capitalist violence in the strikes of this past year. These dead shall not have died in vain!

The thousands in other lands who have died this year at the hands of reactionary and Fascist butchers, we salute on this May Day. Their blood shall fertilize the soil out of which new forces shall arise to crush reaction and Fascism!

To the workers in capitalist jails and Fascist concentration camps, to Tom Mooney in San Quentin, to the latest capitalist frame-up in Sacramento, to the victims of race discrimination such as the Scottsboro boys, and to all class-war prisoners everywhere, we shout our greetings. Surely they will hear even in the innermost cells of the vilest jails the marching feet, the singing voices of the May Day demonstrators. Fellow-workers, comrades, we shall not cease to storm these prison walls that hold you now until we have battered them down and set you free!

But the hour of release and victory has not yet struck. For fresh struggles, for mightier struggles than ever before, must we gird ourselves on this May Day.

Serving the interests of the capitalists, the Roosevelt administration has launched through its Public Works program, a vicious assault upon the standard of living of the American masses. Wage rates are being completely undermined. As many as possible are to be struck from the relief rolls so that they may be forced to take work from private employers at any wage. Hundreds of thousands of young men are to be forced into the Civilian Conservation Camps to prevent them from organizing to demand a decent standard of living, to train them to break strikes and shoot workers, to prepare them for service in the next war. Employed and unemployed must united without delay for a nation-wide struggle for the six-hour day, the thirty-hour week, against wage cutting, against the share-the-misery program.

The sharpest struggle is being waged by the employing class against every attempt of the workers to organize. At the least hint of a strike, machine guns are mounted in American factories. The answer to this must be a nation-wide campaign of organization. Every worker into a union or unemployed organiza-

(Continued on Page 6)

Toledo Strike Solid; Auto Plant Paralyzed

STRIKE PAPER TO BE PUBLISHED

Militants Active, Promise Real Fight, No Fake Agreement; Bosses Frantic

By Wire from A. J. Muste

TOLEDO, April 25.—Strike ranks solid. Plant tied up tight as a drum.

Strikers preparing to vote down General Motors contract. Sentiment is for finish fight against company unionism. Militant battle will establish firm majority for bona-fide union, affirming the right to collective bargaining. All attempts of the company to provoke trouble have been crippled by effective union action.

First issue of the strike paper, called "Truth" will make its bow Friday.

Special to New Militant

TOLEDO, Ohio, April 23.—The first militant thrust of the nation's auto workers against the ramparts of the giant General Motors Corporation began today with the walk-out of all of the 2,500 employees of the Chevrolet Motors Co. Toledo plant. Organized in the Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, Local 18384, whose representatives recently secured over 90 percent of the votes in the Auto

Beat Company Union in Calif. Auto Election

Workers Vote for AF of L Despite Extensive Fink System

OAKLAND, Cal., April 20.—Balloting under the supervision of the Wolman Board, two thousand workers in the Chevrolet and Fisher

Body plants here voted their emphatic opposition to the company unions. In the Fisher Body plant the company union received only eighteen percent of the total vote and at Chevrolet this minority was a still smaller thirteen percent.

At Chevrolet the A. F. of L. candidates received a majority of 462 out of 958 votes cast, over the unaffiliated and company union candidates. The vote indicates the determination of the workers to have bona-fide representation and further indicates a growing ability to see the necessity for a genuine union. This becomes clearer in light of the following facts; first, the existence locally, of the A. F. of L. union was unknown to most of the workers until two days before the election (and then they were reached only by handbills); second, the bulk of the workers have had no organizational experience; third, the bosses used all available methods of intimidation, aided by their notorious and extensive spy system. The stool pigeon organization is so extensive that most of the company union voters can safely be placed in that category.

If the correct tactics are used the union will have strength enough to demand recognition before the seasonal decline begins. A direct counter campaign by organizers, reaching every worker in the two plants must be embarked on immediately. The stool pigeon system and intimidation makes it impossible for the workers to join the union at open mass meetings. In many instances the mere presence of a worker at a meeting has resulted in threats of discharge or actual discharge.

Any tendency to rely on Federal Board arbitration, in the cases of discharged workers must be firmly opposed. The season will soon be drawing to a close. The workers want a union and correct strategy will build it. The time element will be one of the determining factors in the success or failure of the union, hence a correct organizational campaign must be started without delay.

On Monday evening, April 29, the workers of Brownsville will hold a united front rally in preparation for the city-wide May Day demonstration. The rally will start at 7:30 P.M. at Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenues and the demonstrators will march to Hopkinson and Pitkin Avenues. Speakers from all the affiliated organizations will address the workers.

Labor Board elections, the Chevrolet workers marched out of the plant in a body and formed mass picket lines which quickly succeeded in shutting the plant down cold.

Toledo's auto workers, who set the tone and tempo for the great strike wave of 1934 in the Auto-Lite strike of last May, may again have the distinction of touching off the strike bomb-shell which will have national repercussions. Top-notch company officials, including William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, and M. E. Coyle, president of Chevrolet, flooded into Toledo yesterday in a desperate effort to delay or divert strike action which threatens to spread throughout the automotive and other major industries.

Progressives in Leadership Leadership in the strike rests at present in the hands of young, militant and progressive elements, led by Jim Roland, chairman of the Chevrolet union group and head of the strike committee. Other militants who stood in the forefront of last year's historic battle are playing an outstanding role in the strike, leading and organizing the pickets, arranging publicity, instilling militancy and discipline into the ranks and developing effective lines of mass strike strategy.

The strike came swiftly, as predicted in the New Militant of April 13, following the presentation of the union's proposed contract to the Chevrolet management last week which was turned down on every major clause in a completely arbitrary fashion. Following rejection of the contract, a huge meeting of the Chevrolet workers was held and a strike vote taken. The vote was unanimous in favor of strike, although the actual moment for the calling of the strike was left up to the decision of the plant executive committee.

The militancy and solidarity of the Chevrolet workers so worried the employers that they voluntarily requested another conference with the union representatives early Monday morning in a last desperate effort to head off the strike. This is the first recorded instance of the untouchable General Motors deigning to stoop to confer with representatives of a genuine union.

Company "Conditions" Counter-proposals of the company for a 5 percent wage increase for workers in the lower wage brackets, diluted by a deceptively worded provision which would lower the wages in higher brackets 10 percent, were promptly rejected by the union committee. The company flatly refused to sign any contract, grant genuine union recognition or seniority rights without a merit clause, or to consider the union's demands for a minimum wage of 70 cents per hour.

Already the daily press is beginning to poison the air with misleading stories, misquoting strike leaders and confusing the issues. It is time that the papers are prepared to launch a "red scare" shortly in an effort to discredit the strike as revealed in headlines and news items today. The Toledo Chamber of Commerce has swung automatically into line behind the auto barons with large scare-head ads denouncing the strike. Full-page company ads appeared today which played up the "outstanding

(Continued on Page 6)

Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

SWEETNESS AND LIGHT: Chained in a standing position in the "hole" of a Carolina prison for 12 cold January days, Woodrow Shropshire and Robert Barnes suffered frozen, gangrenous feet which had to be amputated. . . . Convicts at the Texas prison farm chopped off hands and feet to escape going to work under brutal guards. . . . In the brief period since the opening of Alcatraz Federal Prison four inmates have gone insane from brutal treatment. . . . National Broadcasting Company sound experts have developed new noises to delight radio fans: dripping maple syrup resembles the plopping of blood from a fresh wound, splitting a head of cabbage with a cleaver cannot be distinguished from splitting a skull, cracking raw spars resembles the crushing of human bones. . . . Two employees of the Pennsylvania Health Department have been indicted for redating old diphtheria anti-toxin and re-selling it for use in charity cases. . . .

HIGHER LEARNING: The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association voted overwhelmingly against the discussion of controversial social subjects in the classrooms. . . . Five boys arrested in a school strike at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., were accused of molesting the children of scabs. . . . Director Roscoe Ingalls of Los Angeles Junior College blew a tin whistle into the campus amplifier to drown out pacifist speakers. This falling, he turned on the sprinkler system and called the riot squad. Two co-eds were badly beaten. . . . School children at Nanticoke, Pa., walked out in protest to anti-union sentiment of teachers. . . . President McCracken of Vassar objects to students joining the picketline in nearby garment strikes. . . . Dr. S. B. Freeborn of the University of California, after years of diligent research, discovered that orange is the favorite color of houseflies. He received honors. . . . Students at Oglethorpe University stopped spring football practice long enough to run out of town a visiting radical professor. "It was a most refreshing exhibition of good, old-fashioned Americanism," remarked President Thornwell Jacobs. . . .

FEARLESS JOURNALISM: The newspaper publishing business is the only industry that refused to sign an NRA code abolishing child labor. Newspapers are "little merchants" say the publishers and should not be deprived of the valuable education of selling papers on the streets. . . . "Never before has it been so clearly the duty of newspapers to think long and work devotedly to bring suggestions to men in public office," blab-blahs Grove Paterson, President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in annual convention. . . . A survey by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor reveals that the average weekly earnings of newspapers in 1934 was \$1.41 for 15.6 hours, approximately 9c an hour. . . .

SALARIES: "There are no pockets in shrouds," cried Widow Mary Gallagher, Bethlehem Steel Stockholder, in protest against the enormous salaries paid to Eugene Grace, Charles Schwab and other officials. "Forty four thousand men get 67c an hour by the sweat of their brows while three officers draw \$480,000," protested Stockholder Cotland. . . . "There are no rich men left in the old sense of the word," says Charles Schwab, "but we have made up for that in happiness." . . . Stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad proposed a \$15,000 increase to the \$60,000 salary of President Atterbury. . . .

CORRECTION: Says Governor Cullery of Massachusetts: "Unless government aid is given the textile industry not a spindle will be turning in New England in six months." . . . The National Association of Manufacturers accuses the American Federation of Labor of "coercion" and "deliberate fostering of strike talk" to influence legislation. . . . James Sinclair, President of the Fall River Cotton Manufacturers Association declares he will go to jail rather than pay the cotton tax and asserts he will close his mill and discharge 750 employees in protest against the levy. . . .

MORALS DEPARTMENT: Mae West lauds movie decency campaigns: "I never took sex seriously," she says, "I helped put it back in proportion." . . . Arch-Bishop Glennon of St. Louis, leader of the Legion of Decency, condemns scanty athletic costumes as "a vulgar pagan tendency to indecency." . . .

SOCIETY NOTES: At the wedding of General (Blood) Purge Goering, Premier of Prussia, General of Aviation, Chief of Secret Police and Master of the Hunt, to actress Emmy Sonnemann, "bridesmaids" were used instead of bridesmaids. Adolph Hitler was "best man." . . . Edward Riley, hitchhiker from Denver, collapsed in the Plaza of the City of Brotherly

August Upswing is Strategic Time for Silk Union Victory

Thorough Preparation is Vital—Organize Nationally, Raise \$500,000 Strike Fund, Publish Strike Paper Now

By FELIX GIORDANO

At the last meeting of the Plain Goods Department of the American Federation of Silk Workers in Paterson, the membership was confronted with a burning issue: the approving of a national strike in the silk industry to enforce the union demands, should the manufacturers refuse to accept them. These demands as well as the proposed strike have been submitted for approval to all other locals of the A.F.S.W.

Needless to say, these demands will not be granted by the manufacturers of their own accord. The strike which today is as yet a threat, will have to be fought tomorrow.

Every silk worker must of necessity look to the impending strike. In the light of these circumstances a number of questions arise.

What are the possibilities for a really effective strike? What are our chances of victory? What must we do to best assure victory?

The correct answers to these questions bear vitally upon the outcome of the strike itself. We shall therefore analyze the situation and answer them one by one.

Need of Organization

From the national standpoint a really imposing and effective response to the strike call demands the expansion of unionization of the silk industry to every field. This applies particularly to Pennsylvania, where even the last general textile strike either did not penetrate at all in a good many towns, or lasted only for a day or two. In this territory there is no union as strong as in Paterson, for instance, and in several centers there is no union at all despite the most miserable and unheard-of conditions prevalent. No town in Pennsylvania is more than fifty percent organized, and, worse yet, the largest mills are the ones least unionized. Allentown, one of the key towns in the industry, has approximately 1,000 union men out of some 7,000 workers. Northampton, only seven miles away, with three big mills, has no union at all. In Hazleton only a few mills are controlled by the union, with almost no organization at all in the most important mill in the industry, the Duplan. The throwsters in and around Scranton are hardly unionized as yet. Such is the situation that prevails in the most important district of the industry, Pennsylvania, where we must not forget, over fifty percent of the industry is located. What happens in eastern Pennsylvania will to a large extent make or break the pending strike, both as regards its effectiveness and striking power. The first thing that must be done, therefore, is an intensive drive for union organization, preparing for and leading up to the strike. Only if this is done can the strike be really effective.

Perspectives

Unionization alone is no guarantee of victory. Militancy and correct tactics are of vital importance. And correct tactics can flow only from a correct appraisal of the immediate situation and of the perspectives ahead, otherwise no amount of militancy will avail. Above all it is essential to choose the proper time to initiate the struggle, that is to say, to strike when the bosses are weakest and the blows of the union are most effective. The best possible organized strike initiated during the slack season gives the bosses the best chances of playing their chief weapon—wearing out the workers through a drawn-out struggle. In silk, the most seasonal industry in textiles, it is of primary importance to strike at the very beginning of the busy season. That is why it would be only adventurism to initiate the struggle in the weeks immediately ahead, the period when the industry is at its lowest ebb. All indications point today to the latter part of August as the beginning of the next busy season, as the best time to enforce the union demands and to strike.

Only last Wednesday, our General Manager, A. Williams, speaking before a chairman's meeting, reported that in his trip through Pennsylvania he found most of the mills shut down, and the rest curtailing production and in the process of shutting down. And yet Williams

approved of a stoppage following the presentation of the union demands to the bosses! Empty threats not only can have no effect upon the bosses, but may easily force the union into a position where it may have to resort to action under most unfavorable circumstances. For example, what action are we forced to resort to should the bosses openly flout the union by ignoring our demands? Can we back up our demands with a general strike in Paterson at the present time? Then, under no condition should the union put itself in a position where it might be forced to strike when the bosses wish.

What Must Be Done?

We must PREPARE now. This means in the first place that we must obtain the sanction of the parent organizations and secure their full support for the strike.

This means that in the meantime we must raise the necessary funds for the struggle, a war chest of at least \$500,000. These funds can be raised through assessing the membership, sponsoring affairs for that purpose, setting up committees throughout the country to solicit funds from labor organizations and liberals. In this way we shall have the necessary funds for the fight.

An equally important preparatory step is the initiation of a series of preliminary regional conferences in the various territories, for the purpose of unifying the organizational steps for the strike. At these conferences committees should be elected to carry out the work relating to the strike preparations in collaboration with the union leadership. These regional conferences should culminate in a special National Convention of the A.F.S.W., devoted only to the question of the general strike.

Strike Organ Needed Now

An immediate and necessary instrument throughout the period of preparation and especially during the strike is a national union organ, which shall in every issue popularize the union demands and build up support for the strike. Such an organ must be established at once. The struggle of the employed silk workers must not be separated from the daily problem of the unemployed. All A.F.S.W. locals must take the initiative and directly aid in the organization of the unemployed. In this way the unemployed will be assisted in securing relief, a close bond will be established between them and the union, and the strike will be assured of their support.

Throughout the preparatory period as well as the strike itself, all elements must be drawn into active participation, in this way presenting a solid front. There can be no question of discrimination. At the same time, there must be no changes from the present policy of carrying on a guerrilla warfare of individual shop strikes to obtain and to maintain union conditions. Only if we realize these concrete proposals will we be able to lead our struggle to a successful conclusion. These steps must be realized. It is the duty of all the silk workers who recognize the urgency of this program to get together in each local as an organized body for the purpose of translating this program into action.

Once again the most important point on the agenda is the formation of a genuine left wing nationally in the silk union. Only the left wing, organized on the basis of this program can lead the general strike to victory.

branches woke up to the fact that the farmers of Montana are making a better job of construction work than the proletariat of the metropolis. The standing of the other branches leaves much to be desired. Here is the actual number of subs sent in:

Boro Park 4.5
Bronx 11.
Central 10.5
E. Side 4.
Flatbush 3.
Harlem 3.5
West Side 7.5

New York, as has been pointed out several times, is woefully lagging behind in the campaign. We think it is about time that the

MAY DAY GREETINGS

FROM

St Louis Branch

Workers Party
of the U. S.

Mpls Council For one Union In Railroads

By a Railroad Worker

MINNEAPOLIS, April 20. — On October 23, 1932, the Minneapolis Railroad Council was organized by eleven volunteer members from six of the 21 railroad unions. The Council is composed of volunteer and elected delegates from the various local unions in the City. The aim and purpose of the Railroad Council idea is to provide a medium at each terminal for getting the railroad workers together during their present divided condition.

The railroad workers of this country are today maintaining the most antiquated trade union structure in the world. In no other industry on this globe do we find the workers organized into 21 separate and autonomous unions. This useless and extremely expensive arrangement is driving thousands of workers out of the railroad unions and is keeping other thousands from joining. And although there has been a union on the railroads since 1864, the industry is now only about 50% organized.

This backward condition of the railroad unions naturally reflects the condition of its leadership. The unions are literally infested by swarms of overpaid officials who act as a dead weight or that many stuck brakes on the movement. This top heavy official bureaucracy has gradually entrenched itself in power behind all kinds of gaglaws, "obligations," secret work, and a strictly censored labor press. A bankrupt leadership must have this artificial protection for its own preservation. Otherwise it would be unable to maintain itself at the expense of, and against the interest and welfare of its membership.

The Minneapolis Railroad Council has been organized to meet this situation in the railroad unions. It has adopted a definite program of needed changes in our union structure, policy and leadership. We are building the Council movement around this program, which is in brief as follows:

Set up Railroad Councils at terminals to permit members of the present 21 R. U. unions to get together to discuss and take action on their problems.

We pose the question sharply for ONE union in the railroad industry instead of 21.

We propose that the leadership of the 21 crafts join in a movement to organize that 50 percent of the railroad workers who are now in the company unions or in no unions at all.

The Council program provides for joint strike action instead of voting one single craft. We want and propose one joint strike ballot for all railroad crafts when necessary to take a strike vote. We stand for lower salaries for the officials and lower dues for the members. Abolition of gaglaws, obligations and secret work, and for joint trade union action for the six-hour day without reduction in earnings. Watch these columns for further reports on the Railroad Council movement.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

ARTHUR BRICKLEY, N. Y. C.
ARCHIE—New York City
OLGA—New York City
A. DANKEL—New York City
H. DAVIDOFF—New York City
S. BRICKNER—New York City
JOHN BECK—New York City
A. WILLIAMSON—New York City

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The workers at the Toledo plant of Chevrolet have walked out in the first major revolt in the industry since a general auto strike was knocked on the head by the Honorable F.D.R. over a year ago. It is hard to imagine a better place for the show-down to come. The auto workers showed their militancy last year. The working class of Toledo knows what it means to rally to the picket lines. The unemployed are organized in one of the best Unemployed Leagues in the United States. And the leadership of the local automobile workers which ousted the reactionary Ramsey some months ago is a militant one and has been putting the Toledo organization into fighting trim ever since.

Go to it boys. The workers of the nation are looking to you to raise the banner of unionism high over the feudal barony of General Motors. You have rescued it from the dirt in which a cowardly labor leadership dragged it.

BANKS

Do we throw our hats in the air when we hear that a large New York bank has recognized the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union and has signed an agreement with it providing for a classified minimum pay scale, closed union shop, overtime and vacations? We do not.

Not at any rate, when that pioneer bank is the Amalgamated Bank, owned by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Its employees should, of course, be organized on this basis too long and too exclusively. It has become a sort of genteel racket, a union which organizes almost exclusively among the office workers who are themselves employees of unions. When we hear that the B.S. & A.U. has taken steps to organize the Chase National or the National City Bank we promise to get excited and to get excited plenty.

All of which does not mean that the union is in the best possible position to do a real organizing job. Ever since its formation many years ago it has functioned as a local (Federal Labor) Union of the A. F. of L. There has been no national organization of office workers to undertake a real drive among the white collar men and women. At the last convention of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco the delegate of the B. S. & A. U. introduced a resolution requesting the Federation to grant the office workers of the nation a regular international charter. The question was referred to the Executive Council.

Certainly the time is ripe for such a step. Office workers have been organized into Federal Unions in a good many places. There is an awakening recognition among them of the need of solidarity with or-

ganized labor. The unions can use them far better than the legions of fascism. . . .

NATIONAL GUARD

A. C. Jindra, member of Mt. Morris (Ill.) local of the Typographical Union was an anti-militarist. Kable Bros Co., printers, are deeply interested in the national guard band and their employees are threatened with discharge if they do not enlist and play in the band Jindra, although a good musician, did not join. He was fired in July 1928 but the union had him reinstated two days later.

In 1923 he was again fired on a trumped up charge, was ordered reinstated by the local but denied employment. He is still out of work. Now he is suing for reinstatement and \$10,000 back wages because he charges: "... a conspiracy wrongfully to bring about the discharge of the plaintiff because of his continued refusal to participate in or become a member of Kable Brothers 129 Infantry Band."

YELLOW DOG UNIONS

Warm weather seems to be bad for company unionism. Right after the news that the company outfit at the East Pittsburgh plant of Westinghouse has boomeranged, comes word that the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Clerks Association has been forced to give up the ghost to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. At Pittsburgh the company union modestly asked for a 33 1/3% wage increase all around, with double time for Sundays and holidays and equal pay for equal work for women. The biggest piece of company gall in a long time comes from Kankakee, Illinois, where employees of the Bear Brand Company are being forced to shell out their hard earned cash to pay for gasoline and extra wages to a gang of spotters and thugs who have been hired to "protect" the workers from union organizers. . . .

BRIEFS

There is collusion among manufacturers to defeat collective bargaining according to the Hartford, Conn. Central Labor Union, and a general strike may be the answer.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has asked Baseball Commissioner Landis to take action against Leo Durocher, shortstop of the St. Louis Cardinals. His wife is scabbing at the Forest City Mfg. Co. and Durocher himself is doing his damndest to get union members to go back to work. Organized labor goes to baseball games, the union reminds the sport czar. . . . The International Union of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers is getting ready to put the axe to the union bating Phelps-Dodge Corp. at Bisbee, Arizona. Peaceful preparations for the last eighteen months have convinced the miners that real action is necessary. . . .

MAY DAY GREETINGS

G. E.—Bethlehem, Pa.
J. E.—Bethlehem, Pa.
R. S.—Bethlehem, Pa.
R. S.—Bethlehem, Pa.

Boro Park Branch

WORKERS PARTY

GREETINGS

The
NEW MILITANT

Headquarters:
1330 43rd STREET
Brooklyn, N. Y.

GREETINGS

TO THE

New Militant

SO. SIDE BRANCH

CHICAGO LOCAL

Workers Party
of the U. S.

May Day Greetings

TO THE

NEW MILITANT

FROM

BRANCH ONE, W. P.

NEW HEADQUARTERS — 420 E. 19th STREET

HOUSEWARMING AND DANCE

SATURDAY, MAY 4, at 8:30 P.M.

Capitol News Letter

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—To the despair of the Brain Trust "economic planners," the cotton textile mess grows worse from day to day. Caught between the crossfires of the NRA production curtailment code and of the AAA plowing-under agreements, the industry is much sicker than it was when the New Deal first set forth to relieve it from the surfeit of "competition" and "overproduction." The whole story of cotton textiles under the New Deal is a perfect object lesson in the futility of planning experiments in an economic order based on profit-seeking.

True, the AAA program has succeeded in raising raw cotton prices, which was its primary objective. But this success has been achieved at the expense of physical volume with the following consequences among others: Untold thousands of share-croppers, driven from the soil by the direct impact of reduced plantings, have been utterly expropriated. Because landlords have no further use for their services, these share-croppers are deprived of their one and only resource: labor power. The New Deal has nothing better to offer them than the Bankhead bill, which aims at banding them to the soil, in peasant communities, on a subsistence basis.

Plantation owners, for the time being, enjoy larger incomes. Section 77 of the law notwithstanding, the plantation owners have not seen fit to share more than a microscopic portion of the benefit payments with their tenants. But the plantation owners themselves face a dark and uncertain future. The share of world trade in cotton which the United States has relinquished, has been taken up by other countries: Brazil, India, China, Russia. Such as it was, the prosperity of the cotton belt was historically based on the export trade. This export trade the curtailment program has taken heroic steps to slaughter.

Higher prices for raw cotton have raised the cost of living for workers and farmers in general. It is not the manufacturers, in the last analysis, who pay the processing taxes. These taxes are passed on with abatement to the final consumers. There results a redistribution of income for the benefit of plantation owners and at the expense of the working class.

Equally fatal to the public welfare have been the consequences of the NRA. Minimum wage rates have gone up under the cotton textile code—in theory, on paper. But weekly earnings have declined. Real wages have gone down. Speed-up and stretch-out have been pushed to the last extreme. Job opportunities have vanished, thanks to the periodic renewal of machine-hour restrictions. The usual flood of discriminatory discharges and layoffs has followed in the wake of Section 7a.

Cotton textile employers, during the early days of the code at least, made money hand over fist. They were able to do so because prices soared abruptly, while labor costs remained virtually stagnant. In their pursuit of profits, however, the cotton textile employers cut their own throats. Under the stimulus of soaring prices, inventories piled up. Instead of clearing out the inventories by allowing prices to drop, the cotton textile industry cut down production. Consumer resistance to high prices did not abate: inventories piled up some more. More curtailment—to maintain high price levels—ensued. Continued consumer resistance. Continued failure to clear out inventories. Still more curtailment. And so on ad nauseam.

The latest development is vigorous lobbying by the cotton textile manufacturers to get rid of the processing tax. They threaten to call a strike of capital, to close down their mills, unless the government dips into the Work Relief funds to pay the plantation owners their benefits. No matter which way the controversy turns out, the worker loses. If the present system continues, workers are taxed directly for the benefit of Cotton Belt landlords. If the textile manufacturers prevail, relief money will be diverted from the support of the same landlords.

While share-croppers are kicked off the land; while textile mill operatives go jobless; while America's share of the world cotton trade dwindles; while spindles and looms shut down; while high clothing prices impose a heavy burden on the wage earner's purse, the New Deal plunges ahead blindly as before. Wallace bleats forth a defense of the AAA; Richberg proclaims his faith in the NRA. The troubles of the cotton textile industry are shunted off to an investigating committee whose recommendations, nine chances out of ten, will be utterly ignored.

In Every City and in Every Nation

History of May Day

Strikes, Demonstrations, Revolution

May Day, as a day of revolution—any labor demonstration, was born in America during the struggle for the eight-hour day.

On October 7, 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor, meeting in Chicago, drew up an audacious resolution:

Resolved, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May 1st, 1886. . . . We recommend to all labor organizations that they so direct their laws as to conform with this decision by the time named.

Chicago Center of Struggle

The center of the eight-hour day movement was Chicago. From that city radiated the eight hour leagues, formed for the sole purpose of pushing the eight hour day. It was natural that Chicago should see the largest and most militant demonstrations as the appointed May 1st approached. On the Sunday before May Day 1886, 20,000 workers were mobilized, merely for a practice demonstration, a sort of preliminary rally. On May Day itself over 80,000 workers threw down their tools and came out on the streets.

In 1889 the first congress of the Second International adopted May Day, and instructed all its sections, "in all cities and all countries on the appointed day to demand of the state authorities the legal recognition of the working day to eight hours."

May Day Comes to France

France, the home of revolution, first took up the banner. In 1889 there were monster strikes throughout the industrial section of the north. The government, fearful of the workers, called out the army, and only succeeded in suppressing the workers after eight days. Again in 1892 the French workers poured out of the factories and mines. Again the government called out the army. Fourteen workers were killed and many wounded.

In Italy

In 1898 in Italy the whole working class came out to protest the rise in the cost of bread. There were continuous battles with the army from April 27 until the 8th of May. In Florence, Leghorn, Pisa and Pavia eighty were killed in fighting the troops. At Milan on May 7 where the barricades were erected in the streets, over 100 were killed. In Naples a state of siege was proclaimed. The workers won their demand, the price of bread was reduced, on May 8.

In Russia

In Russia during the years 1902, 03, 04, 05, the years of rising revolution, May Day was the occasion for fierce battles, omens of the revolution of 1917. In 1902 great unrest in Russia, martial law declared in Pottava, revolutionary outbreaks in Saratoff. In 1903 34 were killed and 400 wounded in demonstrations at Slatoust, encounters with troops in factory demonstrations in Nizhni Novgorod. In 1904 the arsenal at Kronstadt was burned in protest against war. In 1905 the revolution was in full bloom. In Warsaw alone there were seventy-five thousand workers on strike, of whom 72 were slain in battles with the police and army.

May Day During the War

The Great War intervened. The Second International betrayed its trust to the working class. During the war the official parties counseled the workers to pass over May Day, to observe it in peace.

"YOUNG SPARTACUS" OUT!

The monthly organ of the Spartacus Pouth League, "Young Spartacus" is off the press. Articles concerning May Day, the Yipsels, Student Strike, etc. are featured. The paper surveys the entire youth movement with a clear Marxist analysis. Get your copy right away.

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But May Day cannot be downed. In every country a few true revolutionists worked to celebrate May Day as it should be celebrated.

In Germany

In Germany Karl Liebknecht, almost alone against the Prussian government, against opposition of his own party, organized the masses in Berlin, the workers protested the senseless war; the going on the German revolutions of 1918 and 1920 were born in the war time May Day celebrations.

May Day in 1917

And in Russia in 1917, May Day came of age. May Day 1917 was a milestone on the road from February to November, on the road from capitalism to the workers' state. The workers demonstrated at the American embassy, they threatened to tear it down piece by piece if Tom Mooney were executed. And the demonstration carried out. President Wilson's Mooney's sentence.

After the War

In 1918 and 1919 May Day was celebrated in every country of the world by innumerable masses of workers. The post-war revolutionary upsurge was in full swing—the streets of Berlin, Paris, Rome, Moscow, Vienna, were overflowing with workers, parading, armed with hope.

Back to the U. S.

Even in America, which for years disregarded the Day, woke up. In many cities there were parades and demonstrations. In Cleveland 20,000 turned out. One was killed and several hurt in clashes with the police.

But the promise of the May Days of 1918, 1920 was not fulfilled. The revolution entrenched itself in Russia, but failed in Germany, in Austria, in Italy. The workers suffered a defeat. The lean years came upon them. Fascism triumphed in Italy. In Germany, in Spain, in America the prosperity lulled the workers with false promises.

On May Day 1935 the American workers are celebrating in larger numbers than ever before, even though during the driving days of 1886. The eyes of the workers throughout the world are turned with hope toward America. We have been backward in celebrating our own anniversary; we shall make up for that backwardness in the mass and spirit of the celebration. This year and the years to come will see May Days that will make the greatest pale, until finally will come that day when the prophecy of Spies, Haymarket martyr, shall be fulfilled: "Our silence shall speak louder than the voices you strangle today."

A Sacramento Juror Weeps

CP's "Vigilante" Is Only Human After All

(Herbert Solow, newspaper correspondent and editor, is one of the founders of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and was its special representative in California during the Sacramento trial.—Ed.)

By HERBERT SOLOW

Eight young men and women have been sentenced to San Quentin for one to fourteen years . . . because they dared to organize fellow-workers in the rich agricultural valleys of California and to strike for higher wages and better working conditions. The jury required 66 hours to reach a verdict. Little more than 66 hours later, Juror Howard S. McIntire deplored before a notary that the verdict in the criminal syndicalism case was not based on law or evidence but was the outcome of a horse-trade in the jury room.

Attorney Albert Goldman, Chicago Socialist retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense on behalf of Norman Mini, a member of the Workers Party, moved for a new trial for all defendants on the basis of McIntire's affidavit. Judge Lemon denied the motion as well as the new trial motion of Grover Johnson and Leon Gallagher, attorneys for the International Labor Defense. The judge said that the verdict is legal even though a compromise. It seems that about the only illegal way to reach a verdict of guilty in a labor case is to shoot crap for it. Whatever the higher courts may have to say about this, the story of the McIntire affidavit is interesting and illuminating.

McIntire Talks

Half an hour after the verdict was recorded the writer, accompanied by Goldman, walked past a Sacramento hotel. From a lobby

New Deal Paradise Summed Up

18,000,000 people dependent on emergency relief.
10,000,000 people on relief work.
1933, 14,600 persons fatally injured in industry. 55,000 persons sustained permanent injury.
3,000,000 persons over 65 years of age (one half the total dependent on others for their support).
Nearly 1,000,000 of these on public or private relief.
—(Pres. Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security)

Machine Guns In Ohio Strike

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The county authorities have evolved a novel method of "preserving peace." When strikers of the Columbus packing Co. who are out four hundred strong, displayed some home-spun militancy in treating scabs, the authorities retaliated by ordering 10,000 rounds of machine gun ammunition. Sheriff Anderson announced that he was arming his deputies so that peace might be preserved, with machine guns!

Neither Sheriff Anderson nor the chief of police are any too popular with the strikers. When the police chief, Kundt, came around to investigate he was greeted with boos and cat calls from the pickets.

Of four hundred and fifty men in the plant four hundred are out. The company has succeeded in hiring a few scabs, but has been unable to make any deliveries. The strike is for a closed shop.

WHAT TO ATTEND

May 4, Saturday, 8:30 P.M.—Branch 1 Housewarming and Dance at new headquarters, 420 E. 19th St. Dancing, refreshments, entertainment, chess and checkers. Everyone invited.

May 5, Friday, 8:30 P.M.—What the \$5,000,000,000 Bill Means for the Unemployed Worker. Speaker: E. R. McKinney, 420 East 19th St. (night up) Auspices Branch 1, W.P.

AKRON NOTICE
New Militants and New International can be purchased at:
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1 West Market Street, Akron

CORRECTION
The Pittsburgh Branch headquarters of the W. P. is located at 546 Sixth Avenue.

Battles in Chicago and in Milwaukee

The First May Day

Let us Remember the Martyrs of 1886

The first of May, the workers' international holiday, is still regarded by many workers in the United States as something foreign, imported to these United States by a "lot of foreign radicals." This is not so at all. The ideas of May Day are as native to the American workers as the Boston Tea Party.

May Day is a militant working class product that the workers of the United States have exported to other countries where together with their class brothers all over the world they have taken up and pronounced it their international day of solidarity.

The response of the workers to the first May Day in history was truly magnificent. All sections of the labor movement responded. Parades and torchlight processions were held in dozens of cities. In many sections of the country the workers won the eight hour day—a tremendous victory considering the fact that a 10 or 12 hour day was normal and in many instances the biblical sun-up to sun-down rule prevailed.

We Remember the Dead

On the first day of May of each year the workers also commemorate the death of those who struggled and died for a better and more decent life here on earth. Particularly do we keep in memory those martyrs of our class who were murdered as an outcome of the events which took place in the old Haymarket in Chicago on May 4, 1886. Elsewhere in this issue of the New Militant you will read about their struggle.

Here let us devote a bit of space to the martyrs of Milwaukee, too little remembered even by working class organizations. These Milwaukee workmen, seven of them, were shot down in cold blood by the militia for backing up their May Day demonstration by a strike declared a few days after. Thousands of Milwaukee workmen, rollers the vast majority of them, were out on the streets shouting their demands for a shorter working day when the militia opened up on them. The New York Tribune of May 6, 1886, in its report stated the following: "There was every evidence on surrounding objects to show that the militia had fired low and 'with intent to kill as one of them expressed it.'"

But their death was not in vain. The eight-hour day for which they died and died finally became a reality—or at least as much of a reality as possible under capitalism. Not all the episodes of the initial first of May turned out in tragedy. It was by and large a day of inspiration. Such a day as has year after year given greater enthusiasm to workers all over the

world. Following is a brief review of the turnout in various cities of the country culled from the May 2, 1886, issue of the New York Tribune.

Chicago: There is no exaggeration in the statement that scarcely an industry in the city has escaped being enormously affected. More than two-thirds of all manufacturing establishments closed. Thousands carried in parades.

St. Louis:—All plumbers out on strike. 7,000 turn out (for May Day). Jay Gould haughtily in enemy.

Philadelphia:—Street car companies threaten use of colored workers as scabs if men go out. Men go out.

Cincinnati:—About 1,000 workers today to demonstrate for the 8 hour day.

Concord, N. H.:—Woolen mills close. Men out on strike. Special policemen hired.

St. Paul and Minneapolis:—All plumbers in twin cities quit work. Demand shorter workday and increase in pay.

Louisville:—6,000 working men paraded the streets here on May 1.

Pittsburg:—3,000 coal miners threaten strike unless company grants ten percent increase in pay.

Milwaukee:—Over 3,000 men out on strike this first of May.

Baltimore:—2,000 carpenters strike for eight hour day with increase in pay.

Akron:—The new eight-hour law which went into effect has caused great excitement. Business men depressed. Workers are demanding ever greater and greater increases in pay. . . . Where will it all lead to? The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

1st May Day in Union Sq.

New York:—20,000 in Union Square. Working men march into square with torches blazing. Striking sugar house workers from Brooklyn receive tremendous ovation as they enter the Square.

Workingmen's leaders address throng in German, Bohemian and English. Said Jim Swinton addressing the workers in Union Square:

"From St. Louis to New York, from the Missouri Pacific to the Third Avenue Railway, from Sioux to Hart the labor organizations of America are united, and exchange with each other their material as well as moral support. It is not reform in the twentieth century you want nor stretching of your arms up to the sun—but in tangible and just settlement and that you shall have very soon. There was the red terror in '73, we are having the black terror now—hundreds of men arrested at the beck of rotten representatives of the judiciary and thrown into prisons. 'Terrible is the right' said Mirabeau to Louis XVI. Terrible is the right say we to those who are now striking to crush freedom of action and free speech. We will no longer be disregarded by scoundrels in uniform and mercenaries in ermine. . . . Tonight the cause of labor may look dark—but tomorrow it will be bright and triumphant."

Historically the above is one of the first May Day speeches made in America or anywhere in the world. Swinton's speech in 1886 can be repeated today, May Day, 1935, 50 years later, with much greater hope of its fulfillment.

(Continued on Page 5)

Greetings

FROM

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Special May Day Offer

The History of the Russian Revolution

By LEON TROTSKY

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The Negro Workers' Role in Past May Day Struggles

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

All class-conscious workers, black and white, will parade on May 1 in commemoration of the heroic martyrs of labor, who in 1886 were framed by the capitalist class because of their activities in the struggle for the eight-hour day.

According to the records of John W. Haynes, then general secretary of the Knights of Labor, there were over 60,000 Negroes who were members of his organization and were actively engaged in the struggle for this eight-hour day. Their militancy and solidarity in all the conflicts of their fellow workers during the short-lived period of the Knights, is one of the outstanding events of the labor movement.

In the Knights of Labor's Convention of 1886, a year before the Chicago revolt, Negroes responded so willingly to the stirring appeal of labor that it was proposed that a Negro organizer be appointed for each of the old slave states. However, this request was referred to the executive board. At the following Convention, in 1886, the general secretary reported that "rapid strides have been made in the South, especially in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama. The colored people of the South are looking to us, being eager for organization and education, and when thoroughly imbued with our principles are answering in their fidelity."

However, since 1886, the labor movement has met many setbacks in the organization of Negro workers. This has been partly due to the bad tactics of the American Federation of Labor, which propagated craft unionism and racial superiority of the white workers over the blacks, and in turn brought about a line of demarcation between skilled and unskilled labor and divided the blacks from the whites. These methods of the A. F. of L. only played into the hands of the capitalist class. This further led to the encouragement of the racial prejudice that the white workers have inherited from the semi-feudalistic system of the old Bourbon South and intensified great mistrust for the whites among the blacks. And in further consequence of these policies of the A. F. of L., it is much more difficult to rally

Negro labor around the banner of the class struggle today than during the Reconstruction Period that followed the Civil War, when the American Federation of Labor had not yet gained prominence.

Nevertheless, despite the setbacks the American labor movement has met in organizing the black proletariat, it is cutting some inroads into this unexplored reservoir of untouched militancy. And as a result of these gains a few thousand Negroes are going to participate in the coming May Day events.

There is no doubt about it: the Negro worker is the hardest hit in the present capitalist crisis; and his precarious lot is rapidly crystallizing his racial consciousness into a class-consciousness. He is, moreover, beginning to see in the white worker, whom he regarded in the past as a foe, a comrade and class brother suffering under the same oppression that can be eradicated only by the unity of the two.

More and more May Day is reviving the old tradition of the American labor movement of 1886. Then we struggled for the eight-hour day—today we are struggling for the six-hour day and the five day week. Negro labor is also struggling for this, as well as for an additional demand. Its extra demand is for full social, economic and political equality. Under this special demand hangs such subordinate demands as equal pay for equal work, no discrimination because of race, color or previous conditions of servitude, better educational facilities and complete abolition of lynching, etc.

Since the victory of the eight-hour day the labor movement in America has passed through a period of reaction and defeat.

On the shoulders of the Haymarket martyrs and their continuators through the years a new revolutionary structure is being created, tested and grounded in the experiences of the great revolutionary thinkers of the world, especially the experiences of Marx and Engels. This edifice is the newly organized Workers Party of the United States—the harbinger of the Fourth International.

Negro and white workers! Unite under the leadership of this new revolutionary party of America. You have nothing to lose but your oppression—your chains!

MAY DAY GREETINGS, NEW MILITANT!

A month to go on the sub campaign; Not to succeed would be one damn shame!
CARA COOK, Former Bus. Mgr.

The Southern Branches

of the

Workers Party

Greet the NEW MILITANT

on May Day

KENSINGTON BRANCH of the Workers Party Philadelphia

W. A. SREGGERS, Philadelphia

FR. DAUB, Philadelphia

CHICAGO NOTICE

The Italian Spartacus Workers Club has moved into its new headquarters, 1008 South Ashland Blvd. All comrades are requested to note this change of address and to communicate all matters hereafter to the above number.

South Philadelphia Branch Workers Party from Greetings to the NEW MILITANT

MAY DAY GREETINGS from WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA Vancouver Branch

GREETINGS FROM THE PATERSON, N. J., BRANCH

MAY DAY GREETINGS COOP. WORKERS UNION

Huey Long--Workers' Enemy

Share - the - Wealth Can Only Mean Share - the - Poverty
As Long as the Capitalist System Endures

By ARNE SWABECK

From the state of Louisiana, where he boldly boasts of holding in the hollow of his hands "the finest collection of saw-makers money can buy," Huey P. Long has now definitely entered the scene of national politics. He has the old time capitalist politician's worried. They stand against, watching with anticipation and fear the prospects of traditional party lines again being broken down and this time by a high pressure demagogue.

But—and this is important—Long's grandiose promises to "Share our Wealth" and his demagogic appeals addressed to the common people have made deep inroads also in the politically unconscious working class layers.

Out for Bigger Things

Undoubtedly Huey Long's hat will be in the ring for next year's presidential elections. He is a candidate for leadership in the formation of a new third party. It is reported that he has already, together with Father Coughlin and Governor Olson of Minnesota, accepted an invitation issued by Milo Rabo, for the Farm Holiday Association, to attend a conference, to be held in Des Moines, Iowa May 1, to consider the formation of such a party.

Huey Long is the most spectacular and probably also the strongest of the candidates for leadership of such a party. Fortified already by his undisputed control of the state of Louisiana, he is reaching out for immediate political control of other southern states and apparently enjoying the undivided support of such a staunch defender of the "rights of the people" as Governor Lammie of Georgia, who declared martial law in his state during the national textile strike and put the strikers wholesale into concentration camps.

This example is typical of the make-up and political coloring of the Huey Long forces. They are taking on the form of a movement, 27,431 Share Our Wealth Clubs with a membership of 4,884,000 have been organized, he claims.

Long as Roosevelt Supporter

Huey Long began his national political career as a Roosevelt supporter. To the Chicago convention that nominated him for President in 1932, Roosevelt spoke, declaring: "Throughout the nation men and women . . . look to us for guidance and for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth." To the delegates these words were just empty rhetoric, noble sounding sentiments that did not at all have to be taken seriously, least of all literally. But Huey Long noted the power of the phrase, snapped it up as his own and is now making this the central point of his program while campaigning against the government of "alphabet wreckers and spoilers."

He proposes to cut down all large fortunes by a capital levy tax to a point where no one person may own more than from three to four million dollars and have a yearly income of not more than one million dollars. The surplus of all these big fortunes is to go into the United States Treasury. This is to be done by the simple process of issuing a questionnaire for all the plutocrats to list their fortunes at their own appraisal and to state in what sort of holdings they wish to

retain their three to four millions.

By his calculation he has arrived at a surplus already available on paper of \$165,000,000,000 to \$175,000,000,000. This surplus he will distribute to all families owning less than \$5,000, free of debt, so that each family may have at least that amount. This he says will take no more than \$100,000,000,000, leaving a handsome balance to spare. By means of the balance he proposes to provide for the reduction of the hours of labor so that all may be employed and have a yearly income for each family of not less than \$2,500. In addition he will also provide for a college education for all youth, for old age pensions and he proposes to care for agricultural production in the manner specified in the bible.

Huey Long himself claims that his proposals originate from the unfinished Roosevelt program. Similar to the Roosevelt New Deal program, the Long proposals have as their base the maintenance and strengthening of the system of capitalism but with a supposed increase of the purchasing power of the masses of the people. However, the Huey Long edition appears in a much more radical dress. "I believe in capitalism," exclaims Long, "but you cannot stimulate it unless there is buying power. You've got to have a foundation under the house, and that is a more even distribution of wealth."

Huey's Discovery

On yes, capitalism is again to have its "abuses" corrected. To substantiate his claims, the Kingfish refers very pretentiously to what he sees as the present social injustices and economic maladjustments. And surely, there is in the present situation of mass misery, deprivation and despair on the one hand together with the enormous concentration of wealth on the other hand, sufficient material for the unscrupulous demagogue to appear as the savior Angel. But it did not require a Huey Long to make this discovery. Nor is he the first demagogue that has appeared on the political scene.

The Roosevelt program for increasing the purchasing power of the masses has so far brought us to the promised magnificent social security for some of the unemployed at \$50.00 a month maximum which in turn allows all present wage standards to be torn down to that level. Where would the Huey Long program lead to? Needless to say, in this proposed redistribution of wealth we have a repetition of petty bourgeois utopias advanced elsewhere and at other times.

That wealth exists in this country in abundance is well known and was known before Huey Long said so. But the distribution of this wealth proceeds according to the social relations of society. These are capitalist relations, resting upon the capitalist ownership and control of the means of production. In the Kingfish's plan these relations would remain, only the wealth would be redistributed by cutting down on the big fortunes and adding to the small ones or giving to those that have none. But this is impossible under capitalism since the ownership and control of the means of production determines the form of distribution of all wealth. So far this has meant and can only mean ever greater riches for the parasites and ever greater impoverishment for those who toil, who have nothing but their labor power to sell—and to sell only when the bosses see fit to buy.

What is the cause of this condition; what is the cause of this unequal distribution of wealth? The cause is to be found in the ownership and control of the means of production. This system secures the right to exploit labor by leaving in the hands of the capitalist class also the ownership of the surplus value produced by the laborer over and above what he receives as wages. This is how profits are acquired. Moreover, under the conditions of mass production, and in order to continue the process of production. In other words, sufficient only for their bare upkeep when they have jobs. Of course, the abundance of wealth available could easily guarantee to each family, as Huey Long proposes, a yearly income of \$2,500. But this is equally impossible under the profit system and it can be obtained only when the profit system is abolished.

For Maintenance of System

Huey Long proclaims in grandiose style for the redistribution of wealth, but he is equally vociferous in his proclamations for the maintenance of the present social relationship. His program assumes the continuation of the right to exploitation, however, with an increase of the purchasing power of the masses so that returns to bondholders in the form of unearned incomes may continue; so that dividends on watered stocks may be paid and the flow of profits taken out of the exploitation of labor may proceed uninterrupted. There are no other sources for profits to come from.

What is this but the stabilization of the system of exploitation? To stabilize the system of exploitation means to stabilize the economic power of the class that owns and controls the means of production. Furthermore, it is well to remember that political relations are governed by this economic power which is another way of saying that those who own are also those who rule. They use their economic power to build up their political state, to build up their government and to reinforce it by courts, by police and by military forces, always ready to be used against the workers when on strike or in other forms of struggle and on a whole serving for the purpose of keeping the masses in subjection. This government, Huey Long proposes to entrust with the redistribution of wealth.

They will not consent to any redistribution of their wealth acquired by exploitation without a fierce struggle. They will not even permit the workers to organize into unions so as to obtain a living wage without the most stubborn resistance. They will not yield their economic power, as represented by their accumulated wealth, or give up their privilege to exploit labor without a life and death struggle. Nay more, they use this economic power to determine who can be elected to the public offices and to dictate the program of those so elected and its execution as well.

A real redistribution of wealth and a real program of social security can be carried out in no other way than by the overthrow of the system of capitalism. That is not at all the purpose of the Huey Long third party movement. Only the working class revolution can accomplish that.

For the American Workers --Labor Day or First?

Two days a year, on May first and on the first Monday in September workers may be seen marching to the sound of bands, listening to speeches. But what a contrast! Their outward similarity serves only to emphasize the profound historical and political difference of the celebrations. Both holidays are American in origin, both started in about the same period of the labor movement. Yet it would be difficult to find two days celebrated for more opposed purposes.

On Labor Day the bosses can smile at the parades, smiling with pride, because they know that the holiday is a gift they gave to the workers out of the kindness of their hearts. Though originally sponsored by the Knights of Labor in 1884, the idea of a holiday for the workers gained approval. On March 15, 1887, one year after the first great May Day strike in Chicago, Labor Day was made legal in Colorado. Other states quickly followed suit and it is now a national holiday. But it is also a day in which workers are herded by corrupt union officials to places where they will hear politicians make promises that are never kept after election day, two months later. Therefore the bosses want the parades to be a success. They want great numbers to attend. Police bands play patriotic hymns.

Clubs and Bands But cops don't play piccolo on May Day. They wield clubs. The bosses are afraid. They hope the parades will be a flop. They know that the workers are celebrating their class independence and reviewing their fighting strength. May Day is not a gift. It is a holiday for which workers have to strike, as they did for the first time half a century ago in America.

The A. F. of L. was a young fighting organization then, known as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. The fight for the eight-hour day was the most important question facing the working class as a whole. The organization of the Knights of Labor was soon to explode like a balloon with too thin a shell. So the Federation took up the struggle. At its fourth convention in October, 1884, it resolved that on May 1, 1886 there should be a strike in favor of the eight-hour day. During the following twenty months the movement gained the active support of workers and unions throughout the country despite the sabotage of Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor.

That first May Day was most successful in Chicago where 80,000 workers attended. In Chicago too the bosses hit back most cruelly. Four days later at a demonstration in Haymarket square a bomb exploded, killing a policeman. Four

of the workers' leaders, Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel were arrested and hanged. But the movement revived. In 1888 the Federation, now known as the A. F. of L., called for a strike on May 1, 1890. In the meantime, in Paris, the Second International was founded and the founding convention hearing of the fight for the 8-hour day in America resolved to support it. May Day, 1890, was the first international celebration of the working class. After that, the purpose of May Day was broadened. The International resolved that the demonstration should demand improved conditions for the workers in general, and that the workers should demand peace among nations. In 1917 Russia it became symbolic of the liberation of the people and, as everywhere, of the independent action of the proletarian masses, against war. May Day has become a political demonstration of working class solidarity throughout the world.

A. F. of L. Condemns May Day

The international character May Day has acquired is one of the things the bosses fear most. They know they cannot stand before a united working class. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy, forgetting the militant tradition which its organization founded, and having acquired a fat vested interest as strike breakers and disrupters, fear May Day as much as the bosses. The Executive Council submitted to the 1928 Convention of the A. F. of L. a report which read: "Hereafter May 1 will be known as Child Health Day, as the President (Hoover) is directed by the resolution passed by Congress . . . The object is to create sentiment for year-round protection of children. A most worthy purpose. At the same time May 1 no longer will be known as strike day. . . . They are now the main celebrants of Labor Day, because they know that it is a harmless holiday, like St. Patrick's day, and very useful to them. Labor Day hypocritically glorifies the 'dignity of labor.' It is a celebration of the workers as part of the American capitalist community, of which the reactionary magazine 'World's Work' could say: 'It is like circus day.'"

But May Day is not a religious holiday like Christmas or Easter. Nor a national holiday like the 4th of July or Labor Day. It is something new: a workers' celebration of defiance for which the main slogan is "Down tools."

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

The hull in the storm that occurred in France with the advent of the Flandin government, gives every indication of coming to a close. Flandin himself stated, on taking office as premier, that his government would be the last "experiment" in bourgeois democracy. That experiment, as could have been predicted in view of the general crisis that struck France only a little more than a year ago, and in view of the international political situation with its threat of world war at any moment, has proved a recognized failure. More and more clearly the question is posed in France: the salvation of bankrupt capitalism through the setting up of a violent and brutal fascist dictatorship, or the seizure of power by the proletariat for the establishing of the communist society.

With the aid of big finance capital, the fascist forces have been closing their ranks in preparation for the coming coup d'état directed towards the overthrow of the Third French Republic and with the aim of savage repression of the organizations of the working class. Colonel la Rocque, head of the War Veterans organized in the Croix de Feu, has become the recognized leader of the reaction. Already he has a large private armed force—said to number three hundred thousand—ready to do his bidding. As in the other countries where fascism has arisen and achieved power, la Rocque is aided by the upper bureaucratic strata of the army, pistols, rifles and ammunition "disappear" from the armories—for the use of the fascist armed bands. Thus the French press stated recently that the annual inventory of the Versailles armory had shown the disappearance of 336,400 rifle cartridges and 155,000 revolver bullets. If French tradition is any criterion, then the fascists are preparing for a military dictatorship to be set up by a sudden blow.

THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS

The danger to the working class is rendered all the more acute, as the Marxist knows, by the lack of a revolutionary party in France at this critical juncture. In place of such a Marxist party, serving as the vanguard and the rallying force for the inevitable struggle, there exist two centrist parties led by reactionary bureaucracies. The pressure from their rank and file membership and from the masses forced these bureaucracies to enter into a united front against fascism. But the Stalinists and the Socialists have both hamstrung this united front by their policies of turning it to the service of bourgeois democracy at the very time when this democracy is about to crumble. Only the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction of the S.F.I.O. (the S. P. of France) has advocated a clear-cut

revolutionary program to lead the workers along the road to power. This fraction has gradually become a force in the left wing of the S.F.I.O. and has won over to its views a large section of the revolutionary workers in the Federation of the Seine, both youth and adult. The progressive nature of the entry of this fraction into the ranks of the S.F.I.O. is about to be tested in the forthcoming national convention of the Socialist Party.

ROLE OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS

At this Congress the Bolshevik-Leninists will present their program in the form of resolutions. They will review and sum up the history of betrayal of the Second and Third Internationals that brought about the victory of fascism in Germany, Austria, etc. instead of the ushering in of Communism, and they will therefore call for the formation of the Fourth International to lead the workers to victory. They will demand a complete break with the bourgeoisie, with the "truce government of sacred union" and instead of this policy of the lesser evil of supporting bourgeois democracy against fascism, a policy that can only lead as in Germany to the defeat of the proletariat, the Bolshevik-Leninists will propose the taking of power by the united front in the form of the Workers and Peasants' Government. Coming at this critical period in France, the Congress of the S.F.I.O. may prove momentous, not because of any possibility of reform of the S. P., but rather because of the struggle that will develop between the rights and the lefts at this congress and the support given to the advocates of the Fourth International. If the question of organic unity between the S.P. and the C.F. is raised at this Congress, the Bolshevik-Leninists will expose completely the reactionary basis proposed for such unity by the Stalinist bureaucracy as well as by the leaders of the S. P. Such organic unity can only prove progressive if it is based on the complete Marxist program of the Bolshevik-Leninists. This program calls for the armed defense of the organizations of the working class against the attacks of the fascist bands, for the building of the workers' militia, for a militant struggle of the armed workers to break up the fascist bands, for a united front policy to defend proletarian democracy, the broadest type of democracy, and not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy represented in bourgeois parliaments. To confine working class activity now in France to parliamentarism, is to doom the workers in advance to defeat by la Rocque and his bloody hordes. All power to the "Trotskyists" and their revolutionary program which offers the French workers the key to their situation!

A Sacramento Juror Weeps

(Continued from Page 3)
recommended for probation, which he has refused.

Juror Wants Sympathy
When McIntire finished, he looked at us. "I tell you, gentlemen," he said, "I will never forget what I have done. It will always haunt me. I never faced a harder problem . . . and I don't know that I solved it rightly." Mrs. Keith echoed McIntire's words. Suddenly the irony of our situation became apparent.

Here sat Warnick whose wife, and I whose friend, and Goldman whose client had just been condemned to incarceration in San Quentin, being asked for sympathy . . . by one of those who had voted to send them there!

Couldn't Sleep Nights

On the following day Jack Warnick and I, along with Bert Hannan of the Workers Party, were in my hotel room when McIntire came in. For an hour or so we heard the same complaints over again . . . no sleep, the pangs of remorse, confusion. I could see that Jack—whose wife, after all, had been convicted and who might be expecting a little sympathy himself—was growing tense.

"Mr. McIntire," said Warnick, "what are you going to do?"
"What can I do? I want to undo the damage. I want to set things right. Especially regarding Decker and Mini."

"Do you want to help these innocent people get a new trial?" I asked.

"Oh, if only I could, I would do anything in the world," McIntire answered.

Jurors Condemn Statement

He left to attend a Masonic meeting and came back to my room late that night. Goldman, Warnick and Hannan were there again. McIntire dictated a statement. In the morning he signed it before a notary. Goldman read it to the court.

The afternoon paper carried statements by eight jurors condemning McIntire's action. "His terrible conscience was always get-

ting in the way of a verdict," said Carter, the youngest and one of the most reactionary of the jurors. F. M. Martel, one of the hold-out quartet, refused comment except to say that he was through with the case. Keith and Shannon, the other holdouts, apparently refused to make any statement. Unwilling to come out in support of McIntire, they were too remorseful to attack him.

Who is McIntire? He was in the National Guard seven years. For 27 years he was in the office of the State Adjutant General. He is a Past Master of the Masons, who recently gave him a diamond-studded watch chain which is his proudest possession. A widower, and accountant by profession, he is indebted to a big Sacramento bank. He loves the American flag, he goes to church, he is utterly ignorant of the meaning of radicalism, he is (or was) a Respected Member of the Community—that middle-class community which, poisoned by the Hearst and McClatchy press, wanted a conviction.

The Jury

Martel is a salesman for a large musical instrument house. Shannon, the smartest dresser in Sacramento, is a businessman. Mrs. Keith is the mother of a policeman. It was these three who stood back of McIntire until McIntire himself, pounded for 66 hours by "the community," whose influence reached into the jury room in a thousand ways, gave in.

This quartet helped sentence innocent people in violation of its own convictions. They gave in to "the community." But it was they who held out for 66 hours, who forced 118 ballots, who produced such acquittals as came about, and it was one of them who later, by the affidavit proving the compromise, drove a great breach into the prosecution's case and took the bloom off reaction's victory.

Was this a vigilante jury? If there were on it men lacking in learning, lacking in subtlety, lacking even in courage, but not lacking in a desire to find a way out for the defendants, what about the Western Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, which having put the jury down as hopeless vigilantes, proceeded to publish insulting cartoons and wisecracks about them?

Tremendous Strikes For 8 Hour Day Shook Nation

The May Day demonstration of 1886 the climax of a mighty mass movement for the eight-hour day which reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the nation. It was followed shortly after by the Haymarket bomb explosions and the legal crucifixion of the Chicago Anarchists. It had been preceded by a series of strike struggles unmatched in their extent and militancy.

The American worker of 1885 would have found himself in a bitterly familiar atmosphere in the days of 1886. The industrial and financial crisis of 1884 had been followed by all the catastrophic consequences of a capitalist crisis. Idle industries, bankrupt railroads, suspended banks and brokerage houses, falling prices for farm commodities had brought two years of hard times, intolerable misery, and a steady lowering of living conditions to the toiling masses. According to the head of the Bureau of Labor, over a million men had been thrown out of work by the summer of 1885. Wages were being mercilessly slashed. The average wage for a ten hour day in the textile mills for men fell as low as \$1.25 and rarely went above two dollars a day in any line of work. Women and children were getting only sixty to eighty cents a day.

Workers Roused to Action
As soon as the workers recovered from the first paralyzing blows of the depression, they began to rebel against the unendurable deprivations laid upon them by the owners of industry. Spontaneously, almost overnight, they felt the need of organization. At first thousands, and then hundreds of thousands streamed into the ranks of the Knights of Labor, as the unorganized workers flocked into the A. F. of L. in the early months of the Roosevelt administration. By 1886 the Knights numbered over 700,000 members and was growing so rapidly and conducting such aggressive struggles that its general officers with Terence V. Powderley at their head were refusing to charter new locals, fearing that the new members would get out of hand.

The Knights of Labor, which dominated the American labor movement from 1877 to 1887, was in most respects the superior of its successor, the American Federation of Labor. Although exhibiting symptoms of immaturity, inconsistency and confusion in its aims, it was an all-inclusive trade union organization, admitting all workers and even farmers, small shopkeepers and professionals into its ranks. It proclaimed its intentions to make the worker class conscious rather than craft-conscious and to combine "all the scattered battalions of labor's mighty host in one grand whole." It affirmed the solidarity of the working class in its motto, "an injury to one is the concern of all" and Powderley even dared call for the abolition of the wage system.

The Knights and their leaders did not always live up to their precepts of class solidarity. They inspired bloody battles against Chinese workers in the West and basely repudiated the Haymarket martyrs, causing a split in the ranks of the organization. On the other hand, the Knights opened their doors to Negroes, women, and the masses of unskilled workers ignored by the existing craft unions and later by the A. F. of L.

The officers of the order favored arbitration and boycotts and frowned upon strikes as a method of struggle. The militant moods of the rank and file and their feeling

What about Gallagher or the I.L.D., who expressed in open court brazen indifference to the jury's thoughts and feelings?

Pressure Counts Most

The truth is that, even in political cases, the action of the jury can rarely be foretold. A principled, well-reasoned, moving argument by the defense counsel, and still more the activity of the popular masses outside the court (public meetings and other impressive, serious manifestations which eventually impinge on the jury's consciousness) and may give to some the courage to vote their convictions rather than what the middle-class community wants) may result in a defeat of the reactionary forces behind the prosecution.

Support the Defendants

As it is, McIntire, who felt that there was little popular pressure for acquittal and who admits he was very antagonistic toward Attorney Gallagher of the I.L.D., gave in. And now he wants sympathy because he can not sleep nights.

Let us be a bit stony-hearted about McIntire. True, he is no vigilante. True, he feels bad: he gave a rotten verdict . . . and now the prosecution is hitting him into the bargain. But any spare sympathy can well be reserved for the eight workers he convicted . . . and should be expressed in the form of active support of the appeal struggle already under way.



of new found strength came into conflict with the die-hard opposition of the bosses and the pacifism of their leaders, however, producing situations that could only be resolved by strike.

In the summer of 1885 strikes began to explode in one industry after another. 100,000 members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers around Pittsburgh struck against a threatened wage cut and won. The Knights of Labor led five railroad strikes during 1885 and won four of them easily.

Inspired by these victories, gained in short order and with little organization, workers everywhere throughout the country joined the vast army of strikers. The strike wave assumed unprecedented proportions. Coke workers in Pennsylvania, 20,000 bituminous miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and Ohio, 10,000 textile and boot and shoe workers in New England, 4,000 mill makers, workers in silk mills, bakeries, pastry shops were out fighting for union recognition, living wages, an eight hour day. "Not an issue of a daily paper in the early months of 1886 that did not contain references to strikes, boycotts, walk-outs, tieups, protests against wage-cuts," is the testimony of one historian.

The agitation in favor of the demonstration on May 1 for the eight-hour day had been spread by the radicals among the working class—the Socialists and Anarchists—against the opposition of the official labor leaders. As May Day approached, the movement

gathered such momentum that Powderley was impelled to order the Knights not to participate in the demonstrations.

Meanwhile, the strike wave rolled on, reaching its crest in the strike of the railroad workers on the Missouri Pacific system controlled by Jay Gould, the most notorious of the money monarchs. Early in 1885 the shop mechanics had tied up all the traffic on the road and prevented a wage cut. Their victory led to the formation of numerous lodges and assemblies of the Knights of Labor on the line.

Alarmed by the aggressive tactics of the workers and the increasing power of the Knights, the management and receivers of the Railroad determined to have a showdown to decide who was master in the house. They precipitated a second strike in March 1886 by firing a union officer for attending a meeting of the order. The local head of the Knights, Martin Irons, accepted the challenge and called the men out to protect the right of the union to exist. Although the engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen, organized in separate craft unions, refused to come out, the Knights succeeded in tying up 6,000 miles of railroad in the Southwest.

State and federal troops had been used to break the bloody railroad strike of 1877. This time different methods were brought into play. On April 22 President Cleveland asked Congress to appoint a federal commission of three to arbitrate differences arising between the laboring classes and their employer. When it was set up two

Knights of Labor Sprang Up Almost Over Night

years later, the commission proved as impotent to settle any labor disputes as the present Labor Boards. The strike was finally broken by orders from Powderley.

Such was the state of the nation on May Day 1886. Despite the efforts of the Knights of Labor and A. F. of L. leaders to sabotage the demonstration, thousands of workers quit their jobs on the appointed hour and proceeded to give an unforgettable manifestation of their class strength and solidarity.

The First May Day
The demonstrators gained their most conspicuous success in Chicago. It was estimated that over 80,000 men had left work on May Day and as a result of their demonstration the packing house workers had been granted their demand for an eight-hour day with no reduction in pay.

This victory stimulated the fighting spirit of the Chicago workers and provoked police repression. Then came the memorable events, the shootings, the bomb outrage, the trials and executions that have entered the annals of history as "Haymarket."

Knights of Labor Declines
The Haymarket explosions and the vacillating, treacherous policy of the Knights of Labor leadership broke the back of the strike movement.

Torn by internal dissension, the Knights of Labor began to decline as rapidly as it had grown, giving way to the reign of Samuel Gompers and the craft-bound pure-and-simple unionism of the A. F. of L. Candidates put forward by labor tickets showed remarkable strength in the elections later in the year but these political successes did not compensate for the defeats on the economic field. They were the last spasms of this mighty upsurge of the working class. Later in the year after another abortive strike the gains of the packing house workers were lost and the ten hour day restored.

Nevertheless, the year when May Day was born in the fire of the class struggle and baptized in the blood of the Haymarket martyrs; the year when the American working class gave such magnificent examples of its courage and capacity for militant struggle; the year when the fight for the eight-hour day was hailed by workers throughout the world marks the coming of age of the American working class. 1886 will always remain a memorable year in its history, a milestone along the road to its conquest of power.

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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

N. G., NEW YORK—

QUESTION: Are not the two Stalinist theories, "socialism in one country" and "social fascism" contradictory and mutually exclusive, since the first led to united fronts from above with Chiang Kai Shek, Purcell, etc., whereas the latter prevented it from going into a united front with the Social Democracy against Hitler?

ANSWER: The contradiction here is only apparent. Do not forget that the united front with liberals "from above," i.e., the Amsterdam Congress, took place during the epoch of "social fascism". In reality the "theory of socialism in one country", i.e., the subordination of the international proletarian revolution to the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, expressed by the subordination of the various official Communist parties to the policy of the Soviet foreign office, is at the root of all of the Stalinists' actions. By hook or crook their aim is to prevent political changes, even if such change comes from a proletarian revolution since, having no faith in the success of such revolutions, their chief fear is that the "peaceful building of socialism" will be disturbed.

Depending upon conditions the strategy which they therefore pursue involves making united fronts with anybody or the refusal to make united fronts under any circumstances. "Social fascism" and the "united front only from below" are merely the theoretical formulations, whether conscious or unconscious on their part, of the fact that the Stalinists never had any intention of trying to seize power in Germany. As results show, could any theories have been better calculated to maintain internal political peace in Germany and not interfere with the "peaceful building of socialism"?

May Day Greetings

TO THE

NEW MILITANT

Davenport, Iowa
Branch

MAY DAY GREETINGS
S. SCHAMMEL, Allentown, Pa.
FRANK COLLINS—Allentown
FRANK PANE—Allentown, Pa.
ROSE YONESHKE—Allentown

PIONEER BOOK NOTES

The first in the series of popular pamphlets to be issued by the Workers Party is off the press. The title is *Which Party for the American Worker?* by A. J. Muste. It sells for 5c. Branches should send their orders in immediately with an eye to large sales on May Day.

The publication of the "Suppressed Testament of Lenin" has created quite a stir in Stalinist circles. Most C. P. members have never read Lenin's letter demanding Stalin's removal from the post of general secretary of the party. Every Branch should have a quantity of these pamphlets at hand. They are exceptionally interesting in view of Trotsky's explanatory articles dealing with the struggle in the party during Lenin's last days and how the legend of Trotskyism was concocted by leading members of the C.P.S.U.

The political significance of "The Kirov Assassination" (10c) is admirably dealt with in the pamphlet by that title written by Leon Trotsky. The brazen attempt of the Stalinists to link the Workers Party (through Comrades Muste and Cannon) to the plot makes it of the utmost importance that every class-conscious worker study the significance of the "amalgam" cooked up by the Stalinist scribes. An at-

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Toledo and May Day

TOLEDO, one of the brightest spots of the labor map that was drawn in 1934, is again the scene of action. Cutting straight through the net of deception, intrigue and betrayal which government and misleaders of labor have woven around too many unions this year, the workers of the Chevrolet plant have taken the road of militant struggle to enforce their demands. That is the way. And the participation in the present movement of the same militants who led the magnificent battles of 1934 is an assurance that the strike will be waged with militancy and skill. The struggle begins on the eve of May Day, an auspicious prelude to the international holiday of the working class. The example and spirit of Toledo will quicken the footsteps of marching labor throughout the entire country on this day.

The Toledo strike is a direct challenge to General Motors, the great moloch of the automobile industry, in one of its key plants. A militant labor force employing the most modern strike strategy comes to grips with the masters of entrenched capital. These features invest the strike at the Chevrolet plant with national significance. Here is the setting for an epic battle. The bosses, sensing the unbounded possibilities of a spreading movement, have brought up their heaviest batteries. Armed thugs are mobilized and the daily press screams with paid advertisements to poison public opinion. The strikers responded with a mass picket line that shut the plant down cold and a daily paper of their own, "Strike Truth." No stalling around at Toledo, but a swift sudden blow! The boys out there believe in action. You have to lay it on the line for them.

The strikers can expect every resource of the profit-swollen auto barons to be brought into play against them. The press will lie and slander, and the murderous thugs, in and out of uniform, will attack them with gas and club and gun. But far more dangerous than these direct instruments, as the tragic experience at Akron demonstrated once again, are the indirect agencies of the employers—the government boards and representatives and the faithless labor leaders who stand at the head of the A. F. of L. While fighting it out on the picket

line the Chevrolet strikers will have to watch out for flank attacks from Washington and stabs in the back from Green, Dillon and Co. This is the real danger. There will be fatal consequences for the strikers at Toledo if they forget it.

The infamous Auto Labor Board, or a new government agency of the same perfidious quality, can be relied on to try, with suave and oily promises and treacherous intrigues, to trick the strikers out of a victory and maneuver them back to work empty-handed. Remember Akron! Green and Dillon will undoubtedly attempt to take over the negotiations and trade away the workers' rights and interests. Again, remember Akron! From all their militant energy, courage and sacrifice the Chevrolet strikers will reap only the bitter ashes of defeat if they trust the Auto Labor Board or any other agency or representative of the Roosevelt administration. After all the sad experiences with the National Run Around, in the automobile industry especially, this ought to be clear to the Toledo workers. A more insidious, but no less treacherous, agency of betrayal is precisely the official machine of the A. F. of L.

The one and only absolute safeguard against both is a firm resolution of the local union from the start to run its own strike and make its own settlement. It is high time, anyway, for the federal labor unions to revolt against the status of "second class citizenship" in the A. F. of L. and to assert the right to run their own affairs with the same autonomy enjoyed by other affiliated unions. A curt rebuff to Madame Perkins and similars is overdue. A strike of a federal union conducted militantly on the picket line and settled by the union membership itself, without the nefarious "assistance" of Green and Perkins, is precisely what is needed now to put hope and heart into the newly organized workers everywhere. Toledo is just the place to set the example and the Toledo militants, unless we are greatly mistaken, are the people to do it.

The Chevrolet strike begins after a series of demoralizing experiences in the automobile industry, and the latest debacle at Akron. It is also somewhat late in the auto production season. But over against these handicaps the strike has in its favor a local leadership of demonstrated intelligence and audacity. These are the very qualities needed to lead great mass movements and to spread them. The bitter discontent of the masses, and their impatient restlessness under the intolerable conditions of life and labor, also speak for the possibility of spreading the strike.

The bosses stand in mortal dread of such a prospect, for neither they nor anyone else can prophesy where a spreading strike movement may stop. With these factors on their side the Toledo strikers can well enter their struggle with hearts undaunted. The eyes of the workers of America are on them this May Day. More, it can be truly said that every May Day parade is marching behind them with confidence and hope, for they, by their audacious action, have put themselves in the vanguard of the American labor movement this First of May.

Toledo Strike
Cripples Plant

(Continued from Page 1)

gains" offered the workers by the company proposals and feebly attempted to discredit the strike by labeling the progressive leaders as "extremists" demanding a "closed shop," although the closed shop has not even entered into the dispute.

Strikers Aggressive

Morale of the strikers is very high and not even plant officials were permitted to go through the picket lines without the sanction of the strike committee. Efforts of the company to move freight cars

of supplies from company sidings was prevented by militant action of the pickets.

The real counter-attack of the company has not yet been launched. It is expected that General Motors will shortly pour millions of dollars into Toledo in an effort to smash the strike and the union. Every strike-breaking measure, from a bombardment of vicious propaganda, through efforts to disrupt the union from within, to outright murderous violence by a huge army of armed thugs and professional strike-breakers, is anticipated.

To Publish Strike Daily

The union is preparing to meet this attack by the issuance of its own daily paper, "The Auto Workers Spark," exposing the boss lies and disruptive tactics, by gaining

the active support of the entire organized labor and unemployed movement in Toledo, and by spreading the strike into Detroit and other auto centers. The union men in the Bingham Stamping, Logan Gear, Auto-Lite and other plants are preparing to march in a body to the aid of the Chevrolet strikers whenever the call is given.

On May 1, a United Labor Demonstration, called by the Joint Action Committee, representing the Toledo Building Trades Council, Lucas County Unemployed League and Workers Alliance of Lucas County, and the Committee of 23, representing the entire organized labor movement in Toledo, will be held. It is expected that this demonstration will be the greatest outpouring of workers in the history of the city. The demonstration

will have a three-fold purpose, to raise the slogan for a thirty-hour week with no reduction in weekly pay; to force a show-down with the Lucas County relief authorities in the ten-week general FERA strike; and to support the fight of the Chevrolet workers with the solid massed strength in action of all Toledo labor.

Rely on Own Strength

The W. P. militants in the union are exerting a healthy influence on the strike at present, and so far have succeeded in carrying to the union men the fact that the strike will have to be fought out to the bitter end; that no reliance of any sort is to be placed upon government agencies for mediation or arbitration; and that the rank-and-file of the union are to conduct their own strike and make their own terms of settlement.

Already the pressure of the labor situation in the auto industry and the stand of the local union has forced an endorsement of the strike from Bill Green with a promise of full support from the A. F. of L. Green, however, fell into character following his endorsement and promise by stating that "there is grave danger that the strike might spread throughout the automotive industry." This would be a grave danger to the auto barons but the sign of a great resurgence of American labor.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.

5 Washington Square North

1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and HolidaysTobin Revokes
Union Charter

(Continued from Page 1)

these wolves in sheep's clothing."

Following behind the Citizens Alliance and D. J. Tobin came the C. P. with the mimeographed leaflets (since then the mimeographing machines are looked upon rather unfavorably in 574) in which once more the famous "Rank and File Committee" without any rank and file called for the removal of the strike leadership and of the officers of Local 574. This was one of the many united fronts in which the C. P. participated and did not get to first base. The leaders of 574 were thoroughly disliked by almost everyone—by the vigilantes,

by the bosses, by Tobin, by the C. P. But they were rather liked by the workers of 574, and that is what counts with these boys in the militant leadership of 574 who remained more than ever for militant unionism in Minneapolis and the Northwest.

574 Remains Firm

New methods were tried to separate the workers from the leaders. Newspaper publicity and mouth-to-mouth propaganda spread the rumors that 574 or its leaders are ready to break the agreement made at the conclusion of the strike, and prepare for a "general strike" in May. A new organization was formed, made up of preachers, business men, representatives of bosses organizations and last but not least, officers of the local A. F. of L. The purpose of this "Committee of 100" was to "find the facts and bring about friendly relationship between employers and employees." Members of 574 were approached to "get rid of the leaders and then reorganize the local" which came into disrepute before the bosses. The workers of 574 did not bite, but stood with their many-times tested and proven militant leadership.

The "United Front" against unionism did not figure with the real rank and file of Minneapolis, which rank and file considers 574 the teacher of labor in the fight for labor rights in the Northwest. They are rallying around Local 574 and its militant leaders to give the whole reactionary gang the fight of their lives.

But where is the Communist Party? They are also taking their place in this "united front from above" which the "fourth period" prescribes. In the evening of April 22, while the meeting of 574 was in progress a new mimeographed leaflet was distributed in front of the union headquarters. The Communist Party, in this leaflet, went the whole way with the Citizens Alliance, the Committee of One Hundred, Tobin and the local labor fakers. The leaflet pointed out the many misdeeds of the leaders of Local 574—repeating all the old stale slanders—and declared that "the full responsibility of this (the revocation of the charter) lies upon your leadership," although they forgot to explain why the Citizens Alliance would be so anxious to get rid of these leaders and why Tobin would revoke the charter of the union, if the leaders had been guilty of betraying the interests of the workers. The union membership couldn't understand this logic, either. That is why they are standing solid behind the leaders who are under attack of the bosses, the labor fakers and their "left" allies—the Communist Party.

May Day Manifesto of the WP

(Continued from Page 1)

tion! Every city a union town! Every factory a union factory! Every industry a union industry! A united nation-wide trade union movement!

The rights of the workers—free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, freedom to organize, strike and picket—are systematically violated. The end of this process has been witnessed in countries where Fascism has destroyed every vestige of freedom, every independent institution of the workers and farmers. All the unions, all the unemployed organizations, all the farmers' organizations, all the political parties and groups of the working class, the Negro masses who in all these matters are subjected to the most ruthless attack, must fight to the death against every encroachment upon their rights, against every tendency toward Fascism!

In 1935, as the children born in 1914-18 come to manhood, the capitalist powers are feverishly preparing to slaughter them in another world-war. The supposedly liberal and peace-loving Roosevelt administration is playing a leading part in this betrayal of humanity, promoting the most colossal naval and military building program in the entire peacetime history of this nation in order that the interests of American capitalists and imperialists may be protected and advanced. The masses everywhere must rally for the fight against imperialist war, organize to overthrow the governments that make machine-fodder out of men in time of peace and cannon-fodder in time of war.

In order to break the chains of poverty, unemployment and tyranny that bind us, we must first break from our minds the chains of false ideas:

We cannot rely for the righting of our wrongs upon "cooperation" with the bosses. Their interest is profit from our labor. Our interest is freedom from wage slavery.

We cannot count upon "cooperation" from the Roosevelt administration or any other capitalist government.

We cannot trust trade union leaders who tell us to count upon the "cooperation" of our enemies, the bosses and the bosses' government.

We cannot gain plenty and security and peace under this capitalist system, nor by any reform of it. Capitalism leads to Fascism and War. We must smash capitalism and build a Workers' World!

Eighteen years ago the workers in Russia pointed the way. Under the leadership of the revolutionary party they demolished czarism

and capitalism, took political power, and then began to lay the foundations of a socialist society. There is no other way out for the workers of the United States and of other countries.

Both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the Second International and the Third International, have proved in recent years their utter inability to organize the masses for defense against reaction and Fascism. They have organized defeats, not victories for the workers.

A mighty gain of the past year, which we celebrate on this May Day, is the birth of the new revolutionary party in this country, the Workers Party of the United States. Born directly out of the great class struggles of 1934, out of the union of the forces which led the historic battles of Toledo and Minneapolis, the founding of the Workers Party marks the end of the period of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement. Unity of THE VANGUARD WORKERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY will be the basis for the unification of the workers and their allies for the final struggle to overthrow capitalism.

In Canada, Holland and other countries sister parties of the Workers Party of the U. S. have been established. Together they are working for the establishment, at the earliest possible moment, of THE NEW, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, LEADER OF THE FUTURE VICTORIES OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD.

Forward march! With hope, with faith, with unshakable determination! Forward to mighty struggles! Forward to Victory! This is the slogan of May Day 1935!

Against wage cutting, for a decent standard of living, for security against unemployment, accident, sickness, and old age!

For the six-hour day and thirty-hour week! For the unlimited right to organize, strike and picket!

For the 100 percent unionization of the workers in every industry!

For a united trade union movement!

For solidarity of the employed and unemployed!

Against the capitalist system which offers nothing but misery, insecurity, brutal oppression, degradation for the masses!

For the unity of the workers of every race and of all lands against their oppressors!

For the Workers Party of the U. S.!

For the Fourth International!

For a Workers' World!

Greetings

TO THE

New Militant

FROM

East Side, Branch 2

Workers Party

of the U. S.

Branch 3, West Side

Greets

THE

New Militant

AND

Workers Party

of the U. S.

2 WEST 15th STREET
New York CityLEFT . . .
JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

MAY DAY IN BRITAIN

Taking time off from preparations for King George's silver jubilee (which the Labor Party supports), such labor leaders as Lansbury, who voted for 50,000 pounds (\$250,000) for the king's festivities, will mouth some phrases about "socialism in our time." Leaders of the British Communist Party almost gagged into silence by Moscow's praise of the British national government, will no doubt reiterate the battle cry of that stalwart Stalinist, Harry Pollitt: "We are ready to kiss King George if that will help stop war." Such "leaders" will be the major speakers at the May Day demonstrations in the heart of the Bloody Empire, where, we are told, they are "marching steadfastly to socialism."

MAY DAY IN BERLIN

Herded by Nazi police, the workers of Berlin will turn out on May Day on orders of Hitler. The Nazi press will hail this prison muster as an enthusiastic demonstration for Nazism. The real voice of Berlin's proletariat is stifled in concentration camps or prisons, or heard only in secret meetings behind locked doors. So was it one time in Czarist Russia, and in Germany as in Russia, from these secret meetings will rise the leadership of the masses, which will put Hitler in a place reserved for him, side by side with the one-time powerful Czar.

NORMAN MINI

The eight Sacramento organizers found guilty of being militant union men are now behind the bars in San Quentin. Included in the eight is Norman Mini, whom the Daily Worker denounced as a "stool pigeon," etc. Under a barrage of criticism from without and within the Stalinist ranks, the Daily Worker has ceased its slanderous attacks on this courageous fighter. It has not, however, withdrawn its slanders, nor apologized to its readers for its William Randolph Hearst methods of attacking political opponents.

"JUSTICE" IN NEW YORK

That "justice" like God "moves in mysterious ways its wonders to perform" is again evidenced by the quashing of the indictment charging Louis J. McNally, former Superintendent of the City Home for Dependents, and his wife, with "conspiracy to defraud." The judge, in quashing the indictment, and clearing the McNallys, stated that "all the circumstantial evidence discloses the manipulation of two avaricious individuals exercising undue influence over a feeble-minded woman of 75 to obtain from her all her worldly possessions." That, according to the judge, was all that the McNallys did, so he quashed the indictment. The "aged woman," Mrs. Matilda R. Beecher, was the widow of a Spanish-American war veteran. Her savings of \$10,000, almost entirely made up of money she received as a pension from the government, was transferred to the bank account of the McNallys' infant son. It was recalled that the same McNallys were charged with having an ex-seller act as a surgeon in the Home for Dependents, cutting out ulcers with a jack knife. He was paid in chewing tobacco, though the city did appropriate money for proper medical and surgical services. McNally is a stalwart supporter of the Democratic Party, always lining up the entire vote of the Home for Roosevelt, Smith, etc. An excellent example of "American" non-alien, non-Communist, rugged individualistic practices and politics for Hearst to write about.

Y.C.L. AND UNITY

John Little, of the Young Communist League, begged for "unity of the working people" on May Day. This is the same John Little and the same Y.C.L. that as late as October last made as a condition for a united front with the Young People's Socialist League that they should break a united front already established with the Spartacus Youth League. At every move the Stalinists make for a "united front," their past and present tactics form the best arguments for the reactionaries to oppose them on. We, who constitute the Workers Party, fought for united front of organization to organization when the Stalinists denounced it as counter-revolutionary. We have today in our ranks not a few former Y.C.L. and C.P. members who were expelled by the Stalinists for urging a united front of the S. P. and the C. P. against Hitler while it was yet possible to stop him. On the other hand, every time a Stalinist opens his mouth for "united action," he has to eat every word he uttered on this question from 1929 to 1934.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

FLORENCE WYLLIE—Los Angeles
H. SHAPIRO—Los Angeles
G. FERRIS—Los Angeles
SOPHIE SLAVIN—Los Angeles
PHIL TAPLIN—Los Angeles
IDA ALTAN—Los Angeles
E. EVERITT—Los Angeles
BILL MONROE—Los Angeles

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NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 20

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Toledo Leads Revolt of Auto Workers

May Day March Biggest in Post-War History

W. P. Section Voices Solidarity with Toledo at G. M. C. Building

NEW YORK, May 1.—More than 100,000 trade unionists and members of working class organizations marched in the biggest May Day parade New York has seen since the war. Heading the march were the strongest unions in the city, the unions of the needle trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Hundreds of locals of other unions fell into line behind them, carrying militant banners proclaiming the struggle to the bitter end against Fascism and Imperialism.

The contingent of the Workers Party of the U. S., and of the youth organizations, the Spartacus Youth League and the Young People's Socialist League, lent color and strength to the whole march with their flying red banners and their vigorous songs of the international revolutionary movement. Time and again the strains of the "Internationale" and the "Red Flag" echoed in the city's streets as the marchers proceeded uptown from 15th Street and Eighth Avenue. Tremendous crowds greeted the demonstrators, lining up by the sidewalks and returning lustily cheers and greetings.

Boos for Hearst

As the workers passed the building which houses the Hearst publications, on Eighth Avenue in the 60s, powerful boos and shouts of derision gave vent to a storm of protest against "Workers' Enemy No. 1." Each contingent that passed vied with the others in displaying its deep hatred for this dispenser of reactionary venom against the Soviet Union and the American revolutionary labor movement.

Solidarity with Toledo

A block further up, at the central offices of the General Motors Corporation, the sector of the parade which included the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League turned into a ten minute demonstration of solidarity with the embattled Chevrolet strikers in Toledo. For fully ten minutes the air vibrated with an immense chorus of voices shouting "Support Toledo Chevrolet Strikers," "Down with General Motors Company Unions" and other militant strike slogans.

As the W. P. column entered Columbus circle, headed for the Central Park entrance, the ranks lining up in military formation behind the banner reading "Workers Party, U. S. A.—For the Fourth International" resounded with a volley of cheers for the new International, for the International of Lenin and Trotsky.

Leaders Kowtow to Cops

At the park entrance on West 72nd Street, the parade was finally

(Continued on Page 4)

Highlights of May Day on Union Square

A comrade who left the tame and stultified May Day Concert at Central Park to seek revolutionary inspiration at the Stalinist Union Square demonstration sends us the following unforgettable snapshot of the high light of this affair, which, if not so revolutionary, was at least unique. The description of this hilarious novelty is taken from the New York Herald-Tribune. Comment on our part would be superfluous. There is no need to gild the Lily of the Valley. Here is the clipping:

Major J. Divine, the little Harlem Negro who calls himself God, stole the show from the Fourteenth Street mortals with the aid of two thousand of his black angels and cupids who had marched to the Square while he rode in a limousine with a liveried chauffeur and footman. A stuffed dove of peace perched on the radiator of the car.

A grinning brown-skinned man of middle age, arrayed in a pink shirt and brown suit, Father Divine spoke briefly into the microphone and aroused more applause than all the other speakers.

"Peace be to every one," said Father Divine.
"Peace, father," his disciples shouted.
"Good health and good will," said Father Divine.
"Thank you, father," was the response.
"Unify yourselves with righteousness and justice."
"Amen, father."

It was a strange speech for Union Square.

Father Divine was not a Communist, he explained, but had agreed to join with his followers in a demonstration against war and Fascism. The banners carried by his followers were more concerned with Father Divine than with current issues. Some of them read:

"Father Divine is God."
"Father Divine is the lily of the valley."
"Father Divine is the light of the world and the bright and shining star."
"There is no space where Father Divine is not."
"Over 20,000,000 people can't be wrong. Thank you, father."
"17th Assembly District—God has truly come to earth, Father Divine."

Sub-Getters, On the Job!

As the sub drive enters its fourth and last month with competition keen, Frank Collins of Allentown has established himself as the undisputed leader of the sub-hustlers for the month of April. His enviable record was a score of 25 full year subs. The prize goes to him.

From everywhere in the country we hear reports of the activities of the Workers Party. Everywhere the party is on the firing line. In Toledo, once again our members are lighting the prairie fire of class struggle. As the lines draw and the conflict sharpens, the workers need a voice to lash out against the lies of the kept press. The daily strike papers are the union voice. The New Militant is the political voice. The most casual glance at the periodicals issued by other sections of the labor movement will confirm our assertion that the New Militant leads in Marxian direction and political clarity.

Most important is that the New Militant finds a similar appreciation among the thousands of striking, union and unemployed workers. No miracle will accomplish this. Indeed, no amount of wishful thinking and self-praise will lead the workers to a condition where it is just as natural for them to read the New Militant every week as it is now for them to buy the daily capitalist press every morning.

What we need is pluggers, of the type of Frank Collins. More Frank Collins means more men and women, young and old, inside and outside the party.

The job is comparatively easy, nothing compared with some of the tasks our party members face on the picket lines. Reports from some of the leading hustlers have it that it doesn't take overmuch lung exertion to persuade a casual New Militant reader to become a subscriber.

But it needs a little punch and a little zest. The same reporters say that the subs did not fall into their laps, they had to go out and get them.

Let's have a little action! And let our party members show the way! The delinquent branches and comrades—and there are too many of them now—are urged to put their shoulders to the wheel.

Speed it up! Only one month left! At the end of the trail are prizes for the champion and trail are left for the laggards.

1 year \$1.00; 6 months 65c.

Special combinations are listed elsewhere in this issue.

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th Street
New York, N. Y.

Comrades:
Please enter my name for [] one year, \$1.00; [] six months, 65c.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

Illinois Confab Fights Threat To Stop Relief

3,000 Delegates Gather In Huge Four County I. W. A. Meeting

AUBURN, Ill., April 28.—Nearly three hundred visitors and delegates assembled at the Miners hall here Sunday, at a conference called by the four-county section of the Illinois Workers Alliance. Sangamon, Greene, Macoupin, Christian and Morgan counties were represented at the confab.

The conference laid plans to combat the threats of Gov. Horner to close down all the relief stations in the state. The Democratic machine in this state is maneuvering at the expense of the unemployed to force into line a stubborn legislature to pass a bill increasing the sales tax from 2c to 3c. The bill is being militantly fought by labor, liberal and unemployed groups from one end of the state to the other.

The conference went on record to stage a mass state march on the capitol within seven days after Gov. Horner closed the relief stations. Committees were elected to cooperate with the state unemployed organization. The conference also went on record asking for the payment of rent or taxes, \$30 and 90-hour week on all relief work, etc. The conference also voted unanimously to endorse May Day as International Labor Day.

One of the features of the conference was a militant speech by Hugo Ochler, now organizing for the Illinois Workers Alliance in Illinois. Comrade Ochler received a great ovation from the audience and demands were made for him to tour the five counties. That evening he was called nearly a hundred miles north to deliver a speech at another mass conference of the unemployed at Galva, Ill.

The conference was presided over by its regular Chairman, Gerry Alford of the Progressive Miners. Tony Scremin, Kincaid Progressive miner, is secretary and Kenneth Shipley, an unemployed electrical worker, is vice-chairman of the four county conference of the Illinois Workers Alliance.

The conference decided to hold another conference at Auburn.

TOLEDO MILITANTS 'DISTURB' WASHINGTON A. F. L. LOBBY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Toledo interrupted the peaceful proceedings of the A. F. of L. convocation in Washington which would have preferred to lobby in the corridors of Congress for the demands of labor.

Fresh from the picket lines at General Motors and in the FERA strike, a delegation came to Washington where the declared purpose of the smug bureaucrats was to pass a few resolutions in support of the Wagner Bill, the Black-Cannery Bill and the Guffey Bill, appoint a lobbying committee and go home.

Met with the direct challenge of industry to President Roosevelt to abandon all legislation in any way sympathetic to labor, Bill Green could only regretfully look back on the past and declare: "Better ten thousand times that Congress had never given us Section 7a than that it should be used as an instrument of persecution of those who believed in it."

Matthew Woll reported for the sub-committee. Characteristically enough he spoke of the possibility of labor being "misled" by congress. It was noted at the gathering that Mr. Woll, of strikebreaking fame, forgot to mention the reaction of the workmen in factories and shops when they will find that their right to strike was crippled by the hamstringing provisions of the Wagner Bill.

In contrast to this glorified NRA sponsored by the labor skates, the Toledo delegation exploded its bombshell. Disgusted with this perpetuation of the National Run Around and sick of begging at the back-door of congress, Oliver Meyers called for direct action. Vindicating the ever-growing sentiment of the workers in the country for bold steps, he demanded that the leaders quit playing around with the "typewriter" and called upon the labor unions to "get on the picket line."

The "Gag rule" was the opinion of the Toledo delegates on the proceedings of the conference, strongly reminiscent of similar action in Akron and Detroit.

"Settle the Strike on the Picket Line, Not in Washington," Strikers Slogan

FLINT INVADED

Jamesville, Atlanta Plants on Strike

1. Jim Roland, chairman of the Toledo Chevrolet strike committee, yesterday entered Flint with a flying squad of strikers in an effort to get support of strikers from that quarter. Arrested by the police at labor headquarters, the whole squad was immediately released on pressure from local labor bodies.

2. The Buick local in the Flint plant of General Motors notified the bosses that if their demands and those of the Toledo workers were not met, they would strike Monday morning.

3. The M. E. S. A., independent auto union in Detroit, announces no material from Toledo will be handled by its men while strike is going on.

4. A conference of the 23 auto locals of the A. F. of L. to take up joint strike action and their organization into an industrial union, as proposed by Jim Roland of Toledo, is being discussed for this coming Sunday.

5. A flying squad of Chevrolet strikers has set out for Muncie and Anderson, Indiana to take up contact with workers in G.M.C. plants there.

6. Louis Spivak, leader of workers in the Cleveland Fisher Body plants shut down several days ago, said the men there would not return to work until the Toledo strike was settled.

7. Second Cincinnati G. M. workers remained solid in their sympathy strike called to aid the Toledo walk-out.

8. As we go to press, news reaches us that the Atlanta plants have voted for a walk-out.

Claherty Hits at Akron Rebels

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, O., May 1.—The betrayal of the rubber workers by the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy had three significant results this week which are continuing the demoralization that set in after the sell-out agreement was foisted recently on the big three locals here.

1. The India Tire Co., which has a closed shop of the A. F. of L. union, looked out two hundred workers employed there when the union made wage demands last Saturday, thus continuing the capitalist offensive against organized labor in the tire industry.

2. Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. rubber organizer, who acted with William Green to railroad the agreement on the rubber workers, began a terrific red scare in the locals in an effort to intimidate progressives who are trying to organize definitely against him.

3. Less than ten percent of the workers in the Goodyear union appeared at the Sunday meeting in delecting how the workers are falling away from the union because of their disappointment.

"India Tire" Workers Fight Back

The India rubber workers have set up strong picket lines around the factory aided by the Moagard Unemployed League and have refused to permit even company officials to enter the plant.

Although normally 400 workers are employed at the plant, seasonal decline in the industry reduced the personnel to half that number.

Following an article in the Summit County Labor News by Sherman H. Dalrymple, Goodrich local president, charging the Communists with being "disrupters," etc., Claherty has appeared at the local meetings and threatened expulsion to every "red" discovered.

The attack and red scare obviously are to divert the attention of the rubber workers from the sell-out and swing the resentment of the workers from Claherty to the progressives when they begin attacking him openly.

Heed the Call of Toledo!

By A. J. MUSTE

TOLEDO, April 30.—As this editorial is written on the eve of May Day in Toledo, the picketers march up and down on the line at the Chevrolet plant where not even a telephone operator is permitted to work. Every few minutes the telephone in our headquarters rings and a new and exciting report comes in from the rapidly extending battle-front: Norwood General Motors Plant Out One Hundred Per Cent. All Cleveland General Motors Plants Shut Down For Lack Of Transmissions. Flint Bails Plan To Take Toledo Work There. Will Take Strike Vote Tonight. The Mechanics Education Society Of America (independent union) Will Not Work On Scab Material.

Not since the Haymarket year of 1886 has there been a May Day as significant for the American labor movement as this May Day of 1935, marked by a strike which already involves 15,000 automobile workers, by the prospect of a general strike against at least one great automobile corporation, by the beginning of the show-down fight over the recognition of unionism in the basic industries of the U. S.

How does it happen that the workers of Toledo again act decisively and take their place in the vanguard of labor's battle? How explain the differences between the constant postponement of action in Detroit and in the steel centers, the "sell-out" of the strike of rubber workers in Akron before it got under way, and on the other hand the brilliant achievement of the Toledo workers in shutting down the key plant of General Motors and within one week bringing out over ten thousand G. M. workers in other centers with them? Such things do not come by accident.

On May Day 1934 the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo was dead on its feet because the officers of an infant Federal union passively submitted to an injunction and the leadership of the A. F. of L. could and would teach them no other course. By militant defiance of that injunction the Lucas County Unemployed League and the branch of the Workers Party of the U. S., cooperating with activists in the union revived the strike and paved the way for that night in May when ten thousand workers of Toledo stormed the Auto-Lite plant, drove the sheriff's deputies to cover, fought the militia. Thus a partial victory was wrung from defeat. In the succeeding months that victory was

(Continued on Page 4)

65 Killed as Filipinos Rise

Wall St. Oppression Is at Bottom of New Revolt

The first audible signs of revolt against the new fake "independence" granted the Philippines by U. S. imperialism resounded around the world this week as 65 Filipino fighters fell in an insurrection led by the Sakdalista party. The casualties resulted from battles fought by Sakdalistas and constabulary detachments at Cabuyao and Santa Rosa in Laguna Province while other clashes occurred in outlying areas of Luzon Island. Manila, the capital, was cut off from the interior for several hours.

The Sakdalistas have been carrying on an active campaign against the "Commonwealth Constitution" which is to be subjected to a plebiscite on May 14. This party of radical agrarian anti-imperialist orientation has considerable following in a number of provinces and had three representatives elected to the Philippine Legislature in last year's elections.

The Philippine revolt follows close on the heels of the intensive agitation around the issue of independence or statehood for Puerto Rico, and is another indication of the extremely precarious internal situation prevailing in Wall Street's colonial possessions, due to the effect of the Cuban revolution on the Spanish speaking colonial countries as well as to the economic situation prevailing in the colonies themselves, where the crisis has penetrated to still greater depths than in the United States proper.

MEXICO CITY (FP).—About 800 striking miners, members of the Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union of Mexico, have decided to start on a hunger march from the state of Jalisco to Mexico City to bring their case to the attention of Pres. Lazaro Cardenas.

The strikers have been out since Feb. 8, when the Amparo Mining Co. and Piedra Bola, Inc. refused to sign wage and working conditions.

Public Backs Omaha Strike

By PAT MURPHY

OMAHA, April 27.—The strike of some 400 employees of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Street Railway Company, seeking higher wages and a closed shop, entered its eighth day at 4 A.M. today. Striking employees continued to picket car barns in Omaha and Council Bluffs.

In Omaha they have put a few cars in operation. These cars have heavy protection screens covering the entire car. From four to eight police ride each car, also a squad car follows each car. Every means is taken to intimidate the strikers and encourage the people to ride the trams. But the citizens as a whole are very indignant and refuse to ride.

The sheriff of Omaha has mobilized all available material to act as strike breakers. The company has apparently run out of local men, and they have resorted to importing men who have been discharged from the service here in the past. Some of these were dismissed for serious offense. The Central Labor Union is going to protest Monday morning to the city council about the sheriff hiring, for scab work, former city employees who are now on pension.

The car barns are surrounded by police and armed sluggers. In Council Bluffs not a tram moves. Public sentiment is all with the strikers. And the strikers are determined to win. We talked to one striker who had 21 years service and in case of disability would be eligible for a pension of \$21.00 a month. He said, "We are fighting for our very existence. If we lose, then it looks like we will have to go on relief, but the morale of our men is holding strong. We are out to win."

NEW YORK (FP).—Unemployed workers in March 1935 numbered 9,760,000, according to the employers' National Industrial Conference Board. This is a decrease of 125,000, or 1.3 percent from the preceding month, but an increase of 369,000, or 3.9 percent, over March 1934.

FIGHT SPREADS

Local Votes Support for Daily Paper

Special to New Militant

TOLEDO, Ohio, April 30.—Swift moving storm clouds of labor revolt are spreading darkly throughout the nation over the wide-flung domain of General Motors Corporation. Moving with a precision, speed and power seldom ever displayed in this country, the progressive and militant strike committee of the struck Toledo Chevrolet plant, headed by Jim Roland, brilliant and aggressive young strike leader, twice today landed lightning blows against the massive citadel of Sloan, Rascob, DuPont and Co. and forced the shut-down of the Hue Fisher Body plant in Cleveland, Ohio, and the Chevrolet assembly and Fisher Body plants in Norwood, Ohio, suburb of Cincinnati.

Kidding rough-shod over the stalling and cowardly policies of Bill Green and his official machine, the Toledo strikers, acting through their local strike committee, have already sent strike calls to all locals of the United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union in G. M. C. plants informing them of the 100 percent walk-out in Toledo and instructing them to take similar steps immediately. Swift moving strike action is expected to close plants in Flint, Mich., St. Louis, Kansas City, Janesville, Wis., Tarrytown, N. Y., Baltimore, Buffalo, Oakland and many other towns shortly. A general auto strike, without sanction of Bill Green, is in the making.

Flint Takes Strike Vote

As this is being written, a strike vote is being taken at the U.A.W.F. L.U., Buick local, in Flint. Representatives of this local conferred today with Toledo strike leaders and indicated that a walk-out is practically certain.

The management of the Cleveland Fisher Body plant forestalled impending strike action for propaganda purposes and shut down the entire factory. They denied this was a "lock-out," but due to lack of materials from the Toledo plant, Cleveland representatives of the auto union appeared this afternoon in Toledo and informed the strike committee that the Cleveland local is on strike until the Toledo strikers' demands are met and that they will not return to work even should the G.M.C. attempt to start up the plant again. Picket lines are being established and strike tactics similar to that now employed in Toledo will be used.

1,700 Out in Norwood

The 100 percent walk-out in Norwood, Ohio came as a result of the personal appeal to the auto workers there made Sunday by Jim Roland and Bill Prior, experienced strike man and organizer of the first mass picket lines around the Toledo plant. In his appeal, Roland urged the Norwood workers to walk out first and then wait for Bill Green's approval. Bolstered by the example of the Toledo strikers, the Norwood workers took his advice, and 1,700 walked out this morning. The present total of strikers is about 13,000, with 9,000 in Cleveland and 2,300 in Toledo.

An extraordinary development in the strike is the resolution of the Toledo strikers, adopted last night, to call upon all General Motors employees to strike and to set up a national joint-action committee composed of representatives of all strike committees to act as a national negotiating committee for the entire strike. The resolution further urges that the contract demanded in Toledo, or one similar, be made the basis for the national demands and that an agreement be made that no settlement be made except on a national basis with no local to return to work until every local agrees to return.

Dillon Tries to Stem Tide

One serious menace to the healthy conduct and development of the strike has been the attempt of the A. F. of L., through its organizers T. N. Taylor and Francis Dillon, to seize the reins of the strike from the strikers themselves and their elected committees. Last Friday night Dillon spoke before a mass

(Continued on Page 2)

Comments
On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

Wisdom in Washington . . .

The New Deal is "delicate social surgery," a "third economy somewhere between Individualism and Socialism," declares Professor Tugwell to a New York group of teachers. . . . As a result of acquiring thousands of farms through mortgage foreclosures, the Metropolitan Insurance Company is the farmer who benefits most from AAA crop restriction. On March 1 it received 500 checks for corn, hogs, cotton and wheat destroyed or not raised. . . . The Sao Paulo (Brazil) cotton crop was 450,000 bales last year. A crop of 850,000 bales is estimated for this year due to the "blowing under" policy of the United States. Millions of dollars of American capital have been invested in the Brazilian cotton-ginning industry. . . . The House of Representatives approved \$400,000,000 for the Navy which will make it the strongest in the world. "This is purely a defense measure," declares Representative Cary of the Navy Appropriations Committee. . . . A special appropriation that would keep 3,500,000 children in school was turned down. . . . The first victims of HOLC foreclosures were Mrs. Grace Baker and Mrs. Mary Whitlock, widows of Kansas City. . . . \$60,000 of PWA funds were used in the construction of a "mechanical brain" at the University of Pennsylvania. . . . 300,000 citizens of Switzerland petitioned for a New Deal for that nation.

America the Beautiful . . .

Bayonets glistened, bands blared patriotic airs and six army planes whirled over the City of Brotherly Love as 10,000 soldiers marched in observance of Americanization Day. The 103rd Field Artillery, the City Police and State Troopers were in the line. . . . (8,261 people were arrested for panhandling on the streets of New York last year.) . . . The State Commander of the American Legion and Asst. Sec. of War Woodruff will be the principal speakers at a May Day Americanization celebration in Uniontown, Pa. . . . (1,700,000 relief recipients in Pennsylvania live in constant danger of being cut off while the legislature plays football with relief funds.) . . . America's Good Will Union is launched to fight anti-American agitators. Says leader Joseph P. Day: "Americans will do the talking on the subject of America; not only in public halls but in the streets from soap boxes and from any vehicle around which a crowd may assemble. . . . (600,000 Chicago relief recipients are cut off from emergency rations while politicians play football with relief funds."

The State of the Nation . . .

The motion picture "Black Fury" was barred from Chicago because the strike scenes might "give people ideas." . . . Ten St. Louis PWA workers were seriously burned when gas ignited in a sewer in which they were working. . . . Orphan sales for 1935 are greater than for the corresponding period in 1929. . . . Though Jacob Pulanski, project worker of Allentown, Pa., was stricken two months ago while on the job, relief officials forced him to return to work with threats of deportation. On the second day he died. . . . \$200,000 in bonuses were distributed to five officers of the McKeesport Tin Plate Co. Many workers in the mill receive 30c an hour. . . . More than \$7,000,000 was spent by 13,500 divorce seekers in Reno during the past four years. . . . Condemned diphtheria antitoxin was used for charity cases in Pennsylvania. . . . An airplane was used to rush fresh serum to the sick cows of a wealthy Pennsylvania dairyman. . . . F. H. Prince, Boston industrialist, condemns Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" plan. "Great fortunes are a trust and responsibility. I don't know that there is a man in the United States who has done more in building America than Mr. Mellon. He had the courage to take risks. His only mistake was to go to Washington." . . . All Huey Long meetings are now opened with the new song, "Every Man a King."

State of the World . . .

Sir Herbert Lawrence, chairman of Vickers, Ltd., munition-makers, states: "Orders on hand are satisfactory," as he announced an increase of 23% in the number of workers employed. . . . Led by prelates in red and purple, 50,000 pilgrims prayed for peace for three days and nights in the famous Lourdes Grotto. . . . Four and a half million starving Chinese are reported living on roots and bark. . . . American missionaries are perplexed what to do with \$9,000,000 left by Ella Wendel to a Chinese school of 50 students. . . .

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT

St. Louis Gas
Workers Stand
Firm in Strike

Second Month of Fight
Finds Picket Line Solid

ST. LOUIS.—It is now more than a month since the Gas House workers went on strike. Demanding as one of their major demands the closed shop they are determined to stay out until that and all other demands are granted. "Among the things that have contributed to the successful carrying on of the strike," we quote from one of the issues of the Daily Strike Bulletin, "are: 1. The solidarity of the strikers themselves and the spirit of the rank and file. Not a single union man has gone back to work since the beginning of the strike. 2. The splendid action of the St. Louis Central Trades Council in not permitting the union pipe trades to be utilized by the company and thereby presenting to the public the spectacle of one set of union men scabbing on another. 3. The support of the gas consuming public."

The distribution of gas is being seriously hampered. Water has seeped into the gas mains to the extent that the gas supply is cut off in many parts of the city. The company is becoming desperate. One of the most heartening features of the strike to date was the resolution of the St. Louis Central Trades voting financial support to the Gas House workers. The local unions have agreed on a voluntary assessment of 1 cent a day from each union member in the city. A delegate from the Carpenters union offered an amendment to the effect that all union men have their gas shut off until the strike is settled. The amendment was carried.

"The Gas Company is fighting a losing battle," says the Gas House Worker, the Daily Strike Bulletin, in one of its issues. "It has tried to carry on its business by employing scabs. It has employed thugs to terrorize the strikers. It has tried to frame up our union on a 'bombing' gag. And finally it has resorted to mass arrests of pickets. But all this will avail them nothing. . . . The ground is being cut away from under their feet. The fight is not yet over. Victory still depends on our future struggle. . . . The Union will fight on till the company is brought to its knees—till our battle is won and our demands are granted. The Union stands firm."

Capitol News Letter

The Meaning of the Wagner
Bill — A Noose for Labor

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Senate Committee on Education and Labor has just concluded its prolonged series of hearings on S. 1958: Wagner bill to "outlaw" company unions. No doubt the Committee will report the measure out favorably; but that should hardly be a cause for rejoicing among the rank and file of the labor movement.

First, the bill as written is an invitation to the A. F. of L. to entangle itself more thoroughly than ever before in the complex arbitral machinery for which Section 7a is responsible. The A. F. of L. has plunged into the present network of boards head-over-heels. To the accompaniment of one "moral victory" after another, Green and Co. have succeeded in suppressing all strike movements to date: steel workers, automobile workers, aluminum workers, soft coal workers, and so forth.

Second, although the bill as written is prima facie innocuous, it is likely to be deadly poison to the right to strike before the Senate Committee gets through rewriting it. Do not forget what happened to S. 2926 in 1934. The original draft of the Labor Disputes bill expressly safeguarded the right to strike. The rewritten version—the National Industrial Adjustment Bill—called for compulsory arbitration.

Third, the Labor Relations Bill (in its present form) is not an Administration measure. Despite the wishful thinking of A. F. of L. sympathizers, President Roosevelt is not in favor of outlawing company unions. It may suit the President's convenience for the time being to let it be supposed that he looks on the measure with a kindly eye. But if the President does this, he does so because it is another neat device for bamboozling the "innocents" of the A. F. of L. leadership.

Suppose, however, that the Senate Committee reports the bill out without rewriting it substantially. Suppose the further miracle that the bill is enacted in the face of the President's tacit opposition. What of it? What the bill does is to create the equivalent, for "unfair labor practices," of the Federal Trade Commission for "unfair trade" practices. The Federal

Trade Commission throughout its history has been a notorious paralytic, incapable of getting its orders enforced by the courts. There is no reason to suppose that the National Labor Relations Board would be anything more than a like paralytic, except where hamstringing of labor is concerned.

Those who get enthusiastic about the Labor Relations Bill forget that, in the last analysis, all the orders of the Board would be "enforceable and reviewable" by the federal courts. The courts, not the board, would finally decide whether or not an employer was forcing company unions on his hired hands. And there are no more thoroughly convinced enemies of the labor movement, no more ready puppets of the union-busting, open-shop masters, than the federal judiciary in the United States. What the judges did to Section 7a in the Weirton and the Belcher cases, they will also do to S. 1958—if, as, and when enacted.

The official Administration attitude on collective bargaining is revealed by the present draft of the measure to renew the National Industrial Recovery Act for two years more. This draft contains Section 7a verbatim, nothing less, nothing more. It leaves the field clear for company unions, works councils, proportional representation, and all the other devices which Richberg, Johnson, Perkins, Wolman and Roosevelt were able to contrive with the help of anti-labor employers.

Meanwhile, the whole ambitious program for guaranteeing "economic security" (for which the workers of course are expected to pay) has come to a standstill. The entire melange of unemployment insurance, old age pensions and the rest is headed for the scrap-heap. After all the Works Relief bill has gone through, empowering the President to batter down wage-rates wherever convenient to do so. The bill defines \$50 a month per family as a living wage. That is "economic security" enough for any wage-earner who can eat the fancy sociological principles of the New Deal.

ECONOMIC SECURITY . . .

The Workers Party in Toledo and Detroit held mass meetings Sunday and Monday nights respectively, addressed by A. J. Muste. A clear presentation was given by Comrade Muste of the issues in the strike, its national significance and the course to be pursued in order to achieve victory. His warning on the dangerous influence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy has had a powerful and responsive appeal.

Despite the efforts of the capitalist press in Detroit and other auto centers to keep news of the Toledo strike from its pages, word is spreading rapidly. Toledo strikers managed to evade Michigan state police and Detroit police for a sufficient length of time last Friday to place a brief picket line before the General Motors office building in Detroit and spread copies of "Strike Truth" in various G.M.C. plants. Further action in Detroit was halted by the arrest of 19 picketers, who were later released. Word has been received from J. J. Griffin, Detroit district organizer of the Mechanics Educational Society, that the M.E.S.A. has passed a resolution to refuse to handle any materials sent from struck plants and companies. This followed the action of the Toledo local of the M.E.S.A. in adopting a resolution to man the picket-lines if they are called.

Settle the Strike on Picket Line

Not in Washington, Say Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

meeting of the strikers here and with his usual class-collaboration line spoke in glowing terms of the vice-president of G.M.C., William S. Knudsen, declared that Francis Perkins and President Roosevelt were "behind labor," that the members of the Auto Labor Board had merely "tricked and betrayed Roosevelt," and termed the strike an "action," "protest" and "misunderstanding on both sides."

Knudsen returned Dillon's compliment by a blast in the next morning's paper calling the strike an "arbitrary and lawless act," charging that the strike committee was acting against the wishes of the workers, and asserting flatly that the G.M.C. would sign no contract with the union nor even meet with a union committee "until the men returned to work."

Despite Dillon's attempt to influence the strikers by his misleading statements to rest their case with the government, the strike committee and the strikers are insisting on nothing short of genuine union recognition, a signed contract and direct negotiations with the company. It is generally admitted here that the Auto Labor Board has the approval of Roosevelt and that it was he who personally wrote into the Automobile Code the notorious "merit" and "proportional representation" clauses. Strikers themselves point out that it was Roosevelt who forced the renewal of the Auto Code against the universal protest of organized labor and who could, if he would, remove the so-called "traitors" from the Auto Board.

Tries to Divide Workers

T. N. Taylor, Green puppet and machine-man, has been here for the past week trying to usurp the leadership of the strike and localize it. He had been in Toledo previously for five months attempting to divide the solid and powerful union here into many different locals in each plant, the divisive and ruinous craft policy of the old-line A. F. of L. bosses. The local union would have nothing to do with his policies before. His efforts here now are dangerous in view of the lack of experience of the Chevrolet workers.

The local press, always anxious to select labor leaders for the workers whom the employers can

Miners Honor
Slain Fighter In
Mass Funeral

Swarm into Springfield
to Protest Mabie Murder

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Five thousand pickets, members of the Progressive Miners union, retreated from this city after they had failed to stop the Woodside mine of the Peabody Coal Co. from operating. The sudden swarm of pickets was precipitated by the murder of Edris Mabie, a Progressive miner. Mabie and several other miners were shot down by Ray Edmundson, U.M.W.A. state president, and two other company gunmen, who broke up an Easter day affair at the miners' hall.

Hundreds of miners came from as far south as Saline and Franklin county to join the picket army. For days they swarmed around Springfield, sleeping on floors, eating piece-meal here and there, until finally misleadership on the part of the right wing caused them to leave in disgust.

The miners had a splendid opportunity to see the bankruptcy of the Keck leadership. From the outset of the march Keck's second lieutenants were telling everyone not to mention the officers of the union in connection with the picketing as it might result in their arrest. The miners were flabbergasted at such tactics and they wanted to know what officers in a union were for besides drawing handsome salaries.

Edris Mabie's funeral was truly an impressive affair. Fully ten thousand miners and the Women's Auxiliary members marched solemnly for three miles as an escort to the cortege. A sixty-five piece band from Gillespie, Wilsonville and Bend played at the rites. It took over an hour for the huge funeral procession to pass one given point.

Mabie was employed in one of the Progressive mines. He was the father of five children. Although an avowed right winger he had great courage and most all the hot struggles found him in the heat of the fight. The left wing miners came from many parts of Illinois by the hundreds to pay tribute to this worker, the 18th Progressive miner to die in the long mine war.

LANG-BEARSTIAN SOCIALIST

The latest exhibition of one of the Forward gang, a leader among the Old Guard of the Socialist Party is enough to make any worker in or outside of the Socialist ranks turn sick with disgust.

We refer to the series of articles—or should we rather say filth—running in the N. Y. Evening Journal. Not even a lurid minded editor of a Hearst Sunday magazine supplement could have conjured up so much horror and indecency to satisfy the depraved tastes of his thrill-seeking clientele.

A sense of respect for the tastes of our readers forbids us to quote at length from these atrocity stories. Just a scanning of the heads and sn-bends should give one an inkling as to the tripe Mr. Lang is dispensing with the good wishes of his editors, Abraham Cahan and Willy Randolph Hearst. "6,000,000 Dead in Ukraine," "Eat Children," "Graves Opened," "Red Army Soldiers Turn Bandits," etc., etc.

This hysterical yapping at the first workers' state, the Soviet Union, will undoubtedly defeat its own ends. But it marks again the necessity for vigilance and revolutionary mobilization for the defense of the Soviet Union. Only an aroused international working class can fulfill that defense!

The national committee of the Socialist Party has issued a statement criticizing Lang and disclaiming responsibility for the articles. The "Militants" have called for Lang's expulsion from the party. As a "preventive" step James O'neal has preferred charges against his colleague—so that they could pass a light sentence.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The fight at the Colt's Patent Firearms Company of Hartford, Conn. is one of the most significant labor battles that have come up the pike in some time. Its great importance is widely recognized in the trade union movement of New England. The strategy board of the Hartford Central Labor Union has threatened a general strike and authorization to go ahead has already been secured from the state Federation of Labor. No strike in some time has received the financial support from unions in Connecticut and Massachusetts in particular, that this struggle has called forth.

The issue is the basic one of union recognition. Months of negotiations left the union just as much in the soup as ever. The company would not recognize the right of its employees to organize into unions of their own choosing. A powerful and ruthless Manufacturers' Association is very much on the job and has done more than its share in stirring up sentiment for a city-wide walk-out.

A particularly interesting angle to the Colt strike is the revealing picture it paints of the NRA swindle. Most of Colt's business is with the government and if Uncle Sam were to withdraw its orders, the company would be in a bad way. The strikers demanded that the firm's Blue NRA Eagle be taken away for violation of Section 7a. The National Labor Board ruled to that effect and, according to the rules, government buying of Colt products should have automatically ceased. But Donald Richberg rushed into the breach to act as the manufacturer's fair haired boy once more. He has refused to notify government departments of the facts and U.S.A. purchase of Colt goods proceeds merrily.

Weakness . . .

The strike is a militant one and the labor movement seems remarkably well united behind it. But there is a serious weakness in the situation which, though not apparent as yet, may do great harm before the last chapter is written.

There are four unions in the Colt plant which are conducting the strike jointly. Two of them are Federal Labor Unions which take in the mass of the workers. The others are craft locals affiliated to American Federation of Labor internationalists. In order to coordinate the activities of these four, a plant council was set up. Representation on this Council, however, is not on the basis of proportional representation. The craft locals which represent a mere handful of the Colt workers, nevertheless have a vote equal to that of the two Federal Unions which embrace the unskilled and production workers. There seems, at present, to be no conflict among the unions. But this punk imitation of industrial unionism must be shown up for what it really is. Inevitably it will produce division and weakness in the ranks. The issue must be squarely faced and fought by the progressive and militant elements in the unions everywhere.

Shoe Workers . . .

One union of the shoe workers. It has been the goal of all intelligent unionists in the industry for years. A long step toward the achievement of the goal was the organization of the United Shoe and Leather Workers, brought into being by amalgamation of 5 independent unions in the industry. But some organizations stayed outside. And the A.F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers would have no part in the unity movement.

Early in the year a conference held in Washington of every important labor group in the industry and including the Boot and Shoe Workers agreed on the necessity of unification. The United Shoe and Leather Workers posed three points as a minimum basis for amalgamation. They called for a progressive union democratically controlled by its membership; the right of referendum and recall with officials elected by referendum and regular conventions.

But the Boot and Shoe couldn't take it. A later meeting of their Executive Board called off the negotiations for the unity and, in effect, invited the membership of the other groups to join them as a substitute for amalgamation.

No Fights . . .

An attempt was made to at least come to an understanding which would end the bitter fights between the various organizations. "At an informal meeting held on March 15 at which several officials of the B. & S. and the heads of the independent Unions were present," reports the United Shoe and Leather Worker, "a sort of gentleman's agreement was suggested whereby each organization would undertake not to interfere with the organization activities of the other." Mr. Mara (chief of the Boot and Shoe) even sent a letter to all his locals in which he declared that where there was evidence of an organizing campaign by an independent group, no special efforts be made to discourage or disrupt them.

No Gentleman . . .

But Mr. Mara turns out to be no gentleman. The United now charges that the A. F. of L. union, with the approach of the slack season, is busily engaged in trying to persuade manufacturers to break their agreements with the independent and sign up with the Boot and Shoe. In Haverhill, Mass. they have induced the Emerson Shoe Company to get out from under its agreement by reorganizing and discharging the United members. Other bosses are being coaxed to move from their present locations for the same purpose. The Boot and Shoe offers lower wages and more docile labor. It has always relied chiefly on the union label to get contracts with manufacturers. Instead of genuine organization work, they have used the prestige and the buying power of the organized labor movement to set up a neat little racket all of their own. The movement for unification is proceeding, however. The various independent groups are continuing negotiations. It is probable that a real united organization will be too strong for the bureaucrats of the Federation union to withstand. The amalgamation movement seems to have taken real hold in this one industry at least. May its tribe increase. . . .

Greetings
TO THE
New Militant
FROM
Harlem Branch
Workers Party
of the U. S.

Flatbush Branch
Greets
THE
New Militant
AND
Workers Party
of the U. S.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Road to Power . . .

In the current issue of the New Leader appears an article by the Menshevik, Abramowitsch, on "Socialism on the Road to Power." Here reformist Socialism once more lifts its head and tries to create the impression that it may revive and come to life. Two currents in the rapidly moving world scene create the illusion among those like Abramowitsch, cast on the rubbish heap of history, that it is yet possible for them to come into their own. The first is the assumption of office in the so-called "democratic" countries by labor parties. Thus "labor" governments have come into power in the three Scandinavian countries; the labor party enters the national concentration government in Belgium; and finally in England events foreshadow a new Labor Party government. True, says Abramowitsch, the governments do not have a majority in parliament and hence "do not place before themselves the task of immediate realization of Socialism." Their immediate task is to supply "correctives" for capitalism. Such reforms can no longer be carried out by capitalism itself. The job of salvaging capitalism must be performed by the proletariat "through the instrumentalities of its own parties" and it is in this sense that these parties must take "power"; that is, take over responsibility for the bourgeois government and the bourgeois, not the Socialist, system of society!

The Betrayals . . .

Abramowitsch knows quite well the specific weight of the Scandinavian countries as against Germany. He recognizes in passing the "severe blow" dealt to international Socialism by the victory of Hitler. But he dare not stop to analyze the lessons of that blow, nor to apportion the responsibility for the frightful defeat of the German workers organized in the strongest Social Democratic party in the world. He is consoled by the misery to which the masses have been driven by the crisis. "The crisis now shaking the edifice of capitalism to its very foundation, emphasizing more clearly than ever the bankruptcy of capitalism, has compensated to a considerable degree the defeat suffered by Socialism in Central Europe." The reformist and parliamentary cretins, misleading the workers and preventing their taking power, thereby forcing them to undergo the wretchedness and suffering of a decaying capitalist system, feel compensated by this very misery! And when the Abramowitsches see signs of a recrudescence of the class struggle, they propose to play the game once more as in Germany, as though Hitler did not exist, as though the working class had learned nothing from its experience. "This process of recovery is taking place in countries where democracy is firmly in power, and on a platform of reformism and coalition with demo-

cratic-bourgeois parties." In short, he approves of the very process which creates illusions among the workers, which lulls them into passivity and disarms them at the very moment when fascism is making its bid for power (and not with votes!) in every country in Europe. The approaching imperialist war threatens the workers and all their democratic rights, gained through years of struggle and at untold sacrifice. Abramowitsch gives lip service to the fact that only the forces of Socialism can prevent war. And then this social chauvinist adds, in preparation for the actuality: "And only the working class, as the basic power upon which modern industry rests, can help win a war should it be impossible to avert it. Thus do the reformists guarantee their next betrayal in advance, guarantee national defense to uphold the capitalist system. . . .

Abramowitsch . . .

The second current that gives courage to the Mensheviks is the trend of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The complete swing to the right, the concessions made to the peasants, the blow dealt to the real Marxists have gained the applause of the Mensheviks. Abramowitsch encourages this trend and wants to see it go even further. After stating that the problem of power in Russia has not been solved, despite appearances, he asks for more concessions and greater steps to the right. "The democratization of the Soviet regime, conciliation (through compromise) upon abandonment of Utopianism) with the basic forces of the peasantry (read kulaks) and the proletariat (read the upper strata) is the immediate task in the problem of the 'road to power' in Russia." A reconciliation with the Mensheviks is guardedly proposed. This would strengthen "the revolutionary government" as well as the Socialist proletariat of Europe. The whole tenor of the remarks on the Soviet Union is to soften the struggle against Stalin, to ask further moves to the right from the bureaucracy, and on this basis to promise to "defend the Soviet Union." Such defense of the Soviet Union as would be made by the Mensheviks would mean the end of the Soviets. The founders of the Soviets, Lenin and Trotsky, were convinced that the October Revolution would not survive without the support of a proletarian revolution in the West. Stalinism is the living proof of the degeneration of the October Revolution, its downgrading, without that support. The failure to give that support, the defeat of the proletarian revolution in the West, can be laid at the door of the reformist Socialists. By continuing their historic role, they propose to end the last vestiges of October. It still remains true that only a revolution in one of the advanced countries can save the October Soviet Revolution. But that is the task, not of the Second or Third, but of the Fourth International.

In the Service of His Majesty

By H. ST.

COPENHAGEN.—It was not of its own initiative nor by means of class struggle action that the Norwegian Labor Party came to power. The farmers' party withdrew support from the Mowinckel government and all of a sudden the Labor Party found that power had fallen right into its lap. But what sort of power was it? That is the point to be examined.

"The present government has no majority in this hall, but it is nevertheless a parliamentary government and will naturally consider it its duty, in this question as in all others, to carry out the will of the Storting as long as it holds its place."

The above was the declaration made in the Norwegian chamber (Storting) by Defense Minister Mowinckel of the Labor government. The whole program of the Labor government is practically summed up in these words. The Labor government is nothing more than the executive organ of the bourgeois-parliamentary majority. A more promising situation than this the Norwegian bourgeoisie could hardly imagine! It continues to determine the political course in the future, but leaves the responsibility with the Labor Party. And in their agitation, the bourgeois parties enjoy a free hand while the Labor party is open to attack from all sides.

Voting the King's Stipend

Here are a few examples of the government policy as it works out in practice.

The former Mowinckel government had already worked out the budget. Now the Labor government takes over this same budget—with several insignificant changes in the form of concessions to the farmers' party—that is, it now votes for most of the items in the budget which it previously voted against. Truly, a grotesque situation.

In monarchies it is the custom to deal first with the king's stipend. While the Labor party used to move every year in the past for a reduction of the king's stipend, this year the whole Storting fraction of the N.A.P. (Norv. Arbeider Partiet) voted to a man for the originally proposed 900,000 Kroner.

In the same manner, it unanimously approved the budget for the state police which it had opposed even in the budget commission. The state police, formerly nicknamed the "white guard" by the Labor Party, made itself particularly hateful to the Norwegian workers by its murderous assault on the striking forest workers in 1927. Today the Labor Party is assuming the duty of maintaining the "white guard" in existence.

Just to show that we haven't lost our sense of humor, we want to quote from the editorial in the Arbeiderbladet by the real leader of the N.A.P., Traaen, in which he defends this policy:

"The royal stipend was established by contract before he (the king) came here. He wanted to be assured of a regular salary which we would be legally responsible for. When the Labor Party voted for a smaller salary on previous

Norwegian Labor Party Enters Cabinet Under Domination of Ruling Class

occasions, it did not do so at any time as a demonstration against the king—because there is no cause for that—but against the maneuvers of Christian Michelsen, Wedel Jarlsberg and the other bourgeois politicians carried on in 1905 (1). This demonstration had its uses. It underscored our views of all the events that took place in the summer of 1905. But there are no grounds for continuing it now, that is why we have given up this demonstration. But it is self-evident that the party has in no way given up its basic republican principles."

New Uses for Cops
As for the state police, the editorial writer assures us it will only be utilized to regulate intoxication and traffic. And therefore everything is in the best of order. That is how the republican revolutionary Labor party behaves the moment power falls into its lap. It does not even occur to it that a king can be deposed. The only thing they have against the bourgeoisie is that it did not procure a cheaper king for the Norwegians after the dissolution of the royal Swedish-Norwegian union.

But what should the Norwegian government do? In order to guard

ourselves against the accusation of being negative in our criticism and of wanting to transplant the Russian revolution schematically to Norway, we wish to make the following remarks: In the first place, it was the duty of the Labor Party after its electoral victory in 1933, to force its way into the government through extra-parliamentary struggle and not to wait until the parliamentary constellation would throw it into its lap.

However, to proceed from the accomplished fact—the Labor government has been formed. In the Storting there is a small bourgeois minority whose policy undoubtedly runs counter to the will of 90 per cent of the Norwegian people—the workers, the small farmers, the seamen, the fishermen. In the fall of the past year the Norwegian trades union congress met. It gave evidence to a splendid class spirit and demanded the formation of a workers' government.

Importance of Trades Unions
The trades unions are 200,000 members strong; Norway has a population of 2,800,000. If we add to the trades union members their families, they represent almost a third of the nation—its laboring,

its productive section. Therefore, in order to create a counter weight to the reactionary majority in parliament, the government ought to first of all, call a permanent trades union congress into session. In the small towns and villages, the farmers and fishermen should then be called upon to elect their delegates to this trades union congress.

In this manner direct, popular representation could be created to express the will of the overwhelming majority of the Norwegian people. To this congress, the government could then propose the following measures: the nationalization of the banks, the introduction of workers control of production, aiming toward the independent administration of the factories by the workers, the confiscation of the landed estates, the introduction of a radically graduated property and income tax, the liberation of the small farmers from their mortgage and debt burdens, the organization of immediate relief measures for the needy fishermen, etc., etc.

There can be no doubt that under the influence of the radical trades union section, such a "Workers, Farmers and Fishermen's Congress" would support the government measures. After that, these measures could be laid before the Storting. Should they meet with rejection by this body, the Storting could be dissolved with the full support of the workers' congress. If the king opposed this policy—as most likely he would—the government could confidently proceed to depose the king. The responsibility for the use of arms could be placed squarely upon the shoulders of the opposition. Internationally, the difficulties of the situation would be more than offset by the enthusiasm that Socialist measures in Norway would arouse in the other Scandinavian countries and in the rest of Europe.

But these miserable "revolutionaries" of the N.A.P. cannot and will not recognize this sure road to the proletarian revolution in Scandinavia. Dissatisfaction in the party ranks and among the workers is growing constantly. But there is no group to give this revolutionary unrest expression, to raise its voice for the revolutionary way out. That increases the danger that dissatisfaction may turn into mistrust for the labor movement as such and thus pave the way for Fascist agitation. The need for a revolutionary group in Norway is of a transcendent importance.

(Unless we are greatly mistaken, the N.A.P. is still in close alliance with the "revolutionary" I.L.P., the S.A.P. and the so-called London Amsterdam Bureau. Some of these people will probably remember how they forsook a firm course towards the Fourth International in order to be with a mass party like the N.A.P. Did they reckon the king into the bargain also?)

police officers. The technique is different, the aim the same.

The next days and weeks may bring us concrete information of those against whom the Stalinist frame-up was directed this time. But, if the number of new victims is to be reduced to a minimum, it is necessary to begin a campaign to expose a new amalgam and its authors.

March 31, 1935

Quoted from the Opposition Bulletin (Bolshevik-Leninists).

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

F. H. NEW CASTLE—
Question: Is not the economy of fascism, as well as that of the Soviet Union, planned, i.e., are not the capitalists, forced to surrender their wealth to the government which operates it for all society, so that the economy is neither capitalist nor socialist? Does not the "New Deal," in tending towards this, lead to a planned economy?

Answer: Capitalist production is commodity production, i.e., the production of things for exchange (or sale), and so long as capitalism exists, so must the latter. The essence of this form of production is competition and the creation of goods for an unknown market. If competition did not exist between buyers and sellers, one with the other, there would be no way of arriving at prices, and the whole basis for capitalism would collapse.

A planned economy, however, can be conceived only if competition between the producers is eliminated and production organized by a central management, which knows the ultimate destination of all goods produced and has the power of controlling the amount of products to be made and the manner in which they are to be distributed. This, however would no longer be capitalism. It is true that monopoly does away, at least partly, with competition within certain industries, but this only aggravates it by raising the struggle between small industries to a contest between giants.

Under capitalism, therefore, and this applies to the "New Deal," planned economy is impossible so that the touchstone to the problem is this: in order to plan economy, capitalism must be abolished.

As even a superficial examination shows, fascism does not stand between capitalism and socialist society, but is capitalist society, so that a planned economy is excluded. The stock market remains, wage labor remains; the banks, factories, etc. all are in the hands of finance capital, as in bourgeois-democratic society. What appears here as "planning" consists in the fact that the state power, which, in class society, is always the agent of the class which owns the means of production, not only consistently suppresses and maintains in an amorphous state all organizations which might be used against it, particularly those of the working class (trade unions, political parties, etc.), but also directly suppresses those smaller capitalist competitors who are ruined under bourgeois democracy by more indirect methods, (e.g., lower prices, depriving of credits, raw materials, etc.). On the surface, therefore, it may appear that the capitalists are also being regulated and as though the government is being operated in the interests of "society," whereas the suppression is, in reality, carried out in the interests of a numerically small financial oligarchy which manages to keep its existence and identity successfully in the background.

The only social form, standing between capitalism and socialism, is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the form of state power in the Soviet Union, and only in that country is planned economy, made realizable by the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords, possible. This statement must be qualified because a COMPLETELY planned economy can be achieved only in a SOCIALIST society. The political conditions exist in the Soviet Union for organizing production along Socialist lines, but the economy of that country and the world are inseparably linked, so that the planning, subject to the unknown fluctuations and crises of the capitalist world, is necessarily limited. Humanity will know a completely planned economy, free of unknown social upsets only if and when the international Socialist society will become a historical fact.

"Strength of the Soviet Union!" Just as delighted as they must be when they contemplate the fact that the commander of the forces directly harassing them in Northern Kwelchow is none other than Hsueh Yoh, the Kuomintang officer who in April 1927 was sufficiently under the influence of his pro-Communist troops to offer his forces to the C. P. Central Committee to oppose the impending coup of Chiang Kai-shek. But under the orders of the Stalinized Comintern, the C. P. rejected his offer for fear of "provoking" Chiang! More mindless irony still!

Nothing can cover the ugly nakedness of this latest proof of the cynical contempt in which Stalin's representatives regard the deepest sensibilities of the workers of other countries. But let Stalin entertain the butchers of the workers and let the Chinese Stalinists drink the bitter draught and keep still. The Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists have their own work to do! —LO SEN

AKRON NOTICE

New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE
29 So. Main Street, Akron
CONFIDENTIAL STORE
1 West Market Street, Akron

Bolshevik-Leninists in U.S.S.R. Face New Frame-Up

By L. TROTSKY

On January 18, 1935, I wrote on the question of the Zinoviev affair: "It would be criminal light-mindedness to think that Stalin has renounced his attempts to frame us up in some new 'affair' cooked up by the G.P.U. or its foreign agents. Stalin has no other method of struggle against us."

To be sure, the threat of such a new amalgam is hanging over the heads of our friends in the U.S.S.R. Its preparation is filthy and abominable. But that indeed does not hinder it from opening the road to bloody repressions against the Bolsheviks and their relations.

On March 20, Pravda published reports on the expulsion from Leningrad of old nobles, big industrialists, landed proprietors, judges and czarist police officers, in all 1,074 individuals. The report added: "Part of the exiles are indicted . . . for activity against the State in the interest of foreign nations."

We completely omit here the question of how, 18 years after October, there could be found in Leningrad more than one thousand dangerous representatives of old Czarist Russia. Does this mean that the G.P.U., while hunting down and exterminating the Leninists, had not noticed the class enemies?

Or does it mean that the thousand mentioned above did not previously represent any danger and had raised their heads only now after the Stalinist regime has led to terrorist acts inside the party and to bloody mass repressions against the party youth. In either case, the official information leaves no doubt as to the personalities against whom the Leningrad purging was directed: all the 1,074 individuals belonged unmistakably to strata of the former ruling classes and the Czarist bureaucracy.

But five days later, in Pravda of March 25, we already find a new version; on the question of the arrests and deportations, it says the following, word for word:

"The foul dogs of the Trotskyists, the Zinovievists, the old princes, counts, gendarmes, all this refuse, which acted in concert in an attempt to undermine the foundations of our state."

Thus, among the 1,074 people exiled and indicted, and at their head were to be found "Trotskyists and Zinovievists" who acted "in concert" with the former ministers and Czarist police officers. But why then were the group of Trotskyists and Zinovievists completely omitted from the official report of March 20, which gave a precise enumeration of all those expelled and indicted? It is absolutely clear: the laboratory of amalgams had carried a "correction" to the official information several days later: the former police agents, they aver, acted in concert with the Trotskyists and Zinovievists, which they had forgotten, God knows why, five days earlier.

Besides this unexpected "correction," they carry another not unimportant qualification, concerning the scope of the crime. The March 20 report says that the nobles and the police officers acted in the "interest (?) of foreign nations." The vagueness of this formula is self-evident. We have too close at heart the cause of the international working class and its need for the Fourth International to permit any trifling, or to lend our name and prestige as a cover for elements who attack the aims and policies of these groups who are the outstanding proponents of the Fourth International.

For the Fourth International. For a new revolutionary Youth International.

understood. March 25th Pravda, referring to the Trotskyists and the nobles who "acted in concert," uses a much more exact formula: they worked, it states, "according to the instructions of foreign information bureaus." Thus, in the span of five days, these miserable falsifiers permit us to see with the naked eye the beginning and the end of the new intrigue, which assuredly is not the last.

Only consummate idiots could think that Pravda has merely shown an excess of polemical zeal against the "Trotskyists," by adding lies and calumnies which are superfluous in the account. No, Pravda is not "Humanite." Behind Pravda is the G.P.U. The editors of the Pravda do not write what ever comes into their head; they act on instructions from specific institutions. The March 25th article is direct evidence that in five days it was decided to prepare new bloody repressions against the oppositionists and since there was no convenient terrorist act at hand, Pravda was instructed to link this newest extermination of Bolsheviks to the measures taken against the old proprietors, nobles and police officers.

We speak of new repressions: have they already taken place or do they merely threaten? We do not know that. It is highly possible that the cowardly article in the March 25 Pravda might be, after a fashion, an anonymous obituary for Leninists who have already been shot: it is also possible, that this is only a preparation for bloody repressions. In any case, it is clear that Stalin is repairing the setback of the Leningrad G.P.U.: the amalgam with the Leningrad G.P.U. missed fire—so he substitutes for it an amalgam with nobles and

Pouring Salt on the Wounds of China's Oppressed Masses

SHANGHAI.—Almost exactly 8 years ago Stalin's "bloc of four classes" led the workers of Shanghai on the morrow of their victorious insurrection, under the broad swords of Chiang Kai-shek's executioners. Chief of the murderous squads which patrolled the streets with their heavy blades and Mausers was Yang Hu, later rewarded with the command of the Shanghai garrison. Chief organizers of the attack on the workers during the night of April 12 were Hwang Ching-ung and Tu Yueh-sen, notorious uncrowned kings of the Shanghai gang world. Since then these three men have assumed direct responsibility for the frightful white terror waged against workers and all revolutionaries in the Shanghai area.

Last month another one of those mindless ironies which have accompanied the theory of socialism in one country completed a new point in China's Stalin cycle. Yang Hu, Hwang Ching-ung and Tu Yueh-sen were received on February 16 at the local Soviet Consulate General by scraping, smirking Soviet officials. Together with a coterie of notorious henchmen of Chiang Kai-shek, they took their places at the luncheon table, honored guests of the consular representative of the proletarian fatherland.

Banquet for Concubine
And the occasion? Perhaps it was another one of those affairs, like Radek's love feast with Filand-ski, justified by "Friends of the Soviet Union" on grounds of "high policy" and "diplomatic necessity"? No, it was a farewell luncheon to

Mei Lan-fang, exponent of China's cob-web-ridden feudal dramatic art and darling protégé of the most reactionary cliques in the country, who together with "Butterfly" Wu, former mistress of Chang Hsueh-liang, movie star and one of the most decadent and hideous ornaments of Chinese bourgeois society, had been specially invited to Moscow by Stalin's Government. Stalin even sent a ship down from Vladivostok to hasten them on their way.

(Not long ago one of the founders and best fighters of the Communist Party of a certain colonial country was forced to flee, made his way to Shanghai and invoked the aid of the Soviet consulate for passage on one of the Soviet steamers to Vladivostok. His identification was unimpeachable and his plight desperate. But the Soviet officials threw him out to the mercies of the police-infested streets. All efforts by local Communist friends to get him aboard a Soviet steamer were frustrated because, prithce, he lacked a passport in proper order! But Stalin can send a whole steamer for Chang Hsueh-liang's whore!)
Irony of Fate

The Chinese Communist Party was relieved of the necessity of explaining this nauseating performance to the workers of Shanghai for it no longer has access to even the smallest section of the Shanghai proletariat. Perhaps the remains of the Stalinist apparatus was able to broadcast the happy news to the peasant armies, fighting desperately for their lives against pursuing Kuomintang forces in West China! How the peasant leaders would have been delighted with this new testimony to the

S. Y. L. Flays Youth Buro Rep. for Stand at Paris Meet

(Ed. Note.—We have been requested by the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League to publish the following open letter.) . . .

April 19, 1935
To the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, Stockholm.
Comrades:

The Spartacus Youth League of America, youth section of the Workers Party of the United States, despite the handicap of distance, follows with keen interest the development abroad of the movement for the building of the Fourth International. It was with the sole desire of participating actively in the international field in every way possible that offered a means to further this most important work of a time, that our organization adhered to the Stockholm Bureau, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations. In order to keep our members actively informed on international questions and the work of the Bureau we have published and will continue to publish, the bulletin of the International Bureau in the English language. We have taken it upon ourselves to supply all English speaking countries with the bulletin (England, Australia, Canada, etc.). For the purpose of independently participating in all decisions of the Bureau we established regular connections through communications. Our attitude toward the Bureau and all that we have done in connection with it was predicated upon the real usefulness of the Bureau in helping to pave the road to the Fourth International, the necessary instrumentality for guiding the world proletariat to victory against reactionary capitalism.

Having taken these great steps forward it is not hard to imagine our feelings when we learn that at the recent Paris conference of the

International Labor Alliance, the representative of the Stockholm Bureau, our "representative" also found it possible to utilize this occasion to attack vigorously and solely those representatives who were defending the need of the Fourth International. Our Dutch comrades Sneevliet and Schmidt were the most authoritative and outstanding spokesmen for the new International. The attack made on them was not personal but rather, in our view, a calculated blow at the ideas of the new Fourth International.

The fact that the representative of the Stockholm youth bureau was compelled by discipline to vote for the resolution in favor of the new International places the matter in no better light. An attack on the upholders of the need of a Fourth International, from those within its ranks, is an act of treachery and is not to be tolerated for one moment. As the representative of the Youth Bureau, his attack upon the upholders of the idea of the new International (Sneevliet and Schmidt) is interpreted as the official position of the Bureau and of all the Youth organizations affiliated to it. We wish to state that we dissociate ourselves from and condemn most emphatically the intolerable conduct of the representative of our Bureau at the Paris conference. We further demand that there be no repetition of this act. We record this fact publicly so that there be no question of our position.

How does it happen that the Stockholm Bureau, founded for the purpose of aiding the movement for the Fourth International, by gathering together the Youth forces of the world to ultimately organize the youth section of this Fourth International, could nevertheless send as its spokesman to Paris one who demonstrates in actuality such hostility to these basic ideas? To us the only explanation lies in the

constitution of the Secretariat.

We here are under the impression that back of the Paris incident lies a completely false relationship of forces in the Secretariat: a combination of S.A.P. and Swedish youth leaders against the so-called "Trotskyites" who are faithful proponents of the Fourth International. We could have little to say if this representation reflected accurately the relationship of forces of the youth organizations constituting our Bureau. But that is far from the case. When we consider the real youth forces at the present time we think at once, in addition to those already represented on the bureau, of the youth section of the newly formed Dutch party (out of the fusion of the O.S.P. with the R.S.P.); of the French youth forming a part of the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction in the S.F.I.O. which exerts wide influence in the Federation of the Seine; of the Belgian Youth with deep roots in the J.G.S. Nor do we fail to add to these our own organization (the Spartacus Youth League of America) whose influence and strength continues to grow daily as indicated by the success of our numerous projects and by the fact that the membership of the organization has been far more than doubled in the past three months.

It is our decided opinion that the Bureau, if it is to mean anything, if it is to continue to serve as an apparatus for the Fourth International, must be immediately reorganized to take account of these influential sections. Accordingly we demand the immediate addition of two members to the secretariat; namely, a representative from the Dutch organization and one from the French. The new secretariat of five, we further demand, must be permitted to select its own residence and its own staff. Naturally we demand at the same time, as being constituted likewise on a false basis, the liquidation of the at present useless sub-bureau at Paris.

We request that an answer be given at once to our demands. What further steps we shall take depends entirely on your reply. The situation is at present utterly intoler-

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Local 574 Under Fire Again

The revocation of the charter of Minneapolis Local 574 by Tobin, the reactionary president of the Teamsters' International, and the attempt, by this simple trick, to "outlaw" the union, coincides with a new conspiracy of the bosses to rob the Minneapolis labor movement of the gains made in the great strikes of 1934.

Local 574 was beyond all question the leader and the inspiring and organizing force of the resurgent movement which put trade unionism on its feet in Minneapolis. Naturally, therefore, the new maneuver of the notorious Citizens' Alliance, operating this time through a stooge organization known as the "Committee of 100," is directed first of all at the stronghold of unionism represented by Local 574. The new conspiracy was pretty well shattered by premature exposure and the savage counter attack of the progressive union forces. Tobin's perfidious action is designed to bolster up the sagging front of the Citizens' Alliance, and most probably was taken in direct agreement with this malodorous association of union haters.

The issue presented here is one of paramount importance to the labor movement of Minneapolis, for its fate is directly involved in the outcome of the new attempt to isolate and destroy the mighty local of Drivers, Helpers and Inside workers. The strategy, now, as in 1934, is to break 574, then crush the other unions one by one; and from the standpoint of the bosses it is a pretty good strategy. But this is all too obvious, and the wide-awake unionists of Minneapolis understand it clearly. They rallied around Local 574 in the strikes of last year and helped to carry it to victory. From all accounts they are responding to the present onslaught with the same essential solidarity. This gives the brightest prospect for another brilliant labor victory and another formidable advance of the cause of unionism in Minneapolis when the smoke of the present battle clears away.

Beyond that, the attempt to "outlaw" Local 574 is a matter of profound concern to the labor movement at large, especially to the unions of newly organized workers. The latter, attempting correctly to exist within the framework of the general labor movement represented by the A. F. of L., are confronted with a dilemma. If they trust to the policies and the leadership of the official heads of the A. F. of L. they get nothing but the run-around. Their strikes are headed off by shameful capitulations masked as "settlements" or, if strikes break out, they are cut to pieces and betrayed.

The bitter experiences of the steel, textile, auto and rubber workers, to mention only a few outstanding examples, all testify to the truth that the new unions have nothing whatever to gain on this road. The workers are beginning to realize this in increasing numbers. The Toledo strike, now spreading to other points, is proof of a deep-seated determination of the workers in the new unions to take things into their own hands and to act on their own account.

On the other hand, the unions which take the course of direct struggle to enforce their demands, as Local 574 did with such exemplary militancy, run straight up against the irreconcilable antagonism of the reactionary bureaucracy. If Green, Tobin and Co. cannot prevent strikes they try to break them; if they cannot control the unions they try to "outlaw" them.

What is happening at Minneapolis today will be repeated on a wide scale in the next rise of the class struggle. It is sheer utopianism to expect anything else; the part of wisdom is to understand what is coming and to prepare for it. The case-hardened agents of capital in

the labor movement, tied with a thousand threads to the ruling interests, are incapable of any real struggle against them and completely devoid of any faith in the masses. They interpret—and not without good reason—every serious struggle of the workers against the bosses as implicitly a struggle against them.

These struggles are bound to increase and multiply; there is no other way for the workers to protect themselves. The Government will then throw off its mask of benevolence toward the unions and come out openly as a strike breaker. The labor betrayers will supplement this policy by wholesale expulsions of individual militants and whole union organizations. It is absolutely impossible to have a correct trade union policy if this perspective is not taken into account.

The case of local 574 is a test of the capacity of militants to cope with one of the key problems of strategy in the trade union movements. Alert militants in all parts of the country are bound to follow this development closely to see how the attack is met in Minneapolis. Local 574 showed the world how to conduct militant strikes against the heaviest odds and to come out victorious. The simple chronicle of the great battles waged under its banner in 1934 would constitute a handbook of modern strike strategy. And from all appearances the Minneapolis militants are also setting the pace and showing the way for a correct and effective struggle against the expulsion policy of a reactionary, boss-serving officialdom.

Two simple rules govern their strategy, each of equal importance.

First, they do not take the treacherous attack of Tobin lying down. They do not capitulate or give way to despair. They are not taken by surprise; the iron militants of Local 574 knew long ago that Tobin and his ilk are nothing but class enemies disguised as labor leaders. Nothing but treachery was expected of Tobin.

They prepared the ranks for the conspiracy, and Tobin's probable part in it, and took the offensive to mobilize the labor movement for the fight in good time. The fixed policy at Minneapolis is to fight for every position and not to give anything away. Without this spirit no real progress is possible anywhere in the labor movement.

Second, the union does not run away from the Teamsters' International and the A. F. of L. merely because a panic-stricken bureaucrat wants to get rid of them. They appeal against the expulsion, and announce their intention to fight it out at every step and through every channel of appeal, up to the highest bodies of the A. F. of L.

Meantime they take their case to the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis, appeal directly to every affiliated local union for support and aid in their fight for reinstatement, and prepare to carry the fight to the State Federation of Labor Convention. The answer of Local 574 to the command of a tyrant to get out of the International and the A. F. of L. is an intensified campaign deeper into the other locals of the International and the A. F. of L. unions generally, especially the unions of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota.

This tactic goes hand in hand with an organizing and recruiting campaign to bring every eligible worker into the union, a militant campaign of agitation against the conspiracy of the bosses and the traitor president of the Teamsters' International, and a notice to the world that the union, which was built into a power of labor at the cost of great sacrifices and not a little blood, is going to fight to the last ditch to maintain its position as the union of the Minneapolis Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers.

With the present mood of the laboring masses who are animated more and more by the feeling that they have nothing to lose, such a spirit and tactic is the prescription for labor success and advancement. The bosses and their agents in the labor movement who have provoked the new struggle in Minneapolis may get the surprise of their lives. There is the making of a magnificent labor victory there which can be no less an inspiration and a guide to other unions than the heroic strike victories of 1934. The Minneapolis militants are writing a bright new chapter of labor history which will take its place in the text book of the struggle against capitalism and its agents in the trade union movement. In 1935 as in 1934 Minneapolis and Toledo lead the way.

5,000 in Cleveland
May First Parade

CLEVELAND, O., May 1.—Approximately 5,000 workers turned out to Public Square to celebrate May Day. It was a real united front demonstration, the first that Cleveland has seen for some years. The Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Workers Party, the I.W.O., and several rank and file unions participated in the meeting at Public Square and the parade that followed through the main streets of the city.

The speakers stressed the importance of the fact that a real united front of labor had been accomplished and that this should serve as a notice to the masters that the

workers of Cleveland will stand solidly together when a common danger threatens. This point was especially emphasized by the speaker for the Workers Party, Comrade Nathan Gould. He was the only speaker who mentioned the word "revolution." All the others managed to avoid it some way or other.

He started out by referring to the Workers Party as "the revolutionary Workers Party of the United States," and proclaimed proletarian revolution as its ultimate aim, while meantime fighting for better conditions for employed and unemployed and for the struggle against Fascism and War.

Comrade Gould's talk was loudly applauded and the whole affair must be considered as a definite victory for the genuine united front idea.

Debate on WP vs. SP
Scheduled in N. Y.

"Which Party for American Labor? Workers Party or Socialist Party?" will be debated Thursday afternoon at 3 P.M. at New York University, Washington Square, Main Building, room 581.

Murray Baron, leader of the Militants, will defend the S. P. and Joseph Carter, administrator of the International Workers School will present the program of the Workers Party.

The debate is under the auspices of the N.Y.U. chapter of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the Discussion Club. All interested are invited.



Heed the Call of Toledo!

(Continued from Page 1)

made complete, the union got a signed agreement with the firm, and the company union was smashed.

The comrades of the W. P. did not go to sleep after that great effort or become arm-chair philosophers trying to live on the glory of the fight that was past. Patiently they gathered a few progressives in the unions around them. Tirelessly they threw themselves into every struggle that occurred. Eagerly they read and talked with more experienced comrades in order to deepen their knowledge both of the theory and the practical tactics of the revolutionary movement. Steadily their conviction of the fundamental role of the revolutionary party grew.

Thus the tradition of militancy was built up in the Automobile Workers Union in Toledo and to a large extent in other unions. As Oliver Myers, business agent of the Electrical Workers Union in Toledo, stated at the recent A. F. of L. conference in Washington which was passing resolutions as usual and letting it go at that: "We don't do things like this in Toledo. We strike the damned job. We don't come down to Washington, we go on the picket line."

Distrust of trade union officials who try to make the workers believe that their hope lies in "cooperation" with the bosses, and government agencies such as the Automobile Labor Board, was built up at least among the more progressive workers. Local union officials like Ramsey who played a questionable role in the Auto-Lite strike were undermined.

Week after week demonstrated that a revolutionary party such as the W. P. with a sound trade union policy is a tower of strength to the workers. Not one strike was lost in Toledo this past year. The Auto Workers Federal Union 18384 alone gained thousands of members, signed contracts with every important automobile parts plant in Toledo, and substantially improved conditions.

That is the background of the strike that broke the apathy and peace of the automobile situation last Tuesday and made it impossible for Wm. S. Knudsen himself to get into the Chevrolet plant until strike chairman, Jimmy Roland, granted permission.

To the crucial struggle which has now begun the Workers Party pledges anew its fullest support. (As I write these words, a union member comes into the room to report that the strike meeting tonight cheered and cheered again when the telegram of Morris Lewitt, N. Y. District Organizer of the W. P., pledging support and telling about the picketing of General Motors offices in New York by the W. P., was read.) Well do we know that if this strike attains its objective and brings General Motors to its knees a great step will have been taken toward that day when the giant American working-class rises in its might to smash capitalism.

The Strike Committee has outlined a sound policy: No going back to work except on the basis of a signed contract giving genuine union recognition.

Direct negotiations between strike committee and management—no turning over of authority to negotiate to government boards or union officials in Washington.

Extension of the strike to every General Motors plant in the country.

Establishment of machinery to coordinate the strike and settlement activity on a national scale.

We call upon our Party throughout the land, upon the unions, the unemployed leagues, all working-class organizations, to provide genuine, constant and enthusiastic support to the strike. Respond to every call from the union for help! Assist in manning the picket lines! Call upon any General Motors plants still working to come out on strike! Picket the salesrooms and offices of General Motors! Refuse to buy any General Motors products, automobiles, fridges, etc.!

For a victorious strike!
For decisive defeat of the anti-labor policy of the automobile barons!

For a fighting national union of automobile workers!
Workers in steel, textiles, rubber, automobiles, mining, every great industry, hear the call of Toledo!

Make the Chevrolet strike the signal for a general series of assaults upon the Roosevelt starvation policy and entrenched American capitalism!

May Day March
Biggest in Years

(Continued from Page 1)

culminated and at this point the enthusiasm of the workers was considerably dampened by the maladroitness of the marchers to fold up their banners under police supervision and to proceed to the meeting in the park proper with their ranks broken.

The meeting in the park itself proved to be a harmless concert which, except for the speech of Comrade James P. Cannon, was entirely out of harmony with the militant, fighting spirit of the workers displayed throughout the parade. The reformist leaders of the unions and of the Socialist Party seemed more concerned to prove their "respectability" and "patriotism" to the park commissioner and the capitalist city government than to comply with the spirit of the May Day celebrations. That indomitable spirit of the workers' will to victory pervaded the ranks of the unions on the march and left them grumbling at the kowtowing tactics of their leaders in the park itself.

Cannon Alone Stresses Struggle

In his brief speech at the Mall, Comrade Cannon introduced the only note of revolutionary tenor in the whole meeting, sharply distinguishing himself from Antonini, Waldman, Norman Thomas and company by stressing the struggle character of May Day as represented and expressed by the heroic strike in Toledo. He warned against the war preparations of the capitalists and concluded that the only factor working for peace is the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Lively applause greeted his remarks. The speaker for the I.W.O. was cut off by Antonini in abject deference to the command of the park commissioner to stop all speaking after the expiration of the "time limit" the leaders had supinely agreed to.

400 members and sympathizers of the Workers Party gathered at Germania Hall in the evening to round off the day with a celebration fitting for the day and for the party, which embodies its essential spirit. Comrade Reva Grainger spoke for the Spartacus Youth League and Comrades Cannon and E. R. McKinney, speaking for the party, berated the cowardly tactics of the reformists in the park and stirred those present with appeals to increase their activity and carry the militancy of the party more deeply into the ranks of the unions, so that such tactics and the leaders who practice them will give way to the real and inherent fighting spirit of the workers.

The Communist Party parade, which had to be carried on separately because the sectarian and splitting tactics of former years still makes the mass of the workers wary of a united front with them, and enables the reformist leaders to sabotage every move for united action, brought together about 50,000 and culminated in a mass meeting at Union Square. The pacifism which the Communist Party leaders introduced into it was of the same kind as that of the reformist union leaders and the S. P. "old guard" at Central Park.

LEFT . . .
. . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

POLICE HERO

Philadelphia, April 2.—Nicholas Scaffidi, a policeman who received the Bok award of \$1,000 for bravery in 1928, was sentenced today to serve from 7 to 20 years in the Western Penitentiary for robbery. (News item.)

FASCIST FUTURE FORETOLD

Mussolini, fat and comfortable, spoke to 15,000 Italian workers on April 28. "I know you well. I read in your eyes what are your most intimate hopes and your spirit. I know you are not looking for a comfortable life."

AS RARE AS ALBINO FROGS

"A Socialist Party is a party of the workers. It is a revolutionary party. . . . Each party member must have his voice in the formation of party program. . . . He must have the right within the party to agitate for changes in management, in program, in tactics. . . . But he must confine his efforts to party circles. No Socialist carries his party differences to the capitalist press. . . . No Socialist ever splits his ticket. . . . Every Socialist is first and foremost a discipline propagandist for socialism." Editorial, Socialist Call. Would someone give the habitat of such a Socialist Party and such Socialists as described here? Around these parts they are as rare as albino frogs.

TWO OF A KIND

"Me an' Morgan ain't taxable," say the headlines quoting Dutch Schultz. The comparison of Schultz with the big tax dodger, J. P. Morgan, is certainly apt.

RED OR GREEN BANNERS?

Among the many leaflets issued by the Communist Party and its satellites, the one issued by the Irish Workers Clubs deserves special mention. This leaflet calls on the workers to "march on May Day to Union Square under our green banner."

AGAIN PEACE

"House votes \$407,805,261 Bill for navy of treaty strength. Every move to cut appropriation is blocked. Measure calls for 24 new ships, 555 airplanes and an increase of 11,677 in personnel." (Headlines in New York Times.) The Times says 66 other ships are being built with funds from a PWA allotment. At a speed unprecedented in world history this and other nations are preparing for war.

Phila. W. P. in
May Day Unity

PHILADELPHIA, May 1.—Not in words but by stirring action did the Workers Party, Phila. Branch show how much it desires the unity of the working class. The banner of the Workers Party flew proudly on the platform in Reynburn Plaza throughout the whole day. From twelve o'clock noon when together with the Socialist Party and many trade unions, the party marched into the square, until three o'clock, when the Socialist Party closed its meeting the Workers Party banner was side by side with the banner of the other labor organizations. Then amid the hush that followed the closing of the meeting, comrade Roberts of the party stepped to the microphone and in the name of the Party invited the fifteen thousand workers to stay and participate in the Communist Party demonstration which was scheduled on Reynburn Plaza from 3 until 5 o'clock.

Several hundred Stalinists boomed when Comrade Roberts started to speak but his stirring appeal for unity of the working class changed those very booms into cheers and when he had finished a mighty roar of approval went up from the crowd.

When the meeting was over the Party and its sympathizers marched in the Communist Party parade for over two miles. Cheers for the Fourth International, the W.P., Comrade Trotsky, and many other slogans were roared to the skies and to the interested thousands that lined the road of the parade.

The end of the parade was just as dramatic as had been the events of the whole day. The parade was to end in a park several miles from Reynburn Plaza. In military formation four abreast the Party comrades and their sympathizers marched into the park. The path on both sides was lined with thousands of Communists and their sympathizers as the Party marched in behind their banner. In the center of the park the column came to a halt at attention. A silence spread over the park. A comrade stepped from the ranks. He raised his hand and "Long live the Workers Party" rolled through the park. Again he raised his hand: "Long live the United May Day" thundered to the sky, with the cheers of the Communist Party comrades who could no longer hold back their desire for a true united front between all working class parties.

WAR and the Franco-Soviet Pact

By JAMES P. CANNON

The military alliance between the Soviet Union and the French government, formally effected by the signing of the mutual assistance agreement on May 2, raises fundamental problems of the present epoch before the advanced workers of the world in the sharpest form. It was precisely on the question of war, which is only the other side of the question of proletarian revolution, that International Social Democracy consummated its historic betrayal in 1914. Will Stalinism, hand in hand with the unregenerate reformists, lead the masses to a similar catastrophe in the impending war?

A military alliance between the Soviet Union and one or more capitalist countries against others is not the main question here. In the absence of support in the form of revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries the Soviet Union might have no alternative in the event of war. That such a policy is deemed necessary now only testifies to the weakened position of the Soviet Union which ensued from the catastrophic defeats to which the Comintern under Stalin's domination has led the international working class. The betrayal of the Chinese revolution bore fruit in the aggressions of Japanese imperialism. The shameful capitulation of the Comintern in Germany, supplementing the treachery of Social Democracy, prepared the conditions for a Hitler offensive against the Soviet Union. The pact with the French government takes place on the basis of these defeats!

The Soviet Union agrees to defend the territory of imperialist France with the troops of the Red Army in return for a corresponding promise of the French government regarding the territory of the Soviet Union. Such an agreement could be made only because the heads of the Soviet government do not, or feel that they cannot, rely on the European working class to come to its defense. But in that case it is necessary to say: the heavy defeats inflicted on the working class movement by the policy of Stalinism have weakened the international position of the Soviet Union and compelled it to depend on the flimsy structure of a pact with imperialist France.

That is the blunt truth and the workers ought to know it. But the Stalinists, true to their policy and practice of deceiving the workers and leading them blind-folded to the abyss, do not talk this language. They point up the rapacious French imperialists as advocates of "peace" and represent the pact with them as a "victory for socialism," an "advance," etc. That is a lie, a deception, a fraud! By such perfidious methods the French workers can be dragged into the trenches to fight for "peace-loving" French imperialism; they cannot be led into a revolutionary struggle to overthrow it.

What position should the French working class take in the light of the military pact? That is the main question for France at the present time, and will very likely be the main question later in America. That is the heart of the problem of the coming war as it will be presented concretely in those countries which are lined up in the same bloc with the Soviet Union.

The Workers Party alone has given a clear answer to this question in its Declaration of Principles. We say, with Liebknecht and Lenin: The enemy

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NEW MILITANT

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Strikers Reject Union Busting 'Peace'

20 Workers Party Pickets Arrested in N. Y. Demonstration against General Motors

NEW YORK, May 6.—Twenty Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League members were arrested here today while picketing the General Motors office on Broadway, between 57th and 58th Streets. Led by Sam Gordon, managing editor of the New Militant and Al Dasch, W. P. organizer, over a hundred workers participated in a picket line along the G.M.C. building, shouting "Support the Toledo Chevrolet Strikers," "Smash General Motors Company Unions" and other militant slogans.

After forty-five minutes of picketing, the demonstration had attracted a noon-day crowd of 2,000 onlookers expressing their approval and tying up traffic in the immediate area. A squad of 25 uniformed police headed by a plainclothes captain, several mounted officers and two radio cars were soon rushed to the scene. Without any previous notice, the captain seized Gordon and placed him under arrest.

The picket line could not, however, be broken up in this manner. As the ranks reformed in single file, Gordon, guarded by the captain and two uniformed officers, held a ten minute speech, calling attention to the heroic struggle of the Toledo strikers and appealing to the workers assembled to support the strike. He was then promptly whisked into a nearby store by the police and held for the patrol wagon. Al Dasch, leading the line of march at this time, protested against Gordon's arrest and was immediately pulled in to join the latter.

Undaunted by these tactics, the line reformed once more, taking up the chant "Free Our Prisoners." Thereupon the whole squad of cops charged into the ranks and ran in 18 additional pickets into the patrol wagon which had pulled up in the meantime.

In Magistrate's Court, on 54th Street, where Attorney Mendel Lurie of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense represented the prisoners, the 18 were immediately released because of insufficient evidence, while Gordon and Dasch were paroled for a hearing at a later date.

Dutch Party Gains 4 Seats In Elections

From Holland comes the gratifying news that our sister party there, the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, has gained 4 mandates in the provincial elections held recently.

What makes this simple piece of news more important than at first seems apparent is the fact that of all the parties standing in one form or another on a working class basis—it was the one upholding the banner of the Fourth International that made the most decisive gains.

The Communist Party increased its mandates by three. The Social Democratic party lost one.

The Nazis made considerable gains; but when it is understood that they have been heavily subsidized by Hitler's funds, thus enabling them to set up a huge propaganda machine, the results are not so surprising as it might seem at first blush.

This was the first election campaign for the newly organized revolutionary party in Holland. Like the Workers Party in the United States, the R.S.W.P. came about as a fusion of two currents in the labor movement. A gain of four mandates is only a beginning. It does, however, show clearly that what to others seemed only as an idea is steadily but surely impressing itself on the minds of workers all over the world—the Fourth International marches on.

'Wildcat' Miners Boo Solons at Hearing

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Five thousand coal truckers, who operate "mines" in which the whole family engages, trekked into Harrisburg where a hearing was held on a bill that would deprive them of the right to use the highways for the transportation of coal.

The bill was introduced by Representative George D. Holstrom of Lehigh who labelled the truckers as "bootleg miners." The object of the bill would require every independent miner and trucker to get a special permit to use the highway. The passage of the bill would make it necessary for each trucker to show "ability to pay for damages resulting from vehicle accidents." It is obvious that the bill was introduced at the behest of the coal barons of the state who hope by the passage of the bill to exclude the truckers from the sacred right of mining their own lots, thus safeguarding an intrusion on the profits of the coal barons. There are over 3,500 truckers engaged in earning a livelihood through this method.

Speakers for the bill were shouted down, the bill itself torn to pieces by Michael Demchak of the Workers Party and thrown at the feet of Representative Holstrom. Truckers speaking against the bill were applauded and cheered with gusto.

Allard Leads Illinois Jobless On Capitol

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 7.—Led by Gerry Allard, chairman of the four county organizations of the Illinois Workers Alliance, more than 1,000 unemployed demonstrated at the state capitol for the immediate resumption of relief.

With 200,000 human beings facing imminent starvation because of the policies of Harry Hopkins and Governor Horner, for whom the issuance of relief is a political football, this action is the first to force attention from the political pay-rioters.

Allard and a committee of five interviewed the governor and demanded from him that the legislature appropriate sufficient funds to reopen all relief stations in the state. Only in this way, it was pointed out, would the jobless be saved from indescribable suffering. "I'm powerless to act," the governor told the men.

"If a foreign enemy were invading the state, you would find a way to act, would you not," Allard asked, and the smug executive began to squirm in his chair, the unemployed leader raised his voice sharply: "An enemy just as potent as a war is present right now in this state."

In that suave manner which makes a virtue of evasion in answer to the demands of workingmen, Governor Horner informed the committee that the only hope was the raising of the sales tax from two to three cents.

This answer, in the opinion of qualified observers, throws the entire question into the arena of the state legislature where the snarling republican and democratic parties may squabble over it. Furthermore, as a method of alleviating suffering, it follows the well-worn road of transferring the burden from thousands of miserable unemployed to thousands of other slightly less miserable employed workers.

Hearing the report of the committee, the 1,000 demonstrators decided unanimously to organize a state-wide march on the capitol and to camp on its steps until the relief stations are reopened.

OAKLAND, Cal. (P).—Longshoremen at Crockett refused to work when the Matson liner Makawao prepared to take on oil handled by nonunion crews. The longshoremen struck in sympathy with striking oil tanker seamen.

The strike has nothing to do with the recent strike at Crockett of the warehousemen employed at the big sugar refinery.

ALLENTOWN, Pa. (FP).—The week-old strike of ribbon workers continue to spread, according to reports at a conference of national delegates of the United Ribbon Workers and the American Federation of Silk Workers in Allentown.

All but three small Paterson, N.J., shops are shut down, while at least 50% of the Allentown area is tied up, delegates stated.

Muste Rallies N. Y. Support For Auto Strike

400 Cheer Speaker to Echo in Inspiring Meeting

NEW YORK.—Solidarity struck the keynote of the Workers Party meeting in support of the Toledo Chevrolet strikers.

Beginning with a stirring message from a young comrade direct from the firing line enthusiasm remained unabated through the entire meeting which ended with the singing of "On the Line" by the entire audience of 400.

The hall at Irving Plaza rang with applause as comrade Cannon, chairman of the meeting, introduced A. J. Muste as the representative of the Workers Party in the Toledo strike. It did not take long for this oration to re-echo once again in response to the vivid picture of the picket line painted by the National Secretary of the W.P.

Reviewing Toledo's Tradition With rapt attention the audience listened as comrade Muste described the background of the strike, the killing speed-up, the spy system and the company unions. Especially interesting here was the report of the state of mind of the Chevrolet workers during the great Auto-Lite strike of last year. Here it was stated that at that time the workers, under the influence of the Company union propaganda, tore up leaflets calling on them to support the embattled Auto-Lite men.

Only a year had elapsed, Muste pointed out, and these same workers formed one of the tightest picket lines the country has ever seen. So tight in fact that Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors was forced to secure permission from Jimmy Rolland, chairman of the Strike Committee, before he could enter the plant.

Warns Against Dillon

Continuing in his rounded description, Muste warned of the perfidious doings of Dillon and Co. who had come on the scene to spike the struggle or failing that to trim it of all militancy. That the Toledo battle has thus far steered clear of the Akron road is chiefly due to one factor, said Muste, and that is not some special quality in the Chevrolet workers, but to the presence of and influence of the revolutionary party, the Workers Party.

An instance of this fact was driven home when a telegram received the same afternoon from Toledo was read by the speaker. In it was disclosed the fact that a young comrade who had distributed a leaflet of the Workers Party warning the strikers of the company moves was held prisoner by strike officials. After presenting a Marxist argument, the telegram read, "he succeeded in convincing them of the correctness of the contents of the handbill and secured unanimous consent for the distribution of it." The crowd roared with cheers and laughter.

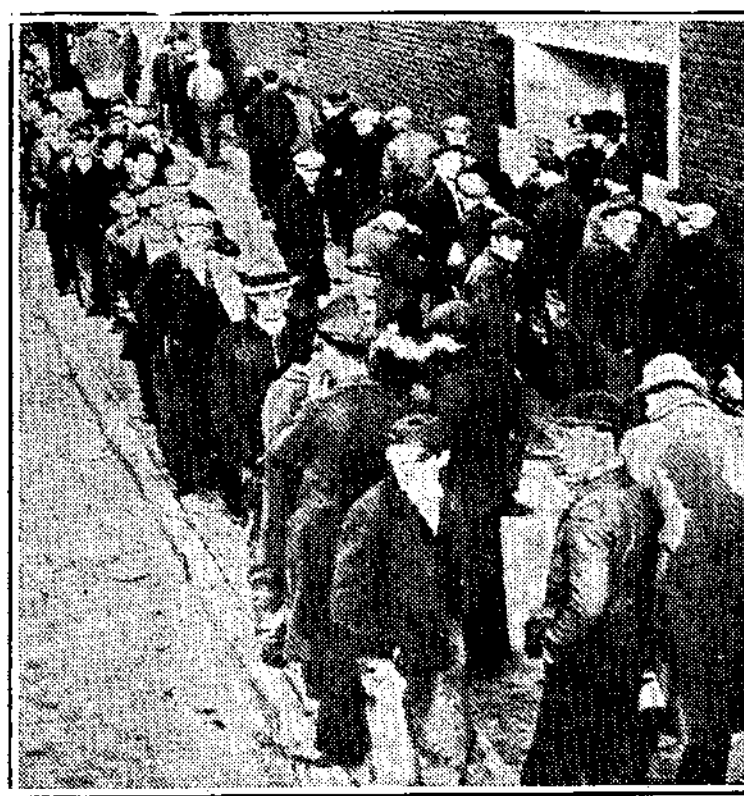
Ovation From Crowd

On a rising crescendo Muste pointed out that what the strikers needed most was support from other parts of the country and he appealed to the workers present to continue the good work thus far begun in picketing General Motors offices and salesrooms. For a full two minutes the chairman tried in vain to make himself heard over the prolonged ovation accorded Comrade Muste as he took his seat.

The cheers and hand clapping was translated into something more substantial as Comrade Cannon introduced the unique feature of auctioning off a few score copies of the first issue of "Strike Truth" brought from Toledo. As high as ten dollars was paid for a single copy and the total reached over \$100 in good American currency.

HOUSTON, Tex. (FP).—Deputy sheriffs, declared by Wilbur Dickey, International Seamen's Union agent, to be working in connection with the shipping company, arrested four strikers at Houston on a charge of disturbing the peace.

The men were seized when they attempted to board the tanker Brandywine to get their clothes, following a walkout, according to Dickey. Trouble arose when the captain of the Brandywine and an official of the Norsworthy docks tried to keep the strikers from the ship, and one striker was injured when he fell while trying to dodge a blow, Dickey explained.



Above is part of the mass picket line that daily forms around the General Motors Chevrolet plant in Toledo, and has so tightly closed it down that no one enters without permission of the picket committee.

Dillon Spikes Flint Strike Vote; Slurs Toledo Workers

DETROIT, May 7.—Burke Cochrane, Workers Party organizer, and Sam Beck, Spartacus Youth leader, were arrested today while picketing the Chevrolet plant here. The police interfered after some hours of militant picketing with banners demanding support for the Toledo strike. The company officials feared that the banners and slogans shouted by the marchers might have a "bad" effect on plant workers.

FLINT, Mich., May 6.—At a meeting of the Buick local in Flint Sunday night, Francis J. Dillon succeeded in smashing strong sentiment for a strike Monday morning. By refusing to allow the rank and file to speak from the floor, he railroaded through a plan to wait on a government election in Toledo of Chevrolet workers. Coming at a time when 35,000 workers were about to win a victory over General Motors, calling off of the Flint strike in favor of an election is calculated to prevent the spread of the strike and to break the fighting spirit of the Chevrolet local.

Until Dillon spoke, the crowded hall of Buick auto workers called loudly for strike Monday morning. At every mention of the Toledo strikers the crowd stamped their feet and cheered. Until last, Dillon's representative, and Dillon himself spoke the meeting was a strike meeting and the sentiment was for picket lines Monday morning.

Hart introduced the first anti-strike sentiment when he said, "I'm not so much concerned with whether you men go on strike but with a new set-up all-around for American labor." He turned to future hopes all around for all American labor and made no mention of tomorrow's strike, although a copy of the contract of immediate demands they were to strike for was in the hands of every Buick auto worker at the meeting.

Before Hart finished, Dillon entered the meeting with three newspaper men. The crowd instantly booed the reporters and cried: "Throw them out!" Calls for an expulsion vote were denied by the chairman and Dillon spoke. The speech which followed was nicely calculated to destroy strike sentiment not only in Flint but for all auto workers fighting for their union against General Motors, and to hand the men instead a gold brick. It contained the following points:

Sensing the enthusiasm of the Buick workers for the Chevrolet strikers in Toledo, Dillon promptly took credit for the strike of Local 18354. He said: "We worked out a strategy for fighting General Motors weeks ago. The one place where they didn't think we would strike was Toledo. We fooled them. Now the Toledo strikers are putting up a magnificent fight."

He took full credit on himself for the Toledo strike but failed to mention that for thirty days before Toledo went out he had in his pocket a general automobile strike vote which he never used. He failed to mention that the strike in Toledo was called without asking Dillon. Or that Norwood came on the picket line without asking Dillon.

Point 2 was railroaded the government election through and telling the men "to go back to work."

(Continued on Page 2)

TRIM SCABS

Roland Sounds Fighting Note At Big Meeting

Resume 'Strike Truth' as Union Prepares to Spread Battle

BULLETIN As we go to press, word comes from Toledo that the Chevrolet strikers have rejected the company's "peace" proposals by an overwhelming majority. The election conducted by the U. S. Department of Labor, showed a vote of 1,251 against acceptance and only 605 for. The strikers are jubilant at their victory. The militancy of their ranks has been strengthened all along the line.

Special to New Militant TOLEDO, Ohio, May 7.—35,000 General Motors workers, on strike or affected by plant closures due to lack of necessary parts, marked time today as they awaited the outcome of an election to be held here tomorrow under the auspices of the Department of Labor to determine whether the Toledo Chevrolet strikers desired to accept the G.M.C. proposals and return to work or to again reject them and continue their strike for union recognition and a signed contract.

After a week of decisive and militant action in which the Toledo strikers tied up almost the entire Chevrolet division of General Motors and spread the strike to Cleveland, Atlanta and Norwood, O., Francis Dillon, national A. F. of L. organizer in the automobile industry, succeeded in diverting the strike from the picket-lines to the ballot-boxes and in enabling the walkout of 9,000 Buick workers in Flint who had previously voted to go on strike yesterday.

Dillon Accepts Scab Terms

The election was called for by Dillon following a meeting held here by a company union group last Saturday night at the Chamber of Commerce which was attended by some 1,000 men, most of them former employees of the Toledo Chevrolet, strike-breakers and foremen. This group, organized by the G.M.C. officials as a scab-herding agency, put forth a demand for an election on the precise terms accepted by Dillon.

Dillon, together with Edward McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, and Thomas Williamson, federal conciliator, jammed the decision to hold the vote down the throats of all but three of the eight strike-committee men after almost seven hours of continuous verbal pounding on these new and inexperienced union men.

Dillon followed this maneuver to curb the militant tendencies of the strike by addressing a meeting of the Buick local at Flint of the United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union in which he so misrepresented the sentiments and fighting qualities of the Toledo workers that he discouraged the Flint workers from taking strike action pending the results of the Toledo vote. In his remarks, Dillon called the Toledo strike a "circus," definitely implied that the Toledo strikers were yellow, had called for the election and wanted to return to work, and told the Flint workers not to strike until the Toledo Chevrolet workers had proved they were "serious" and would not go back on the Flint workers.

5,000 Rally Support The answer to this infamous slander was given yesterday by the more than 1,000 Chevrolet workers on the mass picket-lines, the enthusiastic meeting of 1,400 union strikers last night who fiercely denounced the company's proposals, and a mass meeting of Toledo labor tonight which jammed over 5,000 workers into the Civic Auditorium in support of the Chevrolet strikers and for the continuance of the strike.

At the huge mass meeting tonight, at which Dillon was the principal speaker, he put forward a complete class collaboration point of view, one of conciliation with the employers in which he boasted of his impartiality, and spoke of the company's proposals which offered the workers even less than they had before the strike, as offering some

(Continued on Page 2)

READ THE NEW MILITANT

Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

Youth . . .

Italian boys start military training at eight. . . 120,000 "war babies" in France are called to serve in the army. . . Military training is made compulsory in Chinese high schools. 100,000 soldiers are turned out annually. . . The CCC enrollment is enlarged to 600,000. Army officers advocate complete militarization of the camps. . . Says Roger Rabson: "The CCC camps are becoming hot beds of radicalism. If these young men are not soon absorbed in legitimate industry they will become a revolutionary army."

Collective Bargaining . . .

William Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors tells Federal conciliators: "The company cannot resume negotiations with strikers at the local Chevrolet plant while the strike is on." . . . The National Textile Labor Relations Board rules that mills need not rehire union workers where strikes are lost. . . Twenty-one strikers were arrested in Legrange, Georgia, when they attempted to prevent the eviction of one of their number from a company house. . . By picketing and boycotts Los Angeles housewives lowered meat prices 5c per pound. . . "Striking is a bad way to get what you want," advises H. L. Mencken to striking office workers of the American Mercury magazine. . . Every large strike in the nation in the past year has been sold out by Federal mediators. . . Mrs. Roosevelt purchases Julius Bloch's picture "The Striker" to hang in the White House. . .

Education . . .

Chancellor John G. Bowman of Mellon's University of Pittsburgh states that faculty members are "fools" who make speeches on controversial subjects. . . Fifteen states and the District of Columbia have passed oath-of-allegiance laws for teachers. . . Professors Norbert Wiener and Carl Bridenbaugh of Massachusetts Institute of Technology conclude from a lengthy survey of college reds that "undergraduate radicals are headed in the wrong direction. They are a continual embarrassment to their well-wishers." . . . An Indiana college professor kidnapped himself. . . Over 60% of the world's population is illiterate. . . Mississippi spends \$45.34 per year for the education of a white child, \$5.45 for a colored. In Georgia the ratio is \$35.42 to \$6.38. . .

Society Notes . . .

Marion Davies spent more than \$50,000 in preparation for a house party planned in honor of William R. Hearst's 72nd birthday. . . Forty men in Wallace, Nebraska, pledged not to shave until it rains. . . Thyra Amos, Dean of Women at the University of Pittsburgh, stated that Ralph Turner, ousted liberal professor, "dressed like a jockey" and "spoiled a perfectly good dinner party by arguing too violently." . . . Leo Durocher, St. Louis Cardinal baseball player, swore out a warrant for Doris Smith, garment striker, charging her with "disturbing his peace" while he escorted his scabbing wife through a picket line. . . Alfred Shegolin, unemployed, was killed by an auto when he ran into the street after stealing a pair of shoes from a New York store. . . Thirty thousand London unemployed demonstrated in protest to King George's jubilee. . . The annual income of the English Royal family is nearly \$9,000,000. . .

State of Nation . . .

Says Hamilton Fish: "No president has fumbled the situation so completely. His socialistic experiments have impoverished the people, increased unemployment and destroyed business confidence." . . . Total profits of 1,136 industrial corporations for 1934 were \$982,000,000, an increase of 54% over 1933. . . Twenty outstanding companies account for 80% of the increase. . . 1,200,000 unemployed are deprived of relief in Illinois. They face starvation as police are substituted in relief headquarters for the regular workers. . . 989 government employees receive incomes in excess of \$10,000 annually. . . Relief wages in rural Alabama are as low as \$3.60 per week. . . State Senator George Woodward of Pennsylvania advocates a state sales tax to help the unemployed. Such a measure would save him \$77,000 annually. . . 1,700,000 unemployed in Pennsylvania live in constant fear of starvation as the state legislature refuses to provide funds. . . Dr. C. F. Schnable, Kansas City chemist, finds that grass is more nutritious than spinach, carrots or lettuce. . . 600,000 unemployed in Missouri are threatened with being cut from relief rolls as the legislature fails to provide funds. . .

Strikers Reject Union Busting "Peace"

Spread Strike Is Task Ahead

(Continued from page 1)

concessions. Not one word did Dillon mention of spreading the strike to Flint and other places, in which course lies the only possibility of bringing General Motors to terms. He largely skirted the Toledo strike and the issues involved in it by a pompous oration in which he spoke of "industrial democracy," "justice," "equity" and many other fine-sounding but empty phrases. His only references to the vote tomorrow was in his last sentence, in which he was forced by the sentiment and temper of the workers to declare himself against the Company's proposals.

Knudsen Won't Negotiate

Even should the union win by a substantial majority, William S. Knudsen, vice-president of General Motors, has stated that the company will not negotiate with the union committee or with any of the workers until they return to work. Nothing has been gained by the strikers through this vote, even should they win. Instead much valuable time has been lost.

Representatives of many auto locals from Flint, Cleveland, Detroit and other auto centers addressed the meeting. No positive indication was given by these delegates that they would take strike action in the event of a successful outcome of the vote for the union, although they pledged 100 percent moral support.

Roland Fights Capitulation

The outstanding and only significant remarks made through the entire long meeting were the straightforward and militant proposals of Jimmy Roland, progressive chairman of the Toledo strike committee, who directly urged the Flint representatives to call a strike in Flint immediately, called for the establishment of a national strike committee and a national conference of all General Motors locals in order to strike the entire company, and stated that the Toledo Chevrolet strikers would not return to work until a settlement had been made for all the other workers on strike in other cities.

Roland's points were greeted with loud and approving applause, as were all remarks which had the slightest color of militancy made by any of the speakers. Fred Schwake,

How the Tables Were Turned

One year ago Toledo Chevrolet officials were looking out of plant windows extremely irritated. They were watching Jimmy Roland marching around the factory gates with picket signs on his back. A one man picket line around a factory employing 2,500 men!

Brazen, insane, unprecedented—but successful. The Regional Labor Board decided in his favor. The company ignored the decision, but the one man picket line was too much. It might be contagious. So Jimmy was rehired.

Roland was no "slacker" in those days. His efficiency had won for him a company offer of foremanship. Union-conscious even then, he spurned a job that would make him a watch-dog over his fellow workers.

It was then the company was organizing one of the famous employee representation plans. Jimmy entered the company union to convert it into a real one. General Motors would not stand for that and Roland was fired. The one man picket line baffled them and he was rehired. But not in the production department. He would co-terminate the others. . . Good Lord, never!

They put Roland in the office, although he knew as much about clerical work as a Kentucky mountaineer.

Fate was against Mr. Gulliver, however, and the plant was nonetheless infected with the unholy virus of unionism. . .

If they only could have foreseen. . .

Two thousand men were marching around the factory gates. Suddenly they stopped. A well dressed gentleman wanted to enter the plant. The picket captains shook their heads. Orders are that no one goes in. "But, but," he stammered enraged, "I'm Mr. Knudsen, I own this plant!"

"Sorry, mister, orders are orders," they replied, "but you can see the chairman of the strike committee, maybe he'll help you."

And who should the chairman of this strike committee be? Jimmy Roland!!

business agent of the union, whose previous activities in the strike had been in line with the policies of Dillon, made a verbal about-face and declared: "In 1934, Toledo workers made history with the Battle of Chestnut Hill (Auto-Lite strike). We are prepared to make another such historic battle although we don't know what name it will go by until after it is won." He further stated that in a conference with the management, when told that the General Motors could not make an exception in its national policy for a group in Toledo, he had remarked, "We are going to make General Motors change its policy, starting in Toledo."

Workers Party Active

The Workers Party branch here has been extremely active in this strike, organizing the progressive forces to counter-act the weak-kneed and conciliatory policies of the A. F. of L. top officials and is putting forward a program calling for the spread of the strike, an immediate visit of a large delegation of Toledo strikers to Flint and other auto centers to appeal for strike action, a caravan of striking auto workers to Munich to rally the Munich workers and to prevent the

Dillon Stifles Flint Action

(Continued from Page 1)

Monday morning. The meeting roused itself and howled: "We had an election last year! How about strike!" Dillon was in a tight spot, but he shouted back: "I thought I would have to come here tonight to ask you to strike tomorrow morning." The workers in the crowd listened to him again. "I didn't think Knudsen would accept a government election—but he did! We forced G.M. to accept a government election!"

The crowd was doubtful but he played up this Knudsen move to break the union as a great victory. Workers afterward said to your correspondent: "Why, that's what Knudsen wanted all along. It gives him a chance to say over again: 'This union doesn't represent all the strikers. Hell, they had one election—it's time to deal with the union! Why have another election in the middle of a strike? I think Dillon's been fooled by Knudsen, or is playing his game.'"

Point 3 in Dillon's speech was an insult to the Toledo strikers. He said: "We don't want to support those boys till we know if they mean business." He suggested that the Toledo strikers were just putting on a "circus," and he yelled: "Don't strike! Wait for the election! We don't want to support those boys till we know where they stand!" It was clear to all present that Dillon insinuated the Toledo strikers were yellow. By this time half the Buick workers had walked out of the hall in disgust.

The final point of the meeting, before a vote, was made by Hart. Some auto worker yelled: "If we go to work Monday, we have to work on scab transmissions!" Hart answered that a few days work on scab transmissions would do no harm. This angered several union men but Hart defended the making of scab transmissions by Buick men. Dillon himself took the floor and backed up Hart on making scab transmissions. The workers were angry but Hart prevented any worker from speaking in opposition by ordering them to sit down and appealing for peace. Finally the motion to delay the strike was put to vote in the half empty hall and without discussion railroaded through the meeting.

crash, those who were hit by bank foreclosures and live in the shadows of economic insecurity but know that wealth is available in abundance, turn once again to the political demagogue and harken to the glamor of a middle class panacea. And in Father Coughlin's political organization many of them undoubtedly expect to find a haven. To make it attractive for them he announces that its national council and its state committees will be composed of appointed representatives of what he calls various groups, such as labor, farmers, veterans, small manufacturers, youth and possibly certain specialized industries. Of course, this is the characteristic middle class approach of defining interests by business groups and avoiding any open acknowledgment of class lines.

Among other outstanding points in the Coughlin program it is worth noting that while national ownership—that is government ownership—is demanded for banking, credit and currency; power, light, oil and natural gas, together with the "God given" natural resources, emphasis is placed on his belief in private ownership of all other property and of upholding the right to private property; yet it is to be controlled for the public good. What he is speaking of in this connection is not just personal property such as homes, radios, cars or toothbrushes, but private property in the means of production. But it is this form of private property that Coughlin believes in that secures for the owners thereof the right to exploitation of labor. It secures for them the right of acquiring profits which also carries with it the power of the suppression of the laboring masses. In the same program Coughlin declares for the abolition of tax exempt bonds and for the broadening of the basis of taxation founded upon the ownership of wealth and the capacity to pay and together with that it declares for an alleviation of taxation. His program is quite vague and contradictory but this is precisely what allows him to play on the feelings and the emotions of all classes.

Coughlin Explains His System
The political padre explains the system that he is aiming for as follows: "I believe that the economic system of tomorrow will not be that type of socialism which desires to nationalize not only natural resources, but also all productive industry. Nor will it be capitalism wedded to the theory of private financialism and production for a profit. It will be a new system based on the belief that wealth is not money, but that wealth is created by the union of capital and labor; and that this

Makes Bid For Farmers, Workers

Both Coughlin and Long are now making special efforts to obtain farmer and labor support for their movements. William Collins came to Coughlin's Michigan state convention, officially delegated by the A. F. of L. Executive Council together with Edward Kennedy, Secretary of the National Farmers' Union from Chicago. Among the members of Congress attending were William Lemke of North Dakota, co-author of the Lemke-Frazier farm mortgage bill and William P. Connery Jr. of Massachusetts who is co-author of the Connery-Black 30-hour week bill and the Wagner-Connery trades disputes bill in addition to being Chairman of the House Committee of Labor.

This set-up fits in well with the Coughlin scheme of labor organization. In his program the right of labor to organize in unions is proclaimed and it is insisted that it is the duty of the government to protect these organizations against the vested interests of wealth. But when broadcasting, Coughlin adds that strikes and lockouts are absolutely unnecessary, indicating that the "protection" he demands means a form of actual state control, including compulsory arbitration. Since his Michigan state convention, Coughlin has promised that his next step will be the organization of the automobile workers of the state. Will they respond to his efforts? No doubt many of them are taken in by his high-pressure demagoguery; but it is not likely that they should desire any more government "protection" for their unions after last year's sell-out experience. If the present strike action of the Toledo Chevrolet workers is an indication of the mood of the other automobile workers they can be expected to decline that kind of unionism.

Real Appeal is to Petty Bourgeoisie

Otherwise the appeal of Father Coughlin, the same as the appeal of Huey Long, is addressed essentially to the lower middle class, to the small businessmen, the farmers and the petty bosses. A good many of those among them who in former times managed to save up for a rainy day and since saw the bank

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

When as well informed and cautious an observer of the labor scene as Louis Stark of the New York Times writes that "Organization of a bloc of industrial unions into a separate national labor federation . . . was regarded as an eventual possibility in labor circles today," we will do well to lend a second thought. It has been obvious for some time that the industrial union issue was coming to a head and that the Federation faced a major crisis in its solution. The shelving of the campaign in steel, the war against the brewery workers, the splitting up of the metal miners' ranks and the increasing drive against the industrial structure of the Federal Labor Unions was bound to create deep seated revolt.

Progressive Lewis . . .

The question of another labor Federation is a serious one. Does a real basis exist for such a move? Louis Stark sees the initiative for its formation coming from John L. Lewis of the Mine Workers in conjunction with the unions of metal miners, brewery workers, clothing and printing tradesmen. Such a phalanx might, he believes, swing the new mass unions of aluminum, rubber and auto workers into line behind it.

A realistic examination of the facts lends little hope that such a development lies close ahead. No progressive is going to get unduly excited about the prospect of an industrial Federation of Labor headed by Lewis and Berry, as an improvement over Green and Woll as leaders of a craft formation. Nor are the various unions mentioned, with the possible exception of the metal miners and the brewery workers, anxious to leave the Federation ranks. The astute Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has labored too hard and too long to crash into the Federation. The influence of the A. F. of L. has made him a key figure in the NRA machinery and the risk of breaking with the craft moguls would be too great. Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers cannot be distinguished from any other member of the Executive Council. At the last convention of the A. F.

of L. he voted his 200,000 members in favor of the infamous motion which is smashing the Brewery Workers Union, Berry of the Printing Pressmen and Howard of the Typographical Union may be in favor of industrial unionism for the other fellow but no such silly proposals ever get to first base in their own international conventions. . . .

Fireworks . . .

There is some fire behind all the smoke however. May it be the well known ambitions of John L. Lewis which are involved here? For a number of years it has been rumored that Lewis wants to sit in the seat which Bill Green warms so gracefully at the present time. At each Federation convention it has been denied by the Mine Workers chief. But John L. protests too much to be convincing. And when the 1935 convention opens its sessions at Atlantic City in October we may see fireworks and an open rupture in the ranks of the officialdom. For which radicals will be grateful. "When thieves fall out. . ."

Lumber . . .

Some weeks ago we reported that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had been given jurisdiction over the 130 newly organized locals of loggers and timber workers. The suggestion was made that at least part of the motive for such action was the need to take care of growing strike sentiment in the north-west camps.

Developments of the past few days confirm this view. May 6 had been set as the day for a general strike. Longshoremen had promised their support. On the day before the walkout Abe Muir, vice-president of the Carpenters stated that a general strike was unlikely and that "I expect to see a number of closed mills reopen on Monday." The closed mills were those shut down by advance strike action of the workers. Latest news indicates that the strike movement is spreading however, and that the sabotage of the Carpenters' officialdom may not be able to check its development. Over 12,000 are reported as I write. A complete shutdown will involve about 75,000 men.

S.Y.L. Regional Confab Held In Youngstown

By M. SLAVIN

YOUNGSTOWN, April 28.—The Regional Conference of the S.Y.L. held here on April 27 and 28 bore witness to comrade Gould's statement that the S.Y.L. is fast becoming a mass youth organization.

Delegates from Akron, New Castle, Columbus and Youngstown, reported on the progress made, the number of members gained since the National Convention of the S.Y.L., and the work conducted among the young workers and students. State College, a newly organized branch, reported that its S.Y.L. led the Students Strike on April 12, numbering some 1,500 students with comrade Shachtman speaking at the mass meeting. The Columbus Branch participated in the strike at Ohio State University where about 1,000 students struck against war and fascism.

The conference opened with the report of Nathan Gould, National Secretary, on the growth of the organization and its achievements since the Convention. He pointed out that the S.Y.L. increased its membership 144%, organized new branches, established a functioning N. C. which issued and is issuing bulletins and instructions to the local branches regularly, and initiated the call for an international youth conference of all youth sections moving towards a new youth international, to be held in Paris sometime in December.

The District report followed. M. Slavin stated that two new branches had been established (Columbus and State College), new members gained, among whom are young steel workers, and showed that good opportunities exist to build branches in New Castle and Akron in the immediate future. He emphasized that help should be given to Toledo and Cleveland where W.P. branches exist, but no youth work is being carried on as yet. The future work in the district was to consist of consolidating the branches, organizing new ones and establishing a functioning district committee.

izing new ones and establishing a functioning district committee.

A report by the Party representative, George Papcun, was next on the agenda. Comrade Papcun stressed the fact that the S.Y.L. should serve as a recruiting ground for the W.P., that more attention be paid by Party members to the S.Y.L. and that comrades who are members of both organizations should not become too involved in Party work at the expense of S.Y.L. activity.

The student report, given by comrade Brody, finished the business of the conference. In the report it was pointed out that since the S.Y.L. contains both workers and students attempts should be made to coordinate the activities of both sections.

The conference endorsed the N. C.'s stand opposing separate student organizations, and unanimously supported the slogan "Abolish the R.O.T.C." The following were elected to the District Committee: M. Ernst of State College, Watson of Columbus, Hawley of New Castle, A. Polak of Akron, London and Slavin of Youngstown.

The conference adjourned with the singing of the "International."

What to Attend

May 11, Saturday even.—Dance, entertainment and games for the benefit of the Toledo strikers. Given by the New York District membership at its headquarters, 2 W. 15th St. Everybody invited. All who are urged to bring chess sets. There will also be refreshments and drinks. Admission 25c.

May 17, Friday 8:30 P.M.—Simon Williamson will speak on "The Decline of American Individualism" at 859 Westchester Ave. (near Prospect) Bronx.

May 17th, 8:30 P.M.—Geo. Clarke will speak on "Huey Long and Father Coughlin" at 420 E. 19th St., Manhattan. Aus: Branch 1, W.P.

Any worker desiring to get in touch with the Akron Branch can do so by writing to:
WORKERS PARTY of U. S.
Box 221
Akron, Ohio

Dance, Entertainment and Games

Benefit for the

Toledo Campaign

Saturday Evening, May 11th

At 2 West 15th St., 3rd Floor

Auspices: New York District Membership of the W. P.

Admission 25c

Brownsville headquarters reopened at 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. Open Forums every Friday night, Socials every Saturday.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Imperial Jubilee . . .

If one can overcome the natural feeling of nausea on reading the press accounts of the celebration of twenty-five years of parasitism of King George, there are valuable political lessons to be learned from such circuses. The British monarchy is part of that vast paraphernalia of English imperialism for hypnotizing the working class. Without such hypnotism, the proletariat would see through their own eyes and not through those provided for them by the capitalist ruling class. The creation of illusions is the function of a vast apparatus supported by the bourgeoisie: the bourgeois press, the schools, the church, the radio—and the monarchy. With the aid of these weapons British imperialism gives the impression to the worker that he is part of a common civilization, that he has a common fatherland, that there are higher things in life than material class interests and the class struggle. By means, further, of bourgeois democracy completely controlled and manipulated by the rulers, the worker is hypnotized into believing that he actually has a share in willing his own slavery and exploitation.

Role of Monarchy . . .

The bourgeoisie foster carefully the illusion that the King is a mere figurehead, that he reigns but does not rule. So long as the proletariat remains acquiescent to bourgeois rule, so long as there is no threat to the power of the capitalist class, the monarchy remains seemingly a mere feudal tradition, quite harmless within the framework of bourgeois democracy. In reality the ruling class is far-sighted and in conducting the defense of its power against the possible attacks of the working class the capitalists resort to military strategy: they build in advance second and third line trenches to which to retreat in case the first line is taken. Thus if the workers begin to see through the heavy veils cast over reality by the propagandists of wage slavery, if they begin to utilize bourgeois democracy to change the system, then there is always the House of Lords upon which to fall back. If that is not enough, then there is finally the monarchy which can be made in the "national emergency" to assume, by the "divine right of capitalism," the prerogatives of outright, reactionary dictatorship. Under capi-

talism, in short, the King exists as a last resort for the defeat of the proletarian revolution. It is for that reason, to have a social "stabilizer," that the tradition of monarchy is maintained. Thus every so often the monarchical shield is exposed to published view, it is refurbished and polished so as to perform resolutely its hypnotic function. But behind this shield can be gleefully discerned the cold and calculating cruelty of the bourgeoisie!

Labor Party . . .

It is not only the direct instruments of capitalist power that serve to create illusions among the workers. It is also the reformist labor leaders who foster the viciously false idea that the King stands not for the ruling class but for the nation. Instead of teaching that the King may at the proper time become all the elements of state force and coercion epitomized and summed up, MacDonald and those of his ilk still in the Labor Party offer their allegiance to the King as the representative (chosen by whom?) of the "entire nation." The belly-crawling sycophancy of these reformist betrayers can arouse only the utmost disgust and loathing of the working class. The bourgeoisie will not let this occasion, a celebration of their preservation as a ruling class in Europe, pass without taking full advantage of the "wave of patriotism" evoked in the middle classes to force a general election on the patriotism and rearmament issues. The Jubilee will be utilized to prepare for war. Part of the preparation for war is the establishment of a conservative government. Recent political signs in England have pointed to the "danger" of a new labor government coming into power in the next general election. With the help of MacDonald the bourgeoisie will do everything in their power to prevent such a "catastrophe." The capitalists may not fear the present labor leaders, but they know that back of these false leaders stand the working masses, demanding decisive steps towards socialism. Let the masses once learn to the end the lesson that reformism is nothing but a form of betrayal, and they will quickly change their leaders for revolutionists who can lead them to victory and who can show them how to defeat fascism that grows more and more as a threat to the workers.

The 'American Approach'

By A. J. MUSTE

The term "American Approach" has been often used but seldom carefully analyzed. When a phrase is thus used, the inevitable result is that different people attach different meanings to it. In raising a discussion as to the real meaning of the term in a recent article (Modern Monthly, March 1935, "For An American Revolutionary Approach"), Comrade Budenz has rendered a service. He states that his thoughts are set down "for the consideration of honest-thinking radicals." A further discussion of them here is consequently in order.

The Workers Party of the U. S. has recognized in the most authoritative way open to it the importance of a realistic approach to the revolutionary task of overthrowing capitalism in the U. S.—namely, by setting it down in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Party at its founding convention. According to that Declaration the primary task of the Party and of the American working class is "the defeat of the enemy at home—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the U. S." In carrying out that task the Party is pledged to "use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history" and to adapt its strategy and tactics to the concrete situation and the line-up of class forces in the U. S.

Theory and Practice

Some of those who have advocated of the "American approach" have contended it, either openly or by inference, to the Marxian and Leninist approach. According to them you have to take one or the other; you cannot have both. This is not the viewpoint of the W. P. U. S. The very same section of the Declaration of Principles to which I have just referred states that "The W. P. U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917." It is precisely these principles that we propose to apply in a fearless, realistic fashion to the American scene.

In proposing to do that we are certainly not going counter to Marx and Lenin. Quite the contrary. Neither one of them regarded their theory as a "dogma to be learned by heart and repeated mechanically." Both emphasized the importance of taking into account the special historical, cultural, political, economic, technological factors in different countries.

The "American approach" does not in and of itself give us a set of basic revolutionary principles. The term itself suggests that we approach the American scene with certain principles which we want to make effective there. We must make it clear, then, what these principles are. Are they the principles of Marx and Lenin—the conceptions of the class struggle, of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class, of the nature of capitalist exploitation of the workers, of the role of the working class in modern society, of the revolutionary method, the character of the workers' state, etc. set forth in our Declaration of Principles—or is another set of principles being advanced? If the latter, then we must have a clear statement of what the principles are, before any talk of applying them in the U. S. can mean anything.

Lenin's Realistic Approach
If we are speaking of a realistic application of Marxist-Leninist fundamentals to American conditions, then it is correct to speak not only of an American, but of a French, British, Chinese, etc. approach, i. e., of taking into account the special conditions with which the revolutionary movement is confronted in each country. And it is then important at this point to observe that it was Lenin who gave the world the supreme example to date of this fearless, realistic, yet experimental, reckoning with the special conditions in a given country at a given historical moment—which is not to imply, as we shall have occasion to point out later, that Lenin had a nationalistic outlook or philosophy.

There runs through the article of Comrade Budenz a "contempt for theory" expressed in vigorous and picturesque language. "Radical parrot-talk" of the "other-worldly breathers," "the futile pyrotechnics of other-worldly theoreticians," and "pontifical theology which is paralyzing effective radical action," are exoriated. Precisely because some very vigorous head-thumping needs to be done, it is to be regretted that by the manner in which these things are said and by what is left unsaid in the article in question, the way is left open for very serious misunderstanding.

How Advise the Youth?
Lack of revolutionary theory in the swiftly changing, complex modern world is exactly the same as want of a compass in mid-ocean. Shall we advise our young workers and students not to study the history of class struggles and the theory which is based upon an analysis of that history? Tell them that this is only a waste of time? Fortunately, they would not take

Adapting Marxism To the American Class Struggle

the advice if we did give it. The alive and intelligent ones among them are eager to learn more of revolutionary theory. I am told that one of the ablest of the young workers in the former C.P.L.A. who would not and could not join the Communist Party, nevertheless for months secretly took every leaflet and statement that he drafted to a C. P. acquaintance to make sure that it was "correct from a Marxian viewpoint." That was not an unsound instinct by any means! Lenin who has the most colossal practical achievements in working-class history to his credit was constantly and profoundly occupied with theory. Pragmatically and to say the least, it did not seem to affect adversely his practical efficiency as a revolutionist!

There is even place for a certain division of labor in the revolutionary movement. The man who makes a contribution to theory or history, who can teach young workers, who writes a revolutionary drama or battle-song, is not necessarily to be read out of the Party because he never organized any steel workers or "educated" a seafarer on a picket line, any more than a picket captain who carries out the tasks assigned him by the Party is disqualified for membership because he cannot carry on a disputation about Bonapartism or the permanent revolution with one of the Party intellectuals.

The "Lunatic" Fringe

There are poets, various brands of pseudo-theoreticians, who merit the severest condemnation of responsible revolutionists. One consists of those who participate in the endless gab-fests in corridors and cafeterias which are supposed to be profound theoretical discussions; only they are carried on by comrades who do not know theories, only words and phrases—discussions which will never contribute anything to revolutionary theory, any more than church sewing-circle talk-speeches ever contributed to theology or certain Greenwich Village gatherings ever added anything to the science of biology or to literary criticism. Theory is no substitute for action and hum-drum practical work; much less is talk such a substitute. We agree with comrades in the Party, and with Marx, Engels, and Lenin in condemnation of those who use Marxian writings as a ritual or incantation, those who have a pat, abstract, mechanical formula from the books to apply to every situation, and who led Marx to exclaim that he was not a Marxist. We can share also the contempt of some of our comrades for those who regard themselves as fully qualified to pontificate on the most complex and fundamental problems of the working class movement on the other side of the globe though they have never shown any capacity to contribute anything to the solution of the simplest problem under their own noses. Most eagerly do we join in putting in his place the upstart who has read a few books and taken a few courses and who regards it as his prerogative to look down from Olympian heights upon workers who have performed colossal tasks in the actual class struggle.

"Activists" who encounter this species should not jump to the conclusion, however, that "theory is dangerous." It is a case of youth or glands or something like that. Responsible "theoreticians" and responsible "activists" are not enemies, not thin-skinned individuals who cannot stand criticism; they are comrades who have much to teach each other.

The American Pragmatism

One other point may be touched in this connection. Americans, we are told, are not interested in theory. They are pragmatists, experimental; they want action. Remembering that there are exceptions to all rules, and a good many to some, it seems to me that in the main this point is a valid one. We have already pointed out that this does not at all mean that the Party can dispense with theory or afford to despise it. Precisely because we are dealing with a working class which certainly to date has not acquired a working class philosophy or "world-view," which is disposed to work by rule of thumb, try first this and then that way out, hail Roosevelt today, Long or Coughlin tomorrow—in a period when the pace of development is exceedingly swift and the choice between Fascism and the working class revolution may have to be faced very soon—the Party must have a clear conception of the forces at work and the basic trends, must not dissipate its energies and lose the confidence of the masses by falling prey to nostrums which will cure no ills and from which the masses will presently turn away in disgust. Must not get bottled up in a blind alley. The Party must be sure of itself, able to endure opposition, even apparent isolation from the masses, not bargaining away for an easy and brief popularity, its chance to lead in the crisis that is certain

to come. Lenin's party too seemed hopelessly weak, poor, isolated from the stream of events as the year 1917 opened. It would actually have been worthless but for its discipline, its grounding in theory, its militant use of theory in action. Because it did not try to win the masses by any cheap device, it actually won the masses as the objective situation developed to the crisis point.

Assimilating "Activists"

One thing that we might expect from the American emphasis on action and experimentation is a comparatively large number of "activists" in the Party and in the radical movement generally. The Party must welcome them, assimilate them, learn how to utilize their qualities to the utmost, make them feel that the Party is the avenue for the expression of their militant energies, educate them or it will simply be subjecting itself to a serious, if not fatal, handicap. Thousands of these militants have never been able to accept S. P. parliamentarism. They have tried the C. P. in many cases and given it up. Thousands more who have never been in any working class party or group are coming along in the new unions. From the picket lines we must recruit the most intelligent young workers into the ranks of the Party. We must win, keep and develop inspiring leaders of mass struggles. They are hard to find and to replace if lost.

As a natural outcome of the country's pioneer experience and tradition, movements of revolt in the U. S. and their leaders have had a strongly anarchistic tinge. Comrade Budenz correctly calls attention to this fact in his article. It is not without significance that the heroes he mentions are Jefferson, John Brown, Thoreau, Wendell Phillips, and that he writes with elevation of being "free from the leading strings of any radical Mother Church." This impatience of restraint and leaning to direct action is "American." (Both reactionary American employers and conservative American trade unionists exhibit the tendency in strikes.)

The Fallacy of Individualism

Insofar as this tradition of "freedom" makes for resistance on the part of American workers to bureaucracy in the economic or political movement and to mechanical domination of the Party by a bureaucratic International, it is a useful and precious thing. The trouble with the individualist anarchist is that his revolt does not express itself in an organized way. It takes the form of individual protest, "conscientious objection," "civil disobedience," putting oneself on record, withdrawal from society as in Thoreau's case, a dramatic demonstration in John Brown's case, etc. But this is for the most part futile, and side by side with it are found, consequently, the most extreme regimentation and conformity. Witness the auto

cracy in the trade unions. And nowhere can one find people with greater ability to have their minds changed for them instantly and painlessly, to declare that black is white and vice versa at the behest of the boss, than in the American section of the Third International.

Thus it is essential for these mass workers and leaders to whom we have referred as important elements for the Party, to learn in turn the indispensable role of a disciplined, revolutionary party in the struggle of the working class today and in its final emancipation. They must learn to work in an organized way and to express their dissent, which often may be well founded, in an organized way, within the Party. If they do not learn to work under the discipline or at least influence of the Party, they are either condemned to futility in the end, or are drawn into the ranks of the service of the trade union bureaucrats (something that has happened with plenty of them in the American movement) or worse still go into the service of capitalists or even Fascists—as happened with a number of prominent Italian syndicalists, e. g.

The Vanguard

Where is there today a mass movement of workers, except the trade union movement which under its present collaborationist leadership is certainly not to be regarded as a model to be copied, or where is there a flourishing progressive movement in the unions themselves, except where there is some political party or group to give continuity, perspective and drive? The Party must express itself in mass organizations and mass work; but equally does the mass work depend for its very life upon the organized, conscious, disciplined, revolutionary vanguard.

It may not be amiss to follow these comments on anarchism through a step further. Anarchism is no solution for the working class today. The job is to overthrow the highly organized capitalist state and to construct a highly organized socialist society. For either the destructive or the constructive side of the task anarchism is helpless. Organization, not anarchy, is required. Let our comrades ponder deeply the brilliant and devastating comment of Trotsky after pointing out that Prince Kropotkin, anarchist leader, opposed the revolution and became a Russian patriot in 1917: "The principles of liberalism can have a real existence only in conjunction with a police system. Anarchism is an attempt to cleanse liberalism of the police. But just as pure oxygen is impossible to breathe, so liberalism without the police-principle means the death of society. Being a shadow caricature of liberalism, anarchism as a whole has shared its fate.—Like every sect which founds its teaching not upon the actual development of human society, but upon the reduction to absurdity of one of its features, anarchism explodes like a soap-bubble at that moment when the social contradictions arrive at the point of war or revolution."

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

SAMUEL Z. N. Y.—
Question: Do you not think that here in the U. S. the further logical development of the class struggle (strikes, etc.) will lead to a spontaneous overthrow of capitalism, so that we should concentrate our entire efforts in the economic field (trade union, unemployed organizations, etc.)?

Answer: This question raises the entire problem of "spontaneity of the masses," which is by no means new to the revolutionary movement. Thirty-three years ago Lenin, in his pamphlet "What Is To Be Done," polemized against the advocates of "spontaneity," and we can think of no better argument against this position than to quote from his writings of that time: "... All those who talk about 'exaggerating the importance of ideology,' the conscious elements, etc., imagine that the pure and simple labor movement can work out an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers 'take their fate out of the hands of the leaders.' But in this they are profoundly mistaken. To supplement what has been said ... we shall quote the following profoundly true and important utterances by Karl Kautsky: ...

"Many ... believe that Marx asserted that economic development and the class struggle create, not only the conditions for Socialist production, but also, and directly, the CONSCIOUSNESS (K. K.'s italics) of its necessity. ... In this connection Socialist consciousness is represented as a necessary and direct result of the proletarian class struggle. But this is absolutely untrue. Of course, Socialism, as a theory, has its roots in modern economic relationships, in the same way as the class struggle of the proletariat has, and in the same way as the latter emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses. But Socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises out of different premises. Modern Socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for Socialist production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process. 'The vehicles of science are not the proletariat, but the BOURGEOIS INTELLIGENTSIA (K. K.'s italics). It was out of the hands of members of this stratum that modern Socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually developed proletarians who, in their turn, introduced it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus, Socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without (von Aussen hineingebracht), and not something that arose within it spontaneously (unwuchsig). ...

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the spontaneous development of the labor movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology. ...

How far can the labor movement develop without the introduction of Marxian consciousness? To this Lenin answered "... The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i. e. it may itself realize the necessity for combining in unions, to fight against the employers and to strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc." (All emphasis in above quotations are in the original.)

Lack of space, which has required that we extract only important parts from Lenin's work, does not permit us to further develop this very important subject. However, let it suffice for the moment to point out that about 15 years ago the Italian proletariat was brought, by the logic of the class struggle, to an actual seizure of the factories, but, because there was no Marxian consciousness, i. e., a strong revolutionary party did not exist, the workers did not know what to do and Mussolini now sits in the saddle.

PIONEER BOOK NOTES

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A critique of Eddington, Jeans, etc.
LEVY, H.—Science in an Irrational Society60

The last batch of the MILITANT for 1933 and 1934 have just arrived from the binder. They contain important articles on all the world-shaking events of the last period. Trotsky's penetrating articles before and after the German and Austrian events will also be found in these volumes. No well informed worker should be without them. Price reduced to \$1.25 per volume or \$2.25 for both.

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Where Is the A.F. of L. Going?

In Steel—
Mike Tighe has expelled the Progressives.
In Rubber—
Liberty and Green sold out the workers on the eve of a strike in Akron.
In Automobiles—
Dillon and company take pains to prevent the spread of the Toledo strike.
In Minneapolis—
Dan Tobin has revoked the charter of Local 574, spearhead of last year's strike struggles.

How Should Revolutionists Fight the Betrayals of the A. F. of L. Bureaucracy?
Is a new Federation of Labor on the Order of the Day?
Special lecture by

James P. Cannon
Editor of the New Militant

SUNDAY MAY 12, 8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL, 15th St. and Irving Place
Auspices, New York District, Workers Party of U. S.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrade Editor:
We would like the use of your paper to express our thanks to those of your readers who made possible our liberation from a state prison sentence of two to four years; and compelled a reversal of the conviction in Judge Corrigan's court. The loyal support of all progressive trade unions and all of the political parties and groups in N. Y. resulted in our present freedom.

You probably remember that we were among the victims of the hotel strike of Jan.-Feb. 1934. The strike, although lost, succeeded in closing the restaurants in midtown and downtown hotels, and the heavy financial loss suffered by the hotels brought a demand for reprisals against the unions and we were the victims who went to state prison.

From prison we wrote the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and asked them to raise the question of an appeal from the sentence and a fight for our freedom. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense raised the question of forming the Robins-Gras Defense Committee with every political party and grouping in N. Y. and all responded to the appeal. That is, all except the Communist Party. The Hotel and Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, which fell under leadership of Communist Party "leaders," wrote us in prison that they had tried their best for us but could not aid with anything but their solidarity. The membership of the union forced a change of policy and they finally joined the Robins-Gras Defense Committee.

The appeal was successful in the Appellate Division, the judges were unanimous in setting aside the verdict, and criticized the conduct of the trial judge in denying us a fair trial. We were freed from prison a week later.

This favorable result was due to the loyal working-class support our committee received and the really splendid legal work of Abraham

May 7, 1935
Abramowitz of the Socialist Lawyers Association, and Irving Glickhouse, who volunteered their legal services without charge.

Since our release we not only have to face the blacklist of the Hotel and Restaurant owners, but the leadership of the union co-operate (as good Communist Party leaders) in keeping us out of work and with the unemployed. In the four months since we are out of jail neither of us has worked on a union job more than one and a half weeks. Gras has been given six days' work, and Robins was given a "steady" job where he worked for a week and a half and closed out at the time he had to go to court for retrial.

We would like to thank the Workers Party for its invaluable aid.

Fraturnally,
H. ROBINS
A. GRAS

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Shades of 1914

Europe's laboring masses stand in danger of a new holocaust that promises to dwarf the world war of 1914-1918. Turbulent war preparations are going on behind the smoke-screen of propaganda; the counter-part, in 1935, of the wave of social-chauvinism which ushered in the imperialist slaughter of 1914.

Since the armistice, some hundred and thirty odd diplomatic conferences have been held—each having as its aim the reduction of armaments and the establishment of "greater guarantees of peace." The net result of this diplomatic merry-go-round: the greatest war tension since July 1914, the biggest peacetime armament budgets the world has yet seen.

At Genoa and Locarno, some credibility could still be given to the illusion of a "peaceful" settlement of capitalist conflicts. Under the impact of long years of the economic crisis and the political upheavals it has engendered, the whole conference system has collapsed. The latest meetings of the statesmen, at Stresa and at Geneva, proved that it is no longer possible to uphold the status quo established by the Versailles Treaty without resorting to direct and open warfare.

While France is meeting Hitler's challenge man for man and gun for gun, while England jockeys for position with its traditional hypocrisy—the masses in every country remain imbued with the strongest sentiments for peace. It is this most important factor that creates the sharpest discord in the martial concert of the imperialist war mongers.

For the working masses of Europe, the Soviet Union has ever been identified with the cause of peace. For revolutionists it has been axiomatic that the peace efforts of the workers' fatherland can be assured of success only when accompanied by the most resolute struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist governments in other countries. The Stalinist diplomats, pursuing a National-Bolshevik policy, have been finally forced to restrict the struggle for peace to a military pact with French imperialism. This Franco-Soviet pact, signed last week, the leaders of the Communist International now treacherously counter-poses to revolutionary struggle. Nothing can be more reassuring to the worried war-mongers in the Quai D'Orsay, in Downing Street and in every other foreign office.

"Mobilization of public opinion, so that war, if it comes, will be accepted with patriotic resignation, if not with enthusiasm," writes the sharp-witted correspondent of the New York Sun optimistically, "is now practically complete throughout Europe. The last organized propaganda agency against war—the Communist party—has been silenced on orders from Moscow. . . . Nothing is left of the old dread that war would be followed in most of Europe by popular revolt." (Mr. William Bird in the New York Sun, April 14.)

In these all too clear words, a representative of the bourgeois press has summed up the aspirations of the capitalist governments; the fulfillment of which they await with greater satisfaction and more certainty each succeed-

ing day. It cannot help but alarm every honest revolutionist to the seriousness of the situation. For, while the "mobilization of public opinion" may not be as complete as the Sun's correspondent believes, it is proceeding apace, with the direct aid of the social democratic and Stalinist parties.

A declaration of ten West European Communist parties completely falls in line with the Franco-Soviet pact, and stresses throughout only the danger of war from Hitler's Germany. L'Humanite, central organ of the Communist Party of France editorially urges support of the Franco-Soviet pact against the Third Reich, dressing it up as the 1935 model of the Black Sea Rebellion of 1919! But even more characteristic of this revolting turn from revolutionary struggle against the enemy at home to capitulation before the war plans of the Versailles robbers is the scandalous behavior of the French "United Front" in the Chamber of Deputies. We quote from the official record of March 15:

"M. LEON BLUM: . . . I am convinced, gentlemen, and I say it weighing my words, that in replying to aggression by Hitlerite Germany, all the workers of this country will rise to a man together with all other Frenchmen (Applause from the extreme left and the left, interruptions from the right)."

"I say, gentlemen, all the workers, without having received in this respect any mandate from my Communist comrades who will, no doubt, explain their own stand from the rostrum (Interruptions)."

One expects the social democrat, Leon Blum, to repeat his social-patriotic performance of 1914. But he claims to speak for the Communists as well, and he challenges them to refute him. Here is how Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, born in the struggle against social-patriotism, "refutes" Blum, the social-patriot.

"M. MAURICE THOREZ: . . . One can only express one's indignation against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and other renegades from Communism who present the Franco-Soviet rapprochement as a bloc which may lead to war, while it is, under the present circumstances, an element of peace, a barrier against those imperialist states inclined to resort to force in order to proceed to a revision of the Versailles Treaty (Applause from the extreme Communist left)."

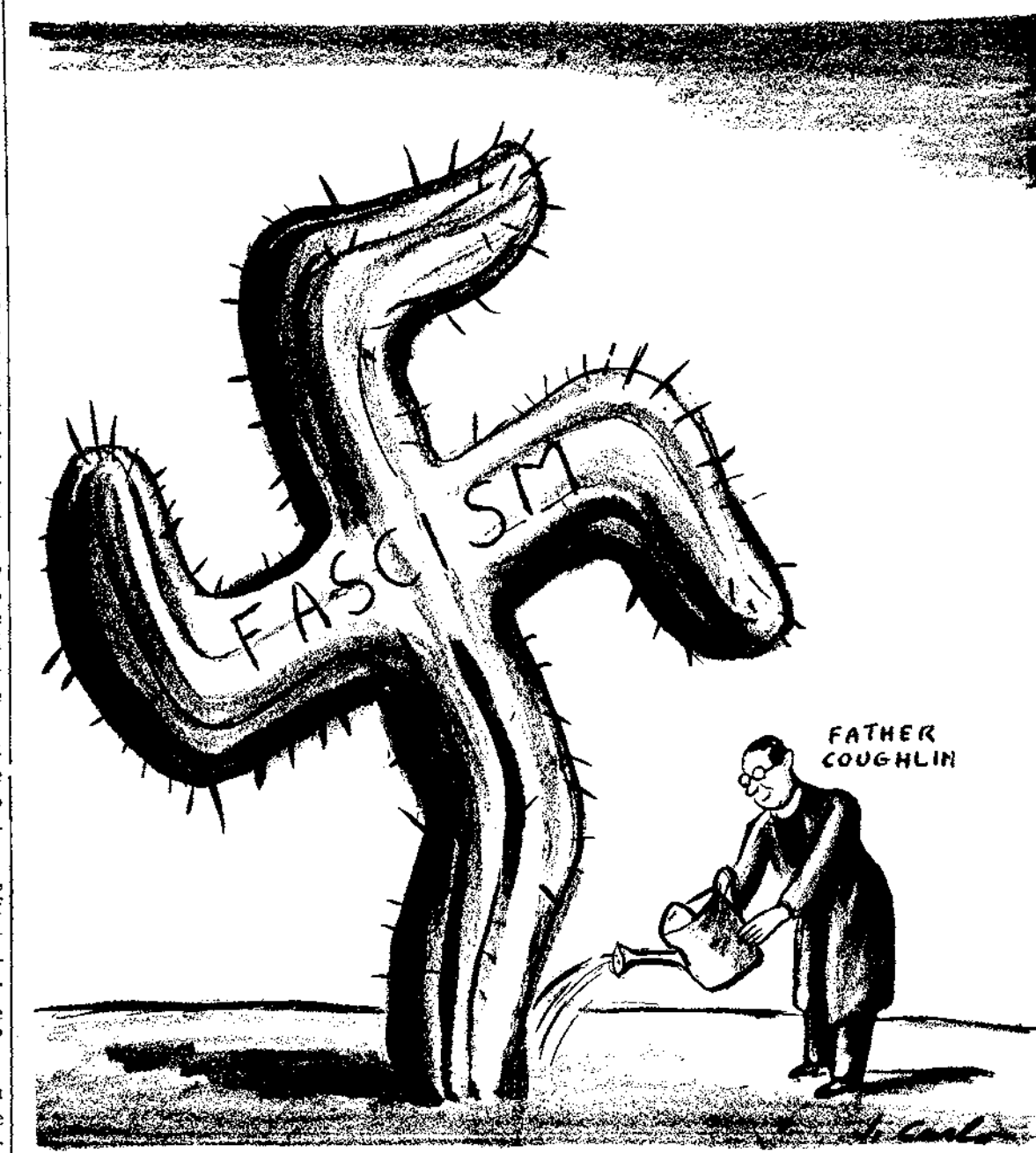
Instead of attacking Blum's outright stand for national defense, the Stalinist leader seizes the opportunity of attacking before the parliamentarians of bourgeois France, those who stand foremost in the struggle against social-patriotism. How little removed is such miserable behavior from the lynch incitements of the yellow socialists against the bold proponents of that uncompromising struggle which was headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in 1914?

It must be said without any mincing of words: the Stalinist and Socialist leaders are playing right into the hands of the war mongers! Under the cloak of a spurious defense of the Soviet Union, they are participating actively in a "mobilization of public opinion" that can serve no other interests than those of the capitalist governments.

The real defense of the Soviet Union, today as in 1917, can be achieved in only one way: in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments.

The workers of the world cannot trust Franco-Soviet or Soviet-American pacts as long as at the helm of the government in France, or the United States, stand imperialist robbers who are ready at any moment to betray the confidence of their Soviet allies. The best defense of the workers' fatherland today is to spread far and wide among the toiling masses, counter-acting the virus of Social Democratic and Stalinist chauvinism, Liebknecht's old slogan: The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

"The Shrine of the Little Flower"



War and the Franco-Soviet Pact

(Continued from Page 1)
is in our own country! We reject the treacherous formula of "peaceful" imperialists on the one side and "aggressors" on the other. No truce in the class struggle, no moderation of the class struggle for a single day! The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution!

But what about the defense of the Soviet Union? cry the venal lackeys of the Soviet foreign office who will turn to social patriots overnight. We answer: An imperialist power will never "defend" the Soviet Union; its agreement to do so is treacherous through and through; in the logic of the class struggle it cannot be otherwise. The only way for the workers in a capitalist country to defend the Soviet Union is to defend themselves against the imperialists at home.

That means to fight the war, to struggle from the first day to overthrow the capitalists and establish a revolutionary workers' government which would make a loyal ally with the Soviet Union and, together with it, carry on the war against the capitalist nations. Woe to the French and American workers, woe to the labor movement of the whole world, if these simple precepts of Leninism are forgotten.

Can the Second International and the Comintern be depended on to arm and prepare the workers for this irreconcilable attitude toward their own imperialists in a war involving the Soviet Union? By no means.

The social patriotic position of the Social Democrats in the "democratic" countries is predetermined. They are already taking responsibility for the government in one "democratic" capitalist country after another. The social democrats of all countries will be ready to shoulder arms, or more correctly, to call the workers to shoulder arms, the moment the capitalist "Fatherland" is "attacked."

The policy of Soviet diplomacy, which has long since substituted a reliance on pacts with capitalist powers for the line of proletarian internationalism, and the servile acquiescence of the Comintern in this rotten policy, lead straight to the same conclusion.

The trumpet of uncritical approval with which the journalists of the Stalinist press greet the military agreement between the Soviet Union and capitalist France and their attempt, with utter cynicism, to pass it off as a revolutionary victory, sound the warning again in clearer, louder tones.

On the basis of the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and under the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" the Stalinists are preparing a new social patriotic betrayal.

The organization of the revolutionary struggle against the coming war depends entirely on the success of the movement to liberate the proletarian vanguard from the influence of Stalinism as well as Social Democracy.

The slightest taint of nationalism is fatal in the face of war. Those who, for any reason whatever, dally with the idea of a truce with the class enemy at home are certain to land in the camp of the jingoes when the real test comes. Without a thorough-going internationalist outlook a consistent opposition to imperialist war is impossible. And the first duty of the true internationalists is to unfurl their banner and organize their forces on an international scale, however few their numbers may be at the beginning. These are the great lessons of experience written in blood and fire in the last imperialist world war.

Those who have drawn the conclusions from the actual state of affairs in the international labor movement have proclaimed the necessity of a new International, as Lenin did in 1914. Swimming against the current, against unprecedented difficulties and complexities, against slander and poverty of resources—in spite of all the advocates of the Fourth International increase in strength and numbers. They, and they alone, are the real inheritors of the great tradition of Liebknecht and Lenin. They are the heralds of the revolutionary struggle against war precisely because they are the carriers of the only idea which can arm the workers for this struggle. Speed the day when the revolutionary internationalists of all countries will establish firmer relations among themselves and proceed with practical, concrete steps toward the actual formation of the Fourth International!

May First Sees United Front in Many Cities

Chicago

CHICAGO, May 1.—Several thousand workers braved the cold and the rain to celebrate May Day in a demonstration called by the Chicago Labor May Day Conference. The line of march stretching for a distance of four city blocks, marched a distance of a mile and a half from the city's West Side to Union Park, the scene of the Haymarket riot.

Headed by the Socialist red guard, carrying ten large red flags, the files included such organizations as the Socialist Party, the Cap Makers Union, the Leathergoods Workers Union, the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Workmen's Circle, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and many others.

The parade presented a colorful picture of flags, banners and slogans. The Workers Party file was headed by a large red banner with the white felt letters inscribed: Workers Party of the United States, Local Chicago. The Party and the Spartacus Youth League carried a number of posters containing the slogans of the W.P.

In the park an open air mass meeting was held in spite of a driving rain. Speakers for the trade union movement, the unemployed and the political parties spoke. Greetings were given by Spartacus Youth League, through its representative Al Garber. The Workers Party was represented on the speakers stand by Albert Grotzer, who proclaimed the need for the new revolutionary international, the 4th International.

Kansas City

By JEFFERSON RALL

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 1.—In the most imposing demonstration of labor solidarity seen here in recent times, more than 600 workers gathered at Crusaders Temple, under the auspices of the Kansas City Group Conference, to celebrate May Day and to express their determined opposition to the war plans of the Roosevelt starvation government.

Representatives of a number of working class groups, including the Workers Party, spoke, exposing the reactionary base of the present administration, and how any solution the capitalist government would attempt to find could only mean increased misery and degradation for the masses. The plea for a fighting united front against the Roosevelt war preparations and for an improved standard of living and the 30 hour week met with an enthusiastic response from the audience.

As was to be expected, reactionary elements were at hand, attempting first to prevent the meeting, and to intimidate the speakers, warning that any "radical talk" would bring the wrath of the authorities down on their heads. The speakers indignantly refused to submit to this humiliating condition and proceeded to speak exactly as they had intended. Consequently, at the conclusion of the meeting, police entered and arrested three of the speakers, including a Negro worker from St. Louis who especially incurred the rage of the reactionary hooligans by his militant and courageous stand. Plans are being laid to defend the imprisoned workers.

In spite of the police terrorism, the May Day rally can be regarded as being exceedingly successful, considering the obstacles that stood in the path of its achievement. This success was due to the combined efforts of many labor organizations, all cooperating in an honest united front movement which included the Workers Party, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, American Workers Union (unemployed) and various other working class groups.

Workers Party members played an important role in the preparation and conduct of the meeting. They established themselves as a genuinely constructive force. Copies of the New Militant and the May Day Manifesto of the Workers Party were widely distributed and met with much interest and a great deal of approval from the assembled workers.

New Castle

By FRED RAYBURN

NEW CASTLE, Pa., May 1.—Over 800 workers listened to addresses delivered by George Papayan of the Workers Party and Dick Harrington, chairman of the National Unemployed Councils, at the May Day celebration sponsored by the Cooperative Workers of America, a local unemployed organization.

At the conclusion of the meeting comrade Papayan was invited to stay over and address several locals of the C.W.A. On Wednesday evening he spoke before a mass meeting of locals 2 and 4 and was favorably received. On Thursday, Friday and Sunday he is booked to address other locals of this organization. His talks, so far, on the decay of capitalism and the need of workers' organization have met with favorable response.

Rebuild Dental Workers Union

NEW YORK.—The four and a half week strike of the dental mechanics is over. The strike was forced upon the union by the stubborn refusal of the laboratory owners to grant the "closed shop."

This was made clear in the course of negotiations when lawyer Gordon, their representative, informed the representatives of the "Equity" that they were willing to discuss wages and hours but that the "closed shop" was out of the question.

Conditions of the mechanics have declined systematically under the increasing introduction of layoffs. In view of this, the union had to demand higher wages and shorter hours. The employers replied with a vicious attack on the whole question of unionism in the trade. They resorted to threats, bribes, hiring of scabs and gangsters to protect them in the course of the strike.

But all of these tactics would have availed them nothing if there had not been a serious weakness in the ranks themselves. Many of the members, new to union organization, and a type of worker who sit next to the boss, became afraid of the struggle ahead and quit in the early days of the strike.

The dental mechanic was just learning how to fight. With the return of Brother Capella from an organization trip to Boston to prevent New York strike work from being done there, militant tactics began at the beginning of the third week of the strike. In spite of a terribly depleted treasury, a magnificent drive was put on that roused the membership and climaxed in a fighting mass picket line at the very doors of one of the largest shops in the Metropolitan area. This and other incidents have given the dental mechanic a realization that the real force that can win strikes is nobody but himself. This lesson will not so quickly be forgotten.

Approximately 200 men are working in signed shops and a fine nucleus of real scrappers went back to open shops determined to carry on and prepare anew.

The dental mechanics have been away from the rest of organized labor long enough to realize that they made a serious error in not before affiliating to the largest body of organized labor. On the matter of moral and financial aid alone it would have been of enormous value for them to have belonged to the American Federation of Labor. That step must be taken now! One national union in the industry is the big question before us.

New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at:
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Jobless Slugged at N.Y. Relief Bureau

NEW YORK.—The LaGuardia administration in New York is developing a new technique in speaking the militant demands of jobless men for the organized unemployed. Demands for relief are answered with the fists and boots of hired thugs.

Last Friday three members of the Workers Unemployed Union called to represent a fellow member in his demand for relief at the city relief station, 97 E. Houston St. The committee consisted of Isidor Harrison, Edith Storm and Morris Varon. They were successful in winning their demands and when they came down from the executive offices to a lower floor in the relief building they were set upon by about ten hired thugs who were "baying" for them.

Harrison and Varon were beaten and kicked so severely that they required medical attention. Miss Storm was badly shaken up in the fracas. Harrison is a brother of Charles Yale Harrison, author of "Generals Die in Bed."

The assault took place on city property with the customary policeman conveniently missing. Two guards who complacently stood by while the thugs were slugging the workers afterwards explained that "it was after four o'clock and we were off duty."

Uriah Heep? No, Abe Cahan!

We don't know whether Dickens is translated into Yiddish. But whether he is or he isn't Dickens has created a character by the name of Uriah Heep. This character has become a byword standing for everything sneaky or hypocritical. Perhaps the Jewish masses do not employ the name Uriah Heep in designating anyone as a hypocrite. It is quite possible they use the name Abe Cahan—and with at least as much justification.

Writing in the Forward of April 7, Mr. Cahan castigates with pious unctious the Day, a Jewish daily generally supporting the Democratic Party. The cause for this attack is the Day's criticism of Lang's anti-Soviet articles.

Says Mr. Cahan: "The strike (National Biscuit Co.) is now at its height and the Day publishes the company's advertisements regularly. The Forward, naturally, (get that, naturally!) does not accept such advertisements." What vulgar hypocrisy. In the May 5 issue of the same Forward, edited by the same Mr. Uriah—beg pardon—Mr. Cahan there is a quarter page advertisement from the General Motors Co. advertising the latest model Chevrolet cars. "At the height of the strike," too. Need any more be said?

Federal Judge Sees Doom of Capitalism

When a Federal judge recognizes the possibility of the masses making mince meat out of capitalism it is a signal that things are going to happen.

John C. Knox, the dean of the United States Circuit Court, ex-claimed before the Harvard Alumni Association that "insane policy of attempting to bully the nation into submission to its will," it may expect to hear a large part of the population saying: "To hell with capitalism and all its defenders!"

And he says: "... thousands upon thousands of people who once had property and have it no more are not willing further to fight, bleed and die for the capitalistic system."

Who will say that this senile dog-eat-dog system is not in a bad way when a custodian of private property in the person of a Federal judge takes fright that the scissor-bills might refuse to get his belly ripped open for Andy Mellon's millions. A sad situation, indeed!

"Thank God," sighs the judge, "these people, of whom there are 20,000,000 or more have not become desperate, and I pray that they will not become so. But this much is certain—their minds have become fallow for the planting of dangerous doctrines."

WAR and the Stalin-Laval Communique

By JAMES P. CANNON
More poisoned fruit from the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

Another deadly blow at the international working class movement.

A new step in preparation for another social-patriotic betrayal.

In the joint communique issued in Moscow on May 15 in the names of Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov for the Soviet Union, and Laval, the Foreign Minister of Imperial France, the Stalinist betrayal of proletarian internationalism stands out in fuller measure than ever before. For a long time it has been clear to revolutionary internationalists that the course of Stalin was based on a renunciation of the international revolution and could only lead to the disorientation of the workers in the struggle against their own exploiters. Now it is written down, black on white.

The fatal leadership of Stalin was never so clearly revealed as in this infamous communique. It is a warning signal to the workers' vanguard of the whole world to free itself completely from the influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy before it leads them to catastrophe on another "Fourth of August."

Read this paragraph in the joint communique, as published in the New York Times, May 16:

"Above all, the duty falls upon them (the Soviet Union and France), in the interest and maintenance of peace, not to allow the means of their national defense to weaken in any sense. In this regard M. STALIN UN- DERSTANDS AND FULLY APPROVES THE NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY OF FRANCE IN KEEPING HER ARMED FORCES AT A LEVEL REQUIRED FOR SECURITY."

There can be no misunderstanding of the meaning of these words. It is clear alike to the workers and to their class enemies. The bourgeois journalists had no difficulty in interpreting it. Ralph W. Barnes, Moscow correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune explained it bluntly as follows:

"This is an indirect way, of course, of explaining to the French Communists that, in the existing circumstances, subversive propaganda directed to the French military and naval forces is harmful to the Soviet Union as well as to France."

That's it, precisely; the paragraph cannot have any other meaning. The "leader of the international proletariat" says to the French workers: "Do not interfere in any way with the military preparations of French imperialism. M. Stalin understands and fully approves."

Nothing is to be done to interfere with military preparations of the French imperialists. And from that it follows (Continued on Page 4)

Next Week!

In view of the tremendous significance for the international labor and revolutionary movements of the Franco-Soviet military alliance and the joint statement on it issued by Pierre Laval and Joseph Stalin, the National Committee of the Workers Party is drawing up an official statement of its position. This statement, which will deal exhaustively with the problems presented by the alliance, will appear in the coming issue of the New Militant. Readers are urged to give it their closest attention and to see to it that it is disseminated as widely as possible.

NEW MILITANT

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PRICE 3 CENTS

Toledo Auto Progressives Organize

Unemployed Leader



GERRY ALLARD

St. Louis Gas Strike is Solid Despite Terror

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The strike of the St. Louis Gas House Workers runs into its third month with ranks as firm and determined as ever. A short history of the slanders, provocation, and violence against the union reveals something of the spirit that has carried the union through with flying colors.

The Laclede Company, after recovering from the surprise attack of the union, hired scabs and an army of thugs to protect them. The company thugs discovered a "bomb plot." When this collapsed the company had three union members arrested for "possessing dynamite." Although the state refused to prosecute on so flimsy a charge the men were confined under arrest. The company obtained an injunction "bidding the union its legal picket."

The police began mass arrests of the strikers. The company thugs organized attacks on the homes of the strikers, breaking windows, and endangering their families. The police began beating the strikers at the point of guns, as many as six at one time in the open street. The company thugs stunk bombed the union headquarters and picket stations. And so on.—The Company, their thugs and the police all in one band against the strike—the kept press playing up every scrap of anti-union hysteria.

Strike Paper Invaluable

During all this storm and stress, the daily strike paper has proved invaluable in holding the union firm, in recruiting support of other unions, and of the general public. The first week's trial brought in over a thousand subscriptions. More than fifty unions have pledged support. In addition many storekeepers have assisted the strikers with food and supplies.

The lighter side of the strike is revealed in the following story from

(Continued on Page 4)

Jobless Renew Relief March For Showdown

Will Lay Seige to Ill. State Capitol Says I.W.A. Leader

By GERRY ALLARD
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 15.—Having staged two marches on the state capital as well as scores of local demonstrations, the Illinois Workers Alliance was again rallying its forces this week-end for another gigantic march for a showdown on the relief crisis now facing this state.

The mass upsurge of the jobless in Illinois was precipitated by the shutting down of relief stations in the state as the Democratic administration maneuvered to force a further levy down the throats of a stubborn legislature in the form of an increase in the sales tax from 2 per cent to 3.

Ragged, hungry and weary workers trekked into Springfield last week from various sections of the state to protest against the closing of relief stations, against the sales tax and for improvements in relief standards. A march took place through the heart of town to the capital. While approximately 1,000 jobless workers cheered speakers who spoke from the huge monument of Abe Lincoln a delegation was received by the Governor.

Present Their Demands

The delegation presented the demands of the demonstrators for the opening of relief stations, defeat of the sales tax, abolition of the national guards, clothing for school children, graduating, proper medical care, comfortable shelter, \$1 for unskilled and \$1.25 for skilled labor on projects with a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of 30-hours per week, representation on local, county, district and state relief boards and for a levy on income, gift and inheritance. The Governor of the state showed respect for the committee now representing 150,000 organized workers, but the substance of his decisions as to immediate redress was nothing. "I am a servant of the people, not a king," he said. The excuse was a poor one because a few months before he had dispatched hundreds of troops to the coal fields in a most tyrannical invasion against the self rule of the population of the coal fields.

Thousands of Illinois workers faced actual starvation. Yet the Governor took the position that not "one red cent" would be further expended by the state on relief until the tax against labor's bread and beans was passed. At the very moment \$7,500,000 was laying idle in the coffers of the state treasury. In Chicago former Vice-President Daves played the fiddle to the tune of the 90,000,000 dollars he had received from the R.F.C. without making an effort to repay the "loan," enough to carry Illinois' relief burden for 20 months. Newspapers

(Continued on Page 2)

Applying the "Merit Clause"



FRANCIS DILLON

GENERAL MOTORS

Lessons of the Great Toledo Battle

All the forces of the General Motors Corporation, the resources of the U. S. Department of Labor's ace "trouble shooter," Edward F. McGrady, a barrage from the Toledo newspapers threatening a permanent shutdown of the Chevrolet transmission plant, and unbelievably dirty trickery and brazen terrorization on the part of Francis J. Dillon, representative of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, were needed Monday night to brow-beat and trick the Toledo Chevrolet strikers into voting acceptance of compromise proposals. Rejection, advocated by the large group of militants among the strikers in close touch with the Workers Party branch, would have meant in all probability a nation-wide strike against General Motors, one of the most terrific battles in the history of class struggle in the U. S., since the outcome would determine the whole issue of unionism in the basic industries. While a thorough analysis of the dramatic onslaught of the Toledo vanguard upon the citadel of open-shopery must wait, it is already possible to draw the main conclusions. It is essential that all party comrades and progressive workers understand the conclusions in order that they may be by so much better equipped for the battles to come.

1. When account is taken on the one hand of the forces with which we had to work and on the other hand of those arrayed against us, we can safely assert that the Toledo militants met the challenge presented to them and that the Toledo strikers put up a magnificent battle. William Green had the strike votes of the Federal auto unions in his pocket. Not only, however, did he not call a strike but he and his representatives did everything in their power to prevent it from spreading and to tone down its militancy. The Chevrolet workers had joined the union only a few days before the strike broke. Very few among them had previous union experience. Yet they shut down the Chevrolet plant. They tied up Chevrolet production throughout the country for three weeks. They brought 30,000 workers out with them. They measurably cut down production of the steel and glass corporations. General Motors said it would not confer with them until they went back to work. General Motors was forced to change its mind. It had to negotiate with the Strike Committee and grant additional concessions.

Not only was a great automobile corporation shaken, but a more open and more nearly (Continued on Page 4)

Dillon and Co. Wreck Chance To Win Strike

Temporary Setback is Signal to Cement Ranks

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, May 14.—After three weeks of magnificent battling, the union auto workers of the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, whose mass picket lines had stopped the production of Chevrolet transmissions and closed down almost the entire Chevrolet Corporation, voted last night to accept the offer of a four cents an hour wage-increase and other slight concessions and to return to work. For three weeks these inexperienced workers, who have been in the union but a month, fought back blow for blow against the financial might of General Motors, the pressure of the government, the cunning propaganda of the capitalist press. They went down to temporary and partial defeat at last through the treachery of Francis Dillon, national organizer for the A. F. of L. in the auto industry, and Fred Schwake, the business agent of their local whom they had trusted. But they went down fighting.

In one of the most spectacular and rousing floor fights ever waged, the militant progressives in the union, denounced as "Mussolini" by Dillon, took the meeting last night by storm, hooded Dillon from the Civic Auditorium at the outset of the session, and were on the verge of tearing to pieces the General Motors offer, which failed to grant them one important concession, including their demands for union recognition, a signed contract and straight seniority without the notorious "merit clause."

Lack of Experience

Their lack of experience and desire for "democracy" and "fair play," which was appealed to by equally inexperienced members of the strike committee, caused them to rescind a previous motion which they had passed extending all proposals but the strikers and the members of the strike committee.

Dillon was recalled into the meeting and given the chance to speak on the agreement which he, Edward F. McGrady, assistant secretary of labor, and William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, had devised last Saturday. Dillon had already expressed his sentiments on this union-busting agreement Monday in the daily press, which featured his statement urging the strikers to accept the terms of the proposal, and hinted that the progressives who fought its acceptance, including every one of the elected strike committee but one, were "reds," through a vague allusion to "those who presume without authority to speak in the interests of the workers the language of a Soviet Dictatorship." His public statement was in direct violation of an agreement made with the strike committee not to express himself on the proposed settlement prior to the meeting.

Fulminates at Muste

Dillon was given the platform to speak. Two hours before he had raged from the auditorium howling that the union was expelled from the A. F. of L. The press reported him as saying then, before he entered a cab to go to his hotel, "Let Muste run their outfit. If they want an I.W.W. or a communist outfit let them have it. They're out! They're out! I disown them."

Three times during his ensuing speech Dillon was booed and hissed down. But with infinite cunning, demagoguery and the basest lies he shouted and threatened. His big club was the threat to withdraw the charter of the entire local if the strikers did not accept the company's offer. The local has members in nineteen Toledo plants. Slowly he ground into the minds of many of the strikers the fear that he would smash their union if they did not end the strike. In return for the "democratic" gesture of the strikers, Dillon used the foulest and most undemocratic tactics ever devised to force the company agreement down the strikers' throats. He used their very union loyalty, their desire to maintain their union at all costs, to betray them.

During the course of his tirade, Dillon snarled an attack at A. J.

(Continued on Page 2)

W.P. Supports Election Battle Against Mpls. Reactionaries

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The coming election in Minneapolis will see a battle to the finish between the reactionary candidates of the Citizens Alliance and the candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party. Every worker in every trade union in the city is up in arms against the present Citizens Alliance administration, headed by Mayor Bainbridge and police chief "Bloody Mike" Johannes, who were responsible during Local 574 truck drivers' strike of last year for the shooting of fifty workers and the death of two. Both sides are marshalling all their forces for the election, on which depends the immediate fortune of the labor movement and the Citizens Alliance.

In view of the questions at stake and of the narrow majority which will determine the result, the Minneapolis Branch of the Workers Party has decided to throw its electoral weight behind the Farmer-Labor candidates, at the same time conducting its own campaign, warning the workers against the dangerous illusions of Farmer-Laborism. The campaign of the Workers Party is being carried on along the

- lines of their election leaflet. After introducing as the main immediate task the defeat of the Citizens Alliance, the Workers Party clearly distinguishes itself from the Farmer-Laborites. "The Farmer-Labor officials will not and cannot give the working class any real, lasting benefits—these will have to be won by the workers themselves through their fighting organizations: the unions, unemployed organizations, and the revolutionary workers' party."
- The Party presents its own program although running no independent candidates in this election.
1. The thirty hour, thirty dollar minimum week.
 2. A ten billion dollar public works program.
 3. Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of employers.
 4. Immediate relief of \$10 per week with \$3 for every dependent.
 5. An end to red tape in relief administration; adequate medical care for the unemployed.
 6. Full rights of free speech.

(Continued on Page 4)

Dillon Men Slug Toledo Workers in Flint Meet

FLINT, Mich., May 14.—For the third time in the past two weeks, members of the Buick local here were prevented from going on strike through the action of Francis Dillon and his organizer, Louis Hart.

When a progressive member of the Toledo local, Wilbur Patton, with a delegation including Dick Myers and Herbert Munson, attempted to speak at the meeting here last night to give a report of the Toledo strike, he was assaulted by members of Dillon's machine, led by Louis Hart.

Patton was injured about the head when he was struck by a chair. In order to break up the meeting, Dillon's men turned out the lights and threw chairs about. The meeting was broken up in confusion.

One of the methods employed by Dillon to discourage strike action here was to circulate a story, played up widely in the local press, that the Toledo strike was in control of "reds," "communists" and "professional agitators."

Expel Allentown Professor for Activity in Labor Movement

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 15.—Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, treasurer of the Allentown local of the American Federation of Teachers and its delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council, has been dismissed from his position as professor of psychology at Cedar Crest College because of his labor activities.

His dismissal by the board of trustees has been denounced by the student body. More than half of the 185 students enrolled at the college have signed petitions demanding his reinstatement. Asked by President William F. Curtis to resign, Dr. Hallett refused, requesting specific charges be brought against him. The formal notification of dismissal, on May 11, contained no charges. Pressed for an explanation of the board's action, President Curtis admitted that Dr. Hallett's work was satisfactory at the college and that the dismissal was due to Dr. Hallett's prominent role in the organized labor movement.

In addition to his position in the teachers' union, which Dr. Hallett was instrumental in organizing last November, he was until recently an officer in the powerful Lehigh County Unemployed League and is still an active figure in the Pennsylvania unemployed movement.

Dr. Hallett has taught at Cedar Crest College for three years. Previously, he was instructor in the psychology department of the University of Pennsylvania.

A fight for Dr. Hallett's reinstatement will be made at the meeting of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church, scheduled for next week, at which the annual report of Cedar Crest College will be presented. Dr. Hallett announced today that Dr. Paul Ried Pontius, president of the Synod, has promised to fight for academic freedom in the college.

The Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union has announced it will take action in the case. The American Association of University Professors has been asked to make an investigation.

Dr. Hallett has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to rally support for his case in the labor movement.

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Privileged Classes . . .

"We have privileged classes in this country," said Miss Alice Mertz, New York relief supervisor in explaining the \$99 per week salary of herself and husband. . . . Relief recipients in Clinton County, Pa., were told by relief investigators to "go and steal coal." . . . As relief funds are cut off and 1,300,000 people face starvation, the Illinois legislature adjourned so that members could attend the Kentucky Derby. . . . The \$30,000,000 that the government "loaned" Charles Dawes (and which will never be repaid) would take care of Illinois relief needs for nearly a year. . . . An evicted share-cropper with his palled wife, rickety children and meager pile of furniture was seen standing by the roadside near Shreveport, La. All were wearing "EVERY MAN A KING" buttons. . . .

Food . . .

The AAA has expended to date \$678,000,000 for crop reduction and \$191,000,000 to purchase crop surpluses. . . . President Roosevelt last week signed a bill appropriating \$600,000,000 for seed loans to farmers. . . . Food prices have risen 34 percent in the past year. The CONSUMERS' GUIDE issued by the AAA states: "never before in this country have so many people been unable to buy food and the simple necessities of life as in the past two years." . . . Secretary Wallace, head of the AAA, says: "Prices are not excessive; the increase in the price of food products has only kept pace with the rise in national income." . . . Although farmers comprise 25 percent of the population, for the past five years the farm income has averaged only 8.8 percent of the national income. . . . Profits reported for food processing corporations for 1934 are: National Biscuit Co.—\$26,592,000; National Fruit Co.—\$21,290,000; Armour & Co.—\$19,446,000; Borden Milk Co.—\$9,136,000; National Dairy Co.—\$13,603,000; Corn Products Refining Co.—\$21,207,000; A. & P. Stores (two year period) \$43,219,000. . . . Increase in food prices have raised the average cost of feeding a soldier from 37 cents to 50 cents a day, necessitating an extra allotment of \$5,000,000 per year to feed the army and navy. . . . Commissioner Osborne of the New York State Fish Hatcheries complains that because of the increased cost of liver he cannot feed the trout adequately. . . .

Jobs . . .

Helen Fortney, 138 lbs. of Lake Geneva, Wis., advertised for a job as bodyguard. She received 48 proposals of marriage, one offer of a job. "It must be phoney," she remarked. . . . Franklin Jr. and John Roosevelt, sons of the President, are in the market for summer jobs. The boys are willing to do almost anything says their mother. Last summer John taught polo at a summer camp and Franklin Jr. toured Europe. . . . Eighty percent of the industrial firms in the U. S. will not hire new workers over 40 years of age. . . . The majority decision of the Supreme Court nullifying the Railroad Retirement Act states: "It does not follow, as contended, that a man of 45 is inefficient or incompetent. The facts indicate a contrary conclusion." . . .

Patriotism . . .

Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper shaved his mustache of 40 years standing in order to play the part of George Washington in a Philadelphia pageant. . . . In an "aversion test," Dr. E. L. Thorndike of Columbia University, found that two thirds of the older persons tested would "spit at the picture of George Washington" for \$10,000. Half the younger ones would do it for less than \$10. All were jobless. . . .

Society Notes . . .

"I couldn't tend to Anne drunk all night and work all day," pleaded Brandon Smith, husband of Anne Cannon, textile and tobacco heiress. "Brandon was dumb and I was dumb for living with him. The only reason I married him was to get a home," retorted Anne. Brandon was awarded \$125,000 heart balm by the court. . . . The 287 "rugged pioneers" being transplanted to the heart of Alaska revolted aboard ship when they were given battered bread rather than individual pats of butter. . . . Elsie de Wolfe, actress, considers her bathroom the crowning glory of a life devoted to beauty. "Mousseline and glamour, white orchids and rock crystal, silver tissue and white furs, reflected in many mirrors—that is my bathroom. The hooks are in the form of dolphins. The faucets are the heads of swans. The carpet is of white velvet. The electric lights are mother of pearl in a design of oyster shells. There are always white flowers, sometimes great sprays of white orchids." . . . Ninety percent of American farmers still perform the Saturday night ritual in a galvanized wash tub. . . .

Central Labor Union Backs Local 574

Unanimous Appeal For Reinstatement

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Without one dissenting voice the Minneapolis Central Labor Union voted last week full support to Local 574 of the Truck Drivers in their battle for reinstatement in the International. A motion to continue 574's delegate on the Central Union was defeated only after an appeal from the chair, on the ground that such a motion would lay the Central Union itself open to expulsion by Green.

Find Charges False

The vote was taken after a report by a committee of three appointed by the Central Union to investigate the charges made by Dan Tobin, reactionary president of the International. Tobin's charges, the committee found, were unjust, and in some cases completely unfounded. It was shown that 574 had made tremendous sacrifices to pay its per capita tax, although it was faced with extraordinary expenses, debts left over from last year's strike, the expenses of negotiating with hundreds of employers, the expenses consequent on the hospitalization of workers wounded in the strike, the expenses of maintaining the widows and families of those killed, etc. In spite of all these expenses, the local paid over \$3,000 in the last 15 months. It was pointed out that in previous years the union had been as much as one year behind in per capita tax without action from Tobin.

Tobin's charge that the union had overstepped its jurisdiction was answered by evidence showing that 574 has voluntarily relinquished the Ice Drivers, the Bakery Drivers, the Laundry Drivers, the Brewery Drivers, etc. etc. although such actions went against the better judgment of the union leaders. In the case of the Brewery Drivers, the union leaders, not wishing to break up the industrial union of the Brewery workers, actually went against the advice of Tobin who, merely to gather the extra dues, pressed for a jurisdictional fight with the Brewery Union.

Against Tobin's charge that the financial secretary of the union was not bonded were presented documents, including the bond itself, dated last November, when the secretary was elected. It was pointed out that a copy of this bond was on file in Tobin's own office.

Take Immediate Steps

After voting support, the Central Union took immediate steps. A committee of three was voted to see Tobin in Indianapolis and Green in Washington, to fight out the case on its merits and demand the reinstatement of local 574.

In presenting its case local 574 contrasted the policy of Tobin and the policy of the union:

"There were two lines open to the union after the strike. First: It could have followed the policy indicated by president Tobin in his

letter of April 15 in which he says 'No union shall have the right to pay any bills before they pay the per capita tax due the International Union each month.'

"This would have set up a small office with a secretary in charge who could have done little more than collect dues—and would have resulted in the quick and decisive liquidation of the union and would have reduced it in a few short weeks to its former impotent position."

"Second: the policy followed by the present leadership, that is, throwing every available force into the field."

"(a) To check and finally defeat the bosses' plan of wholesale discrimination. That this was absolutely necessary the record of the membership lists month by month will show."

"(b) To set up a steward system and build a well-knit block of active organizers in the different firms and sections."

"(c) To take care of the wounded men and their families, to pay off gradually the most pressing obligations, hospital, doctor and food bills, to maintain a suitable hall and headquarters."

"(d) In the meantime to pay to the International every cent possible without crippling the union and scattering the membership, which is the source of all funds."

"(e) In this way to lay the basis for the liquidation of all debts to the International, as well as other local obligations."

In connection with debts to the International it was pointed out by the union that "During the past 18 months while the work of building the union was in progress no strike benefits or other financial aid or, indeed, any assistance, organizational or otherwise, was received from the International."

What to Attend

Friday, May 24, 8:30 P. M.—"The Situation in Fascist Italy." At 420 E. 19th St., between Ave. A and 1st Ave. Speaker: Anthony Ramaglia. Admission free.

Saturday, May 25, 8:30—Dance and entertainment at Branch 1 headquarters, 420 E. 19th St. Given by Branch 1 W.P. and S.Y.L. Help S.Y.L. and Br. 1 raise its rent!

Saturday, May 18—Grand Opening and Housewarming of Brownsville Branch and Spartacus Youth League, 1776 Pitkin Ave. (near Stone). Entertainment, Dancing and Refreshments.

Friday, May 24, 8:30 P. M.—"What is the Meaning of the Franco-Soviet Pact?" At 1776 Pitkin Ave. (near Stone), Brownsville. Speaker: Arne Swaback.

New Militants and New Internationals can be purchased at: NEWS EXCHANGE 29 So. Main Street, Akron CONFECTIONERY STORE 1 West Market Street, Akron

Boston Dressmaker Calls for Effective Preparations to Improve Conditions

By J. RAYMOND

BOSTON, May 3.—A general stoppage in the dress industry was called here yesterday with about 2,000 workers responding. Although this strike comes at the tail-end of the season, the conditions which surround it and led up to the union action are highly instructive for all dressmakers.

For the past year conditions in the dress industry have been rapidly rolling down hill. The little gained in the May strike two years ago after the signing of the code was fast disappearing. The union on its part did nothing to organize the unorganized who were undermining conditions in the union shops.

On February 15 the agreement with the employers expired. The workers believed a strike to be necessary if conditions were to be improved and the unorganized recruited for the union. Insistent demands were voiced at local meetings that preparations be made and machinery set up for strike. But the administration dallied and postponed on the pretext that the time was poor for a walkout. With their usual hypocrisy they declared that the workers could not be depended on in these "hard" times and would not support a strike.

The union militants struggled desperately against this policy but to no avail.

At conferences between manufacturers and the union about twelve of the bosses agreed to sign the old agreement. There was no great sacrifice for them in this offer as the agreement had remained a dead-letter hitherto. At a mass meeting called to ratify these negotiations considerable opposition was voiced by rank and file. They were enthusiastically received by the workers present. As was to be expected, however, the stage was set in advance and Hochman, International President, was the last speaker.

Soft-soaping in his own inimitable style, Hochman dilated on the depression, pleaded for acceptance of the agreement, begged for patience until the opportune moment, urged that the workers wait for the New York strike after which conditions would automatically improve in Boston.

Filled with disgust the workers voted for the agreement and left the meeting with disappointment, the prevailing sentiment.

Conditions went from bad to worse. Most of the dressmakers worked without agreements. Wages were anything the workers could get. Lock-outs and reorganizations were regular occurrences. But the union did nothing, calmly awaiting the return of prosperity. Only when talk became rife that the union was worthless and that members would stop paying dues to it, were the bureaucrats stirred out of their swivel

chairs. The strike was called for the purpose of forcing agreements on the contracting shops.

All shops, with and without agreements, have been called out. What is most necessary now is for the strike to be settled in short order since the season will soon be over. And of greater significance are the preparations for the future. All sincere and active workers must be banded together and an intensive organization drive started. Only such preliminaries and then a determined struggle will lead to improved conditions.

Reject Pact in Rubber Strike

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON, May 13.—The first militant step in turning back the tide of reaction in the rubber workers' unions was taken yesterday by the locked-out workers of the India Tire and Rubber Co. when by a vote of 141 to 33 they flatly rejected the proposal of President Klaus that the company be turned back into an open shop.

Klaus, having pleaded with great emotion that the closed shop, the only one in the industry, was ruining India's business, that the consumers of India tires (bearing the union label, no longer would buy them "on account of their problems regarding labor."

The company, admittedly in bad financial shape as a result of bitter price wars between the large corporations, expects to receive a \$190,000 loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corp. if "labor difficulties are ironed out"—meaning, of course, if the open shop is reestablished. Once again the rubber workers witness the role of the government in the class struggle.

Having temporarily broken the morale and exhausted the treasures of the big rubber unions, Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. organizer in rubber, was rushing off to Toledo to make an empty pledge of "moral and financial" support of the rubber workers to the auto strikers. He left behind one of his henchmen who merely advised the India workers "to use their own judgment" about voting down the open shop proposal. Again the rubber workers see the bureaucratic leadership deserting them at the crucial moment. The India rubber workers can depend only upon their own strength on the picket line, and the support given them by the large and militant Unemployed League at Mogadore.

In the big rubber unions plans are being pushed to test the recent sell-out agreement by demanding wage increases for the cleaners and elevator men.

W. P. in the Strike

The methods by which the progressives in this strike were organized have laid the groundwork for more successful and wide-spread attempts in the future. Although most of the strikers were new union men, the militants were drawn together. Bill Prior did a splendid job on this. A real floor machine, inexperienced as it was, was developed, and it put up a magnificent battle when all the circumstances are considered. A regular series of leaflets were issued to the strikers by the Workers Party. These were eagerly read and were tremendously effective in suggesting to the strikers the practical and necessary course to be pursued in the strike. Key men, rank and file leaders, were educated and trained in parliamentary procedure, strike tactics, and militant unionism. For one brief period, despite all the handicaps, it seemed as though the progressives would carry the day.

This year the production season is almost over. But the seeds of clean, progressive, fighting unionism which the W.P. has succeeded in implanting in the minds of the auto union members will bear fruit.

At a meeting of the Chevrolet local held tonight, a thousand union men cheered the President of the local when he said: "In three weeks you won more than General Motors has granted any group of workers in twenty years. What can you do in another six months! Build the union for the next fight." Walter Gunthrop, President of the Central Labor Union of Toledo, denounced the settlement as a bastard affair whose mother was Francis J. Dillon. Midwife at the birth was James Wilson, Green's personal representative, he stated. The men unanimously pledged themselves to stick in the union, throw out their false leaders, and build the organization toward a fight to a finish with General Motors.

Progressives Organize

The results of this strike cannot be termed an utter defeat, however, although the auto workers have lost their finest opportunity to date to force the auto barons to their knees throughout the country.

Out of this fight has grown a force of militant progressives in the auto unions who have demonstrated conclusively their power and ability. The struggle they put on in Toledo, although meeting with temporary defeat, has already aroused progressives in the auto unions throughout the country. Tonight these progressives are planning to get together, to lay out a national program, to organize, train and discipline themselves more thoroughly.

Moreover, this strike has proved to the auto workers that the auto barons and corporations are not invincible. A small handful, comparatively, of Toledo strikers, militant and determined, forced General Motors to negotiate with them directly, against all the previously declared policy of General Motors. They won some concessions, even though meagre and apt to be withdrawn if the union men fail to push forward their organization and fight every attempt to violate the terms. Further, they have demon-

Ill. Jobless March on Capitol

(Continued from Page 1)

came out simultaneously with the roaring banners on the "hunger march" that thousands of dollars had been appropriated for the Great Lakes naval station. Other items told of millions being expended for naval maneuvers in the Pacific. Yet, when the unemployed petitioned the Governor of the state for redress in the face of famine and wholesale destitution, they were told in no uncertain terms that a levy on an income tax was "unconstitutional." In the coal camps, hovels and shacks of the jobless, whimpering children starved. This, perhaps, is "constitutional."

Learn Political Lesson

The unemployed of the state learned the political lesson of their life. They were taught that the government of Illinois, like its big brother, the government of the United States, was a government of a class—the capitalist class. Illusion after illusion were dispelled and the unemployed should realize by now that a program of action must assume definite political character if victory is to be acquired.

The marchers carried banners. "United We Eat — Divided We Starve," the slogan of the fighting National Unemployed League was adopted as the most popular banner of Illinois' hunger army. "We Want Work At Union Wages," "Down With The Sales Tax," "Feed Us Or Shoot Us Down," "Tax The Rich," "We Want Shelter" were others among a hundred or more banners carried by the marchers.

Strangely enough, after Horner had issued a statement of "not one cent," and Hopkins "not one thin dime" for the jobless, the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission came across with \$1,250,000 as a sop to the unemployed. Other counties through rich donors and special

appropriations began to announce that some money was on hand. The hunger marchers had exerted pressure.

Federation Knives Unemployed

As a desperate resort to undermine the threat of the unemployed workers, Mr. Soderstrom and Mr. Olander, boss parrots and officers of the State Federation of Labor, issued a vicious denunciation against the Illinois Workers Alliance and came out in favor of the sales tax. Soderstrom, a Republican state legislator, and Olander, a member of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, again stabbed the militant labor movement in the back with an irresponsible charge that the jobless "were allied with the Chamber of Commerce."

At the same time when the hunger marchers, tattered and hungry, petitioned the state to feed them, these two arch labor traitors were eating in ritzy restaurants, sleeping in swanky hotels and consorting with the very enemies of hungry men and women, many of whom are members of the Federation of Labor. We were compelled to witness again well groomed, well fed and well cared labor aristocrats splitting in the face of the masses who were desperately trying to avert a calamity of famine.

The Illinois unemployed marched. They experienced some necessary political lessons. They rehearsed in one of the simple immediate struggles. They'll march again. They will march in larger numbers, better organized and knowing more about this thing called the class struggle. In the meantime the fight continues. The jobless will refuse to starve in silence. They will refuse to be satisfied with a "bean order."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

So I was hanging on a subway strap Monday morning, and I read on the front page of the New York Times.

"A. F. of L. officials here (Toledo) are irked at the influence which A. J. Muste of the Workers Party appears to have with the left-wing members of the strike committee," so I step all over the gent's toes in appreciation, and say "Atta boy" right out loud, and several people look at me, and the gent gets up and gives me his seat—maybe he thought I was talking to him!

Which doesn't have much to do directly with the Manager's request that I write something for the New Militant campaign, but I thought I'd mention it anyway. After all, "influence" of the W. P. does depend a mighty lot on the New Militant too.

I understand the sub campaign is only so-so, and there is only half a month left. Personally I like to work "under pressure" at the last minute, and perhaps many comrades are planning to send in most of their subs between now and June 1, but there will have to be some tail hustling!

Visiting headquarters I hear rumors of an enlarged paper, a daily, a bi-monthly supplement, eight pages, etc. And apparently the main obstacle to taking the plunge is not having quite adequate support in pushing the paper from the branches and membership as a whole. It's my guess that if this campaign were to approach closely 100 percent success, the New Militant would immediately come out larger or more frequently.

With a larger paper, its character inevitably improves. In my own case, for example, it hasn't been easy to sell the New Militant "as she is" in the wilds of Worcester, Mass., open-shop, middle-class-minded city. But I am sure a larger paper would be more comprehensive and complete in its viewpoint and presentation of news, and so easier to promote. Only WHOLE-

HEARTED SUPPORT NOW CAN PRODUCE THAT TYPE OF PAPER!

I have three more to get on my individual quota of ten subs, and I'll get them somehow. One student, one housewife, an S. P. secretary, a machinist and a pal of his (vocation unknown), a printer and a shop foreman comprise my catch to date. I shall go gunning for a school teacher, a minister and shall give the tenth sub to an unemployed friend, instead of seeing "Goin' to Town." Now isn't that sacrificing for the Party! But after all Mae West will always be Mae West, while that sub might make a W.P. member out of a good Democrat!

How about it? All together for a final two-week's drive!

CARA COOK, Former Manager, New Militant

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

In Belgium . . .

Social Democracy again proves its role as a brake on the working class in its struggle against capitalism. With the existence of a Marxist party in Belgium, the political crisis through which that country has been passing could have been utilized to direct the proletariat in militant struggle for the purpose of achieving as a first step a workers' government. But a revolutionary party did not exist there, owing in largest measure to the criminal blunders and betrayals of Stalinism. Social Democracy retains its power over the trade unions and in the political activities of the masses. But within the ranks of the socialist Labor Party of Belgium, the most advanced workers, absorbing some of the bitter lessons of the German defeat, have been slowly moving to the left. The deep-going crisis of capitalism produced the objective conditions for the rapid growth of such a left wing, but its leadership could only accommodate itself to the pressure of the reformist leaders at the right and thus held back the workers instead of arousing them to militant action.

Coalition Gov't . . .

In Belgium, as in France, fascism is a growing menace to the working class. The Belgian king is in close touch with the forces of reaction and the monarchy will be utilized without a doubt in the attempt to save the capitalist system by handing the power to the extreme reactionaries who will crush all workers' organizations unless the workers seize the power and liquidate the monarchy at the same time. Far from preparing the masses for this revolutionary task, the Social Democracy is rendering them passive. Instead of breaking with the bourgeoisie as the first step in the defense of the workers against fascism, the betraying leaders of the Labor Party have joined in the coalition ministry. The militant workers have demanded straight along that in the political crisis accompanying the economic one, the Labor Party take over the government alone. But there is nothing that socialist leaders fear so much as power, for then they cannot reject the basic demands of the working class without standing naked and exposed. The entry of Vandervelde, De Man and the "leftist" Spaak into the Van Zeeland coalition shows once more how reformism creates illusions among the workers by denouncing capitalism loudly in words in order the better to save the capitalist ("democratic") system in deeds. Vandervelde requires the bourgeoisie in the coalition so as to avoid complete exposure when

he tramples on the needs of the masses.

The Effects . . .

It is clear from the circumstances surrounding the formation of the coalition ministry that the socialist workers, the rank and file, were opposed to this betrayal and to class collaboration at this juncture. For the entry was in the nature of a coup d'état, an accomplished fact, put over not merely on the Labor Party, but on the Central Committee of the party as well. This throws the clearest light possible on the attitude of these misleaders towards "legality." They would have the workers follow the course permitted to them by finance capital in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but they reserve to themselves the right to act "illegally" for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. In the ranks of the working class. This act on the part of the reactionaries will have wide repercussions. The desertion of the left wing by its leader Spaak, who also joined the ministry (his reward for this foul treachery), prevented an immediate split, since the left forces in the Labor Party were thrown into confusion. Nevertheless the left wing continued its publication of "Action Socialiste" and denounced the coalition government, stating: "We again reaffirm our belief in the revolutionary road to Socialism. Coalition is disastrous." The situation in the Labor Party at present is a real test of the leftist forces and may result in rapid progress to a real Marxist basis. Thus a deputy from Brussels declared in the Special Congress called to "ratify" the fait accompli: "I am convinced now more than ever that with these methods (compromise) capitalism will never be conquered. We have behind us bitter events—Germany, Austria—Isn't that sufficient that we should learn? We must have more confidence in the power of the working class—in our own strength—the time will come when our voice will be heard—the voice of Revolutionary Socialism."

The struggle against coalition will tend to unite the left centrist forces and aid them to reach the advanced workers. This also involves the struggle against De Man for putting into effect his entire "Labor Plan" which would involve the taking of power by a workers' government, and not merely portions of it, as De Man now proposes. In this fight the Bolsheviks must come to the aid of the revolutionary workers in the Labor Party. In the course of common struggle the Bolsheviks can win over these forces for a real militant struggle against fascism and for workers' power.

(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of articles by Comrade Muste. The third article will appear next week.)

By A. J. MUSTE

There is another idea advanced by Comrade Budeuz which along with certain valuable suggestions exhibits the same individualism, unreality, "other-worldliness," the pioneer's longing for a fresh start, the yearning for the ideal, as the conceptions we have been discussing. The "American approach" means, he suggests, that in building the American revolutionary party we must make a fresh start. The movement in this country must be "foot-loose from the broils of European radicalism." Our workers and farmers are "nauseated with the charges and counter-charges of 'opportunism,' 'renegadism,' etc. which fill the radical air." They are "fed up on the neurasthenic fictions which one radical group must, as a matter of duty, create about the other—muddying the waters and hiding the lesson of correct tactics."

There is here, be it said in passing, a hint that it is only European radicalism which is afflicted with broils, that American radicalism would be free of them if these bad Europeans had not brought them over or, perhaps, foolish Americans had not imitated the Europeans. There is surely no foundation in fact for such an assumption of the peaceableness of Americans, red or any other color, and a tendency is evident here to slip into language which might easily be given a nationalistic interpretation which its author would be the first to disown.

Mud-Slinging Methods

Now there is no question that radical parties and groups have sometimes devoted time and energy to wrangling over non-essentials or issues that had become dead. It is also true that controversy has descended at times to the level of petty sniping. The C. P. has pursued a policy of mud-slinging, characterized by a certain amount of character assassination (at this very moment directed against Comrade Budeuz), lying, double-crossing, breaking up meetings of other groups, which have introduced a demoralization and bitterness into the radical movement. With any protest against any of these tendencies wherever they may appear, the W. P. will associate itself. It has taken and will take the lead in the effort to eradicate them.

But there is here a lumping together of all controversies in the radical movement and the suggestion that they are not over serious and genuine issues but the product of "neurasthenic fictions" which each radical group has to trump up against the others as a justification for its own existence. Are the dis-

The Use of Polemics In the Labor Movement

cussions which have indeed raged furiously many times in the radical movement thus to be dismissed as the ravings of neurasthenics about fictions? Was there not a real issue between Marx and the Utopian socialists? Or Marx and Bakunin? And was it not essential to the advancement of the working class that these issues be fought out and clarified? To take another illustration, comrade Budeuz would be the last to argue that there is no real issue as between the Social-democrat and the revolutionist or that it is not necessary to break the hold of the Social-democracy on the mind of the working class.

The Issue at Hand

It really comes down, then, to the question as to whether the conflict between the C. P. and the W. P., between the Third International and those who have raised the banner of the New, Fourth, International, has to do with significant issues. But to ask this question is to answer it! Conceivably an honest worker may be on one side or the other in the controversy, and we do not class those workers who differ from us as counter-revolutionists and social-fascists (a breed that seems suddenly to be as extinct as the dodo). But every day in the field our comrades encounter those who belong to the C. P. or are under its influence. They must be equipped to reason with them. What else should a responsible worker do with other workers?

Furthermore, the issues of the united front, the trade union policy of the C. P., social-fascism, party and workers' democracy, socialism in one country, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, cannot be dismissed as unimportant, "neurasthenic fictions," any more than the controversy between Marx and the Utopians, or Lenin and the Social-Democrats could be. The advent of Fascism, the reasons why the workers' movement did not prevent it, the debate of the C. P. in Germany, the fact that in seven years, and such years, the Third International, claiming to be the general staff of the world revolutionary movement, has had no congress—all this, the W. P. claims, can only mean that the working class of the world has entered upon a new epoch, as truly as a new epoch dawned with the debate of the Second International in 1914.

Confronted with such a situation, the revolutionary vanguard must first decide whether the basic principles of the movement remain or whether a new set is to be worked out. The W. P. bases itself upon the principles of Marx and Lenin. No

one has come forward with any others that merit serious consideration.

The Point of Departure

It then becomes necessary to ask how the basic principles have been perverted, misapplied, departed from. How can the revolutionary movement possibly go on, unless it is simply to make a leap in the dark, save on the basis of an evaluation of the past, its successes and its failures? Since when has it become scientific and realistic for a movement not to strive earnestly to benefit by its own experience? To propose to "start from scratch" with a brand-new revolutionary movement is to cry for the moon. We cannot wipe out history. Our opponents will talk about it if we do not. It is not even true that the workers of the U. S. are nauseated with discussion of these issues. Most of them do not know anything about them, it is true. They are uninterested, rather than nauseated. But will any one say that there is less discussion in the S. P. for example, or among the more advanced workers generally, about revolutionary principles and the evaluation of European events, etc. than a few years ago?

Less now than ever before is it possible or advisable for the revolutionary movement in the U. S. to ignore or isolate itself from European or world-experience. As capitalism in the U. S. rapidly approaches the same stage of development as in European countries and resorts to much the same devices to thwart the labor movement, we can learn very direct and specific lessons from European experience. Fascism is not a remote or abstract issue for us. Furthermore, they are international, not national issues. Still further, it is utterly impossible to comprehend what is happening in the pocket-book, the home, the dinner-table of American workers and farmers, or to devise a way out, save by an understanding of what is happening to world-capitalism and of what the working class of all lands can do about it.

Unity—Its Real Meaning

One other point in this connection. It is true that the workers desire unity. They must achieve unity in order to win their freedom. But a revolutionist has no business to lapse into sentimentality or middle-headedness. As we have pointed out on other occasions, there was a united labor movement in Austria, but it went down before Fascism because it was united on a false, social-democratic, basis. We must not, therefore, seek to evade the controversy as to what is the sound basis for unity. Rather must we fight with all the mental resources at our command for our conception as to what that basis is. Are we then to become a "debat-

ing society" or an "academy of theoreticians"? If by that is meant that we have vigorous internal discussions over real issues, in the national and international sphere, we say, By all means: no organization has any vitality which does not have that sort of internal life. If, however, it is meant that we talk and write, but do not act, that we develop an ingrown party, the answer is that we shall permit that to happen at our peril. Again and again we say, the Party must get into the class struggle, yes, here in the U. S. A. It must prove itself in action, and if it does not, it will be thrown into the garbage-can, where it would belong, by the working class. Theory is with us the guide to action and is to be tested in action.

The Question of Stalinism

Are we to be an "anti-Stalinist" rather than an "anti-capitalist" party? It seems to me that there are certain comrades in the Party who from different angles take an unrealistic view of the matter here raised. On the one hand, there are comrades who to all intents and purposes say that we have to answer the Stalinists' arguments and if we do that we can dispose of them and go ahead, and those who from a slightly different angle contend that until the C. P. has been put out of the running, by whatever means, there is very little we can do.

For one thing, the Stalinist arguments have all been answered, but that has not made the C. P. disappear. The arguments of the capitalists have all been answered too. Only comrades with a very academic, intellectualistic, i. e. non-Marxian, approach could possibly think that arguments, oral or written, by themselves, dispose of institutions and organizations. We have to demonstrate to the workers not only that we can win a debate with the C. P., but that we can offer them a living alternative, a revolutionary party that can actually function in the class struggle. Obviously, if we have to prove that we can function in order to win the leadership of the workers as against opponent parties, we have to function while these parties still exist and are also at work. Who would expect to be otherwise in the world of reality? Who can give the matter a moment's thought and then propose that we put off trade union work until the C. P. has been liquidated rather than contest the field in the unions now with the C. P.? Yes, comrades, again: Project the party into the class struggle!

The Strich Method

On the other hand, there are comrades who practically take the position that the Party should ignore the existence of the C. P., "simply go ahead with its work," spread its anti-capitalist message, build branches, help organize the unemployed, enter the unions, etc., but eschew controversy either about principles or practical matters. If the comrades referred to in the preceding paragraph suffer primarily from being academic, these latter comrades are afflicted with a sentimental outlook. It would indeed be pleasant if there were no serious controversies in the working class, if they were all engaged in a united attack on the capitalist system. But then the revolution would be here! The world does not happen to be as we would like it. In the real world we must fight those who mislead the working class in order to fight capitalism effectively. In any event, they will attack us and leave us no alternative but to fight.

And though argument about principles does not of itself suffice to wrest leadership from an opponent party, it is just as true that in order to achieve leadership the Party must do more than conduct picket lines. It must demonstrate its intellectual superiority. Partly because only thus can the most advanced and intelligent workers and intellectuals be won. Chiefly, because the Party's job is not merely to conduct a series of skirmishes with the employing class, but nothing less than leadership in the overthrow of capitalism. The Party must have intellectual competence and satisfy the advanced workers that it has.

The Job Before Us

It makes a tremendous difference, however, whether the attack on Stalinism is regarded as a means or as an end, whether we think of ourselves or act as if we considered ourselves critics of another party which is after all to do the job or whether we are really conscious of being the revolutionary party whose task is to rally the workers for the assault on capitalism, which justifies itself in action on a broader and broader scale, and pays just so much attention to other parties as may be necessary as an incident in that major task. We are the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, revolutionary Party and our preoccupation is not with the C. P. but with the capitalist system in the U. S. and throughout the world—the system which with our sister parties we aim to overthrow.

(The third article of Comrade Muste's series will appear next week.)

on the plantation owners of Arkansas, Rodgers may yet be saved from a six-months' sentence in jail. To save him would be a real aid to the share-croppers and their union, of which he is a leading militant.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

S. W. PHILADELPHIA—

Question: Do not Stalin and other of his followers prove that Lenin claimed that it was possible to completely build a Socialist society in the Soviet Union alone?

Answer: The sole theoretical justification given by the Stalinists for the "theory" of Socialism in one country consists of two quotations from Lenin, one from his article on the United States of Europe, written in 1915, and the other from his unfinished article on Cooperation, written in 1923. Everything else that Marx, Engels and Lenin said, wrote, or did is ignored, as are the programs of the Party and Young Communist League during the October period and all the opinions expressed by the Party leaders during that time, including those of the now-supporters of the "theory."

Space does not permit a demonstration of the fact that even the quotations adduced by the Stalinists do not permit them the claim that Lenin was an advocate of the "theory" which Stalin first advanced in 1924, but if you will refer to "The Draft Program of the Communist International, a Criticism of Fundamentals" by Trotsky, a copy of which is available from almost any of the former C. L. A. members, you will find a complete analysis of this question under the chapter headed "The Theoretical Tradition of the Party."

(H), NEW YORK—

Question: What is the difference between a "minimum" and a Marxist program?

Answer: The posing of the problem in this manner puts the entire question in a false light. The confusion surrounding the term "minimum" where the program of the political party is concerned, flows from the attempt to decree history, i. e., to set up, a priori, and regardless of time and space, the concept of what a program must be, and to label this "Marxist." When a program, under definite historical conditions, obviously advances the historical needs of the working class but is nevertheless "less" than that which the historical ultimatum would "like," it is sometimes accepted by them but labelled "minimum" IN CONTRAST to "Marxist." Actually such contrasting is impermissible because that program, conditioned as it must be by the life process, which moves social forces in a progressive direction, IS MARXIST.

Let us recall a historical example. When the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, divided the land equally among the peasantry, this was sharply criticized by Rosa Luxemburg as having nothing in common with Socialism. The progressive character of the program of the Bolsheviks is now obvious so that if we were to follow the methodology of those who contrast "minimum" with "Marxist" we must necessarily conclude that the Bolsheviks had such a non-Marxist "minimum" program. Actually it was Marxist in the fullest sense of the word and Trotsky had occasion to point out that if they had followed Rosa Luxemburg's "Marxism" they might have been left with this but in all probability without the proletarian power.

"It would be possible to speak of Socialist perspectives only after the establishment and successful preservation of the proletarian power. And this power could preserve itself only by giving determined co-operation to the peasant in carrying out his revolution. If the distribution of the land would strengthen the socialist government politically, it was then wholly justified as an immediate measure. The peasant had to be taken as the revolution found him. . . ." ("History of the Russian Revolution").

The gist of the matter is this: Revolutionists may, without illusions, adopt a program which does not contain all that they would like to see fulfilled but which advances the historical needs of society under a given set of circumstances, and such a program IS MARXIST even if it be labelled "minimum" to show its historical conditioning.

Question: Is the "Declaration of Principles" of the Workers Party a Marxist document?

Answer: YES! The "Declaration" contains the following points which are essential prerequisites for advancing the historical needs of the proletariat under present-day historical conditions: The recognition of the decline and reactionary nature of present day capitalism (imperialism); the recognition of the nature of the capitalist state power; the need for the overthrow of capitalism through a revolutionary struggle for power; for a vanguard party; for the dictatorship of the working class; for workers' councils (soviets); for a classless society; for a new International, for the defense of the Soviet Union; for a struggle against imperialist war and fascism; for a program of immediate demands and the united front; against reformism, Stalinism and centrism.

The Forgotten Men in America's No-Mans Land

Ward H. Rogers Tells Stirring Story Of Share-Croppers Battle

By HARRY STRANG

"The plight and struggle of the exploited sharecroppers of Arkansas are an integral part of the plight and struggle of the whole American working class. It is quite logical, therefore, that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense should be part of the committee supporting my appeal against a six-months' sentence for 'anarchy.' The Southern Tenant Farmers Union appreciates this support. I wish the Non-Partisan Labor Defense every success in its effort to build a nation-wide, fighting defense body including workers of many political affiliations."

Thus Ward H. Rogers, class war victim of the Arkansas plantation struggles now touring the East on behalf of his union, of whose executive he is a member, wound up a brief address to members of the New York N. P. L. D. at their reorganization meeting last week. Rogers, who will speak in many eastern cities during the next two months, was unanimously elected an honorary member of the new Executive Board of the N. P. L. D. at this meeting.

Interviewed after the meeting, Rogers told something of the situation in Arkansas, the fight of his union and his own persecution at the hands of the landowning class. "Our union is made up of share-croppers. A sharecropper is a man who owns nothing but his own labor-power. Generally, whether Negro or white, he has no vote. He lives on a great plantation and farms a little corner of it. The plantation owner furnishes him, that is gives him seed, a mule, tools and food, as well as a rotten clapboard shack. The cropper and his family work all year, planting, cultivating, picking.

NRA a New Burden

"He is supposed to get half the market price brought by the crop. That would be little enough. . . . but by the time the landlord gets through with his 'deducts'—whether reckoned honestly or with a

crooked pencil—the cropper gets next to nothing. The new policies of Roosevelt mean nothing to the cropper—except that some of the most energetic among them have been forced off the land altogether to starve with the urban unemployed.

"Poverty, illiteracy, tuberculosis, pellagra, malaria, starvation . . . that is the life story of the share-croppers of Arkansas as well as of other parts of the country. In Arkansas the average family earns about \$300 a year. Half the population of the state are living off that much—if you can call it living."

The croppers have been promised salvation a thousand times, but they never got a step nearer until they began to take their fate in their own hands. When Rogers and others began to organize the Southern Tenant Farmers Union last July, the croppers at Tyronea went for it in a big way. Today, according to Rogers, it has 10,000 members in 50 localities in eastern Arkansas, with a few in southern Missouri and eastern Oklahoma. It has held the largest mass meetings ever held in the history of Arkansas—and held them in the face of a fierce government-backed terror campaign launched by the landowners.

Color Issue Raised

"I used to hitch-hike when I went out organizing," Rogers related, "and it was quite safe. We started in the summer and the owners thought it was just a little pre-election stunt by political fakery. Election passed, and we went on organizing the union. We took in Negroes and white, mixed up in the same union. We showed the croppers that militant unity is the only road, that class matters rather than color. The union grew.

"Then the owners changed their attitude. They did not wait for us to strike. They raised the color issue. Then, before we could even pose demands, the terror began, and now I can't move around in North Eastern Arkansas safely even in a

high-powered car. Deputies, night-riders, vigilantes are the exploiters' answer to the croppers' first move to improve their living conditions."

Rogers outlined some of the acts of terror perpetrated by the agents of the landowners. A few of them follow.

On November 20, 1934, W. H. Stultz, President of the Union, and three organizers were arrested and jailed while organizing Cross County. They were held in jail for 40 days. At the trial in February the judge ordered a verdict of "Not guilty." The union meeting was broken up by Sheriff Stacy who acted on orders from plantation owners near Parkin and Earle, Arkansas. A gang of gunmen accompanied Sheriff Stacy, including Floyd Roberts, planter, O. R. Belford, plantation rider (foreman), W. W. Hazlip, Justice of the Peace, and Walls Campbell, Justice of the Peace at Parkin, Arkansas. O. R. Belford took charge of A. B. Brooks, Negro minister and Chaplain of the Union and beat him so badly that it was necessary for Sheriff Stacy to secure medical treatment.

On January 26, 1935, Rogers was arrested at Marked Tree, while addressing a meeting of Negro and white croppers. Fred H. Stafford, deputy prosecuting Attorney for Poinsett County had been stationed with his stenographer at the edge of the crowd with the evident intention of framing someone. Rogers was tried for "anarchy" by a jury composed of 11 planters and business men and 1 tenant farmer. He was sentenced to six months and a fine of \$500. The case is now on appeal.

Threaten Lynchings

On February 1 Lucien Koch and Robert Reed, both of Commonwealth College, Ark., were forcibly taken from a church at Gilmore, Arkansas by an armed mob carrying a rope with which to lynch them. Both were severely beaten and "pistol whipped." The mob was led by Jake Lewis, a plantation rider and Benton Moore, formerly an officer of the law in Crittenden County.

On February 2 Rogers, Koch, Atley Delaney and Robert Baker were arrested and jailed by J. Mays, city marshal of Lepanto, Arkansas.

They were terrorized while in jail by a mob of planters who threatened to lynch them. They were held in a flooded cell for three days without adequate food or fire.

On February 9 Powers Haggood, of the Socialist Party and several union officials were prevented from holding a meeting at Birdsong by planters and officers.

On March 6 Will Irving, share-cropper and union member was shot in the arm by a plantation rider named Lancaster.

On March 16 Norman Thomas, H. I. Mitchell, John Herling and Howard Kester were manhandled and slugged by a drunken mob of planters and officers at Birdsong. Bob Frazier of Tyronea, Arkansas, reported head of the recently organized Ku Klux Klan was in the mob. There were many prominent planters in the mob who took no active part except to encourage the others.

On March 21 a mob, many of whom are identified, attempted to lynch Rev. A. B. Brooks, Union Chaplain and organizer at Marked Tree, Arkansas. After the mob had failed on four occasions to lynch Brooks from his cabin they turned their guns upon his home and riddled it with bullets. Brooks is in hiding.

On March 22 W. H. Stultz was taken to the office of Chapman-Dewey Land Co. in Marked Tree by A. C. Spillings, Fred Bradsher and Bob Frazier. Stultz was told by Frazier and Bradsher that they would personally see to it that "Your brains are blown out and your body thrown into the St. Francis River."

On March 26 the home of C. T. Carpenter of Marked Tree, attorney for the union, was fired upon by vigilantes in Marked Tree.

Shoot Union Men

On April 1 Walter Moskop, one of the members of the trio which toured eastern cities in behalf of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, escaped from his home when he was told by his eleven year old boy that the vigilantes were closing in on home to kill him. Andy Smith, riding boss for Chapman-Dewey, lay in hiding throughout the day near Moskop's home. Moskop is a native of Arkansas and has had his home in Marked Tree

for years.

On April 2 the home of E. B. McKinney, another member of the party which toured the east in the interest of the union and vice-president of the union, was riddled with more than fifty bullets while his family and some friends were inside. Two men were badly shot and the entire household terrorized when the mob told them that unless they all left Marked Tree within 24 hours they would be killed.

The Federal government, that friend of the oppressed, sent an investigator to Arkansas, Mrs. Mary Connor Myers. She didn't like to make trouble for the plantation owners, but so terrible is the plight of the croppers, so obvious the crimes against them, that her report necessarily reflected some criticism of the landowners' methods. As a result, the Department of Agriculture and the AAA have suppressed the Myers report. Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Roosevelt's floor-leader in the upper House of Congress, uses his power to block all requests for the publication of the report. He vetoes any Federal intervention on behalf of the croppers.

The Federal government knows what is going on in Arkansas, and it wants nobody else to know about it or to do anything about it!

N. P. L. D. Aids Defense

Rogers stated that the only solution is further organization and further struggle. He said that since the terror was loosed against the croppers, the union has moved ahead. "Down in Arkansas we are fighters," he says. "When the owners began to fight the union, the croppers came to the sensible conclusion that a union must be a good thing for the croppers. So in they came, and no terror can stop them."

Rogers came before the higher court of Arkansas in October. His defense is being handled by a union committee which has the backing of the Ward H. Rogers Defense Committee, a joint body including the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, unions and other bodies. If this committee succeeds in raising the needed funds and bringing aggressive pressure

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Lessons of the Toledo Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

successful fight was put up against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats in the automobile situation than ever before.

That General Motors knew whom it was fighting is attested by the fact that when Flint was threatened with a strike despite all the efforts of the company and the A. F. of L. to prevent it and the General Motors-controlled newspapers in that city launched a vicious campaign of red-baiting and incitement to violence, it was directed against the Workers Party and its national secretary.

That the A. F. of L. bureaucrats shared the company's view as to the enemy to be feared is attested by Francis Dillon's petulant exclamation when the Chevrolet workers barred him from speaking at their meeting: "Let Muste run their union for them if they want him."

2. The Party and the workers must nevertheless frankly face the fact that the strike was only in a very limited sense victorious. General Motors was compelled to negotiate directly with the Strike Committee elected by the rank and file. The Automobile Labor Board was clubbed into unconsciousness. Wage increases were obtained. They are small when the cost of living and General Motors' profits are taken into account. Real union recognition and definite assurance that a quietus will be put upon the company union was not obtained. Questions of seniority and abolition of the "merit clause" are left hanging in the air. Most deplorable is the fact that Toledo workers who have marched in the vanguard so often and to whom General Motors' workers in Norwood, Cleveland and Atlanta had pledged not to return to work until Toledo got its union contract—Toledo workers at the critical moment permitted themselves to be thrown into confusion and to vote to go back to work before settlements had been negotiated in these other plants. That was indeed a defeat and a humiliation.

3. The Toledo workers were subdued not by General Motors and not from any lack of courage and militancy on their own part, but chiefly by the perfidious treachery of Francis Dillon, the chief representative of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the situation. The lowest forms of trickery, the most brazen intimidation, were employed by him. For public consumption he pretended to urge the Norwood committee to call their men out in support of Toledo. Privately he told them to throw copies of *Strike Truth* into the waste basket. The *New Militant* has told the story of how he literally forced the Flint workers to stay in, condoned their working on scab transmissions, and insinuated that the Toledo strikers were yellow and unworthy of support. His henchmen beat up a Toledo union militant in Flint.

This mouther of phrases about "democratic" America and the "democratic" A. F. of L. told the Toledo strikers, the strike committee, the union executive board, BEFORE THE VOTE Monday night that if they did not vote to accept the company's compromise proposal, he would withdraw the union's charter! This is his notion of democratic procedure! Thus when the Chevrolet strikers had barred him from speaking at their meeting—correctly so in view of the slimy role he had enacted—he played, desperately and despicably, upon their

very loyalty to their union, upon the desire of the new unionists to be a part of the A. F. of L., in order to put over a brazen piece of auto-cracy, which violated the most elementary principles of democratic unionism.

More openly and more sharply every fight for unionism is a fight against the present reactionary leadership of the labor movement. In every strike we must from the outset make it one of our principal tasks to expose it and undermine whatever confidence the rank and file may have in it. That it can be done was proved in Toledo. The Chevrolet strikers Monday night, after having read the *New Militant* issues with the exposure of the Akron sell-out and Dillon's performance at Flint on the picket lines that day hooted with derision at Mussolini Dillon's attempt to whip up a red scare against the W.P.

4. The next most important factor in the partial undoing of the Chevrolet strikers was the organizational and political inexperience of the strikers themselves and their leaders. Of the marvelous battle put up especially by Jimmy Roland and some of his colleagues we have already spoken. Nothing can dim that achievement, yet there were defects which must be avoided in the future. The importance of making a fight for a militant daily bulletin was not sensed and the Strike Committee backed down on it too readily when the union executive at Dillon's behest vetoed the idea. Technical details such as regular strike committee meetings, secretarial service, etc. were neglected. The calling of a conference of all striking locals was too long delayed. When Roland for the Strike Committee at last got the call out, Dillon was in a position to countermand it. The power of the reactionary forces in the labor movement, and the length to which they would go in betrayal, was underestimated. *Strike Truth* was the greatest weapon of the strike. It was a fundamental error to allow it to be suppressed.

5. What next? For the Chevrolet workers, loyalty to the union. No tearing up of union books. Closing of ranks, so that General Motors will understand that they are dealing with workers who have been tested and hardened in the fires of experience, who intend to build an ever stronger union, and who will fight at the drop of the hat against any attempt to discriminate against active unionists or to revive a company union. We know that this is the spirit of the Toledo workers.

For the militants in the Toledo Auto Union and especially those in the Chevrolet plant who in a few days were developed into such an intelligent, courageous, dashing force, the task now is solid organization. That organization must not be merely local. Through the contacts they have made in other centers, a national organization of progressive automobile unionists must be built. The time is ripe for it. This will give notice to Dillon, to Fred Schawke, the business agent who buckled under pressure, and all their ilk that this was the first round and that in the next they will not merely be hanging on the ropes but down for the count. No lesson of the General Motors strike, so brilliant yet so far from attaining the results that the courage and spirit of the workers had earned, is more basic than this that the progressives in the unions must learn, must discipline themselves, must organize, must become an independent force.

In the eyes of General Motors, of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, of the press of the nation, the Workers Party is in the vanguard of the battle for unionism in the automobile industry. We must, we shall, meet the challenge which that implies. Branches in the auto centers must redouble their work, recruit, project themselves into the struggle. New branches must be built where we have as yet no base. The National Committee must map out a comprehensive plan of action based on careful and constant study of the industry. All of us must toil and sacrifice to raise the material resources needed for the task and to make ourselves the trained revolutionists who can eventually lead the workers of the United States to the assault upon the citadels of company unionism and open shopper!

The Pulitzer Prize for Poison Pens

The Sacramento Bee wins the Pulitzer prize for the year's best newspaper reporting. The prize is awarded by a board of editors and professors of journalism, on the advice of the publishers of big capitalist newspapers, such as Adolph S. Ochs of the Times, whose recent death, Karl Tadek of the Communist International tells us, should be mourned by "newspaper men of every class."

Not even Hearst's notorious San Francisco Examiner printed more lies per column-inch about the recent Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial than did the Bee.

For example, when the defense counsel told the jury that a conviction would be used by reactionaries to renew terrorism against workers (a prophesy which came true a few days after when the cops told Mike Plesh, an acquitted defendant, to get out of town or be beaten up), the Bee reported that defense coun-

sel had threatened "red terror" in the event of convictions!

The closing argument by Attorney Albert Goldman of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense so profoundly affected several jurors that they held out against convictions for 66 hours. When he concluded, he was given a hand-written note by a Bee reporter explaining that "for reasons which will be obvious," the report in the Bee would not represent what the reporter really thought. The Bee did not dare report Goldman's argument honestly; it was afraid of awakening sympathy for the defendants.

The campaign of lies against the defendants, their ideas, organizations and counsel, created the atmosphere in which reactionaries on the jury could bulldoze Juror McFutire into a horse-trade which sent innocent workers to prison and gave an impetus to reaction. The Sacramento Bee, which might better be called the Sacramento Viper, led

the swarm of loathsome creatures whose hissing and buzzing dominated the jurors' "deliberations."

For its efficiency in wielding a reactionary poison pen and bending to its ends the talents of its kept reporters, the Bee gets the Pulitzer Prize and thousands of capitalist editors envy the achievement.

There can be no over-estimation of the importance of the workers' own press to counteract the poison pens of the bosses' kept journalists and kept journals. The *New Militant* alone, with its honest, accurate weekly reports, gave a true and complete picture of the Sacramento trial. Build the *New Militant* and help scotch the Sacramento Viper!

CLASSICAL LANGUAGE

A Yale student specializing in classical languages has been arrested at the Colt Arms picket line in Hartford, Conn.

He called the boss a skunk.

Stalin's Treason in France

Some Startling Quotations from L'Humanite of Paris

wish to conquer war. (L'Humanite, April 4)

Péri and Pertinax

Blum rates Pertinax, of the Echo de Paris, among the "awkward friends" of the U.S.S.R. (Populaire, April 21) because, bourgeois realist that he is, he considers the question of an alliance with the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of relative force, without attaching any importance to vague promises. Pertinax is solely concerned with "French" interests. If he were solely concerned with "Russian" interests he would no doubt write as Péri, true friend of the U.S.S.R., writes:

"Others believe that M. Laval together with John Simon would be disposed to replace the project of an Eastern Pact by an Air Alliance open to all the signatories of the Locarno Treaty, the U.S.S.R., and the Little Entente. They boast of having obtained the support of Poland and of Germany for this system.

"Well, without a second thought we can say, this system has nothing to do with peace. Those who support it would precipitate the very rule of cannons which the masses wish to avert at any cost. Aggression will not be discouraged if the sole risk to the aggressor is the risk of not being actively assisted. Passivity by itself is an encouragement to adventures.

"In the concrete case under

consideration, the system invented by M. Laval would limit itself to an agreement that Germany might carry on its Eastern projects, that France would lend no assistance, but at the same time would offer no opposition." (L'Humanite, April 4).

Péri and the C.P. of France, from the point of view of the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, and Pertinax from the point of view of the national interests of the bourgeoisie advance, in fact, the same political line.

It, as Thorez has informed us since July 1934, it is the Communists who love their country well, it follows that those who do not love their country, the bourgeoisie, are "the traitors."

This is just what Cachin informs us in an article for April 10, in which he concludes:

"We shall tear off the masks of the exploiters of the country, the worst enemies of the French people, without failing in our duty of defending the peace and bread of their victims."

Cachin, who is a past master when it comes to traitors, is not fully understood by the true patriots as appears from his denunciation of Taittinger:

"Taittinger, the fascist, divulges with impunity official diplomatic and military communications which he receives in his official positions on the various furnishes in parliament. Thus he furnishes Hitler with new arguments for rearmament, and carries coals to the fires of fascism across the Rhine. A 'patriot' who conducts himself in such a treasonable manner, at the same time advocates repression against the anti-fascists!"

From which we conclude that the country, at present under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, does not understand where its real interests lie.

P. Vaillant-Couturier moreover makes no effort to conceal it from the country, he undertakes a crusade "To the rescue of French culture."

"If the proletariat, according to Marx, 'has no fatherland' they have now as internationalists something to defend: that is the cultural patrimony of France, the spiritual wealth, the works of its artists, its workers, its artists, and its thinkers." (L'Humanite, April 13)

In other words: if the proletariat has no fatherland, nevertheless for L'Humanite it has had one for some time—the French patrimony. "Conquer the country" for Cachin and P. Vaillant-Couturier means to reconquer, by means of badtridents in L'Humanite, their positions of 1914.

The Announcement of Treason
From such equivocations can come nothing but treason. Unhappily for the proletariat, the C.I. and its various sections have just advertised their treason, without any equivocation or shame.

The duty of the proletariat in case of war is outlined in the following appeal of the European C. I.'s of April 18:

"We salute the progress made in the military field by the only workers' land, the progress in reinforcing the red army of workers and peasants, a true guarantee of peace, we salute every strengthening of the frontiers of

the socialist fatherland; we will support, in case of counter-revolutionary war against the socialist fatherland, the red army of the Soviet Union by every means, and we will struggle for the defeat of every power that engages in war against the Soviet Union.

"We will aid by every means, even by the sacrifice of our lives, the victory of the Soviet Socialist Union in its war against all those who attack the land of socialism."

The proletariat is no longer to struggle for the defeat of its own imperialist government, but for the defeat of "German imperialism and its allies."

In other words: the French proletariat will go to war hand in hand with its own bourgeoisie against German imperialism for the defeat of the latter. That is what is known as national defense.

The appeal of the C.P.F. on the occasion of the municipal elections confirms us (L'Humanite, April 21):

"The most sacred duty of the proletarians of the entire world is the defeat of aggressors against the Soviet Union and the defeat of all the aggressors' allies."

"The communists want the UNIFICATION OF ALL FRENCHMEN, who work in the factories, docks, offices, stores, laboratories, schools, universities, and the workers of all nationalities and races who share the same suffering and the same hopes."

There we are, twice warned. Blind are the workers who do not immediately draw the correct lessons and the consequences thereof.

—(From La Verite, Paris)

Stalin-Laval Communique

(Continued from Page 1)

relentlessly that no resistance is to be offered when war begins. The Social Democrats of Germany and France voted for the war credits of their respective Governments on the Fourth of August, 1914. Following that they became recruiting sergeants for the war.

The Social Democrats carried out their historic betrayal under the slogan, "Defense of the Fatherland." The Stalinists march on the same path under the banner of "Socialism in One Country." The content of the actions and the results are the same.

Lenin in his time denounced the League of Nations as a "thieves kitchen" and the Versailles Peace as a brigands' peace and the breeder of a new war. Stalin joins the League of Nations and pledges the Red Army to defend the status quo established by the Versailles Treaty.

Lenin said: turn the imperialist war into a civil war. Stalin says: Do not interfere with the military operations of your own capitalists.

Down with perfidious Stalinism!

Long live the watchword of Karl Liebknecht—the watchword of the Fourth International:

The enemy is in our own country!

Election Battle In Minneapolis

(Continued from Page 1)

assembly and organization for the workers: use of public places for meetings and demonstrations without police interference.

Follows an analysis of the Farmer-Labor Party, its inability to fulfill the tasks of the working class, the attainment of the socialist society. "The Farmer Labor Party is not truly a revolutionary workers party, nor can it become one. It will not serve the workers when the big bosses decide to take away the rights which are looked upon by the people as 'constitutional guarantees.' The Farmer-Labor Party puts its faith in parliamentary debate, which the capitalists have shown they will abandon the moment it goes against them."

"Workers of Minneapolis: Elect the Farmer-Laborites to office but watch their every move, do not trust them. They will serve the workers' movement only if the workers' organizations force them to."

The leaflet concludes with an appeal to join the Workers Party, to build the revolutionary party and the revolutionary International.

St. Louis Gas Strike is Solid

(Continued from Page 1)

The daily strike paper: A certain Republican hack, Mr. Easterday, the City Engineer, decided to cut a gas line with scab labor. He arrived on the day in question at the pit where the cutting was to be made with a carload of police, and a scab plumber, a certain Shaw.

We quote: "Meanwhile the scab had gone down and another Union Brother standing on the opposite side of the ditch tried to persuade Shaw not to scab. Easterday thereupon lost his head, and running around to where this brother was standing, he tried to push him into the ditch. He succeeded in upsetting his balance, but went down into the ditch with him; and whereas this Brother landed on the water main, Easterday flopped right into the mud hole at the bottom of the ditch. A scab made a rush at this Brother and made a pass at him with a sledge hammer. The Brother, sitting astride the water main, saw him coming and let go with both feet, catching the scab square in the face and sending him reeling into the mud hole with City Engineer Easterday. When these two worthless final wadded out of the mud hole they were a sight for sore eyes.

In connection with this question comrade Cannon took occasion to point out again that the trade union policy advocated by comrade Zack is not the policy of the Workers Party. "A party that wants to be taken seriously in the labor movement today," he said, "must raise the slogan: 'Deeper into the A. F. of L. unions!' The policy represented, for example, by comrade Zack, who joined the Workers Party, is not and cannot be the policy of the Workers Party. An impression was sought to be created that Zack's entry into the party signified the adoption of his trade union policy. This is not the case at all.

"I want to take this opportunity to say very decisively that the opinions expressed by comrade Zack in his controversy with the C. P. on the trade union question are not our position. This ought to be made clear if there is the slightest misconception about it, for the trade union question is indeed the key question of the approach of a revolutionary party to the masses. Our conceptions the trade union question are the generalizations of a very extensive experience in the American labor movement, as well as in the international field. The position of the Marxists on this question have been tested a thousand times. No new inventions are needed."

The working masses are searching the political line which will prevent war, or if the war breaks out in spite of the efforts of the proletariat, will accomplish the overthrow of the capitalist regime, which is responsible for war, and substitute the socialist regime for it.

We wish to show merely by quotations from L'Humanite, the daily paper of the Communist Party of France, which can easily be verified by anyone, what is the real political line of the Communist International toward war.

The international line of the 3rd International is thus defined in the sixth condition of admission:

"All parties desiring to affiliate with the III International must denounce not only social patriotism, but social pacifism with its falseness and hypocrisy as well; they must systematically reveal to the working class that without revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international tribunal of arbitration, no debate on the reduction of armaments, no democratic reorganization by the League of Nations, can preserve humanity from imperialist war."

That was the line of yesterday. Today, since the C. I. has been reconstructed (after the expulsion of the Leninists) on the dogma of "Socialism in one country," that is to say, independently of the world revolution, the international line of the 3rd International is the following:

Defense of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., consisting of proposals to disarm addressed to the imperialist nations, and mutual assistance pacts against "any aggressor."

The Peace Policy of the C. I.

The political line is based on the following premise: there are imperialist nations interested in peace, and others interested in war.

"We must know," says Péri in L'Humanite, April 11, 1935, "if the powers who are not interested in war will assure peace through promises of mutual assistance, or if they will fall into line with the plans for a new division of Europe conceived by A. Hitler."

From this flows the whole line of the C. I. Take Péri again in L'Humanite, April 16, 1935:

"What formula alone can make warlike enterprise most difficult under the present system? The best formula, it is evident, would be the general or partial disarmament proposed and defended by the U.S.S.R., but opposed by all the other powers. Failing a general reduction of armaments WHICH THE U.S.S.R. HAS NO INTENTION OF RENOUNCING the Soviet government and the proletariat of all European countries with it believes a system of pacts whereby the signatories agree to boycott an aggressor nation, would place the greatest obstacles in the way of war. We must see things as they are and realize that any other contractual formula is vain or dangerous."

Under these conditions what is the task of the C.I.? To join Soviet diplomacy in an attempt to convince the various imperialisms "which are interested in peace" of the necessity of mutual assistance pacts.

The following shows how the organ of the French C.P. goes about the task (From L'Humanite, April 2, 1935):

"But what then does the National Union Government of France think of the attitude of the National Union Government of Britain? It is no longer a secret that Laval is lending his ear to Hitler's propositions. Does he believe that an accord with the Nazis against the Soviet Union would benefit French imperialism? Is he forgetting that the mass movement against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union is much stronger in France than in England?"

"Has he already forgotten the time, not so distant, when the French imperialist government was able to pacify the mass movement of the workers and soldiers for the dictatorship of the proletariat only by stopping immediately the war against the Soviets?"

In other words, if French imperialism wishes to survive the war, let it lend an ear to the advice of the pupils of Stalin, let it conclude a pact with the Soviet Union.

To help Laval "understand," Péri becomes positively lively and pressing:

"In the name of the Franco-British Entente, Pierre Laval has lent himself to those criminal evasions which we have so often denounced here and which we must denounce today more vigorously than ever."

"Everything indicates that Laval has given up the Eastern Pact and mutual assistance. The Minister of Foreign Affairs has deliberately renounced the only formula capable of preserving peace and putting a stop to armament. His deplorable attitude earned him the felicitations of the Volkische Beobachter yesterday. But it will rouse against him the anger of all those who sincerely

SPEAKER:

Max Shachtman War and the Stalin-Laval Agreement

Sunday, May 19th, 8 p. m.
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Illinois Workers Plan New Hunger March

HIT SALES TAX Will Fight to Last Ditch Says IWA Leader

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—A call for a mass mobilization of the unemployed and relief workers of Illinois for a march on the state capital, Tuesday, May 21, was issued tonight by the Illinois Workers Alliance.

The instructions issued to 266 units in 81 counties were released following an emergency conference of the state board members held here. The call, issued by the executive board and signed by Edward C. Morgan, state chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance said that "the unemployed refuse to starve while there are dozens of ways to raise relief funds."

"The state executive board feels that it is absolutely necessary to vigorously oppose the attempts to starve the unemployed and dispossessed of Illinois," the call stated. "The fight against the sales tax and for the reopening of relief stations continues. We will fight to the last ditch in defending the bread and beans of our people."

Calls for National Support
The call of the state executive board of the Alliance was supported by Paul A. Rasmussen, Milwaukee, national secretary of the Workers Alliance of America with which the I.W.A. is affiliated, and Gerry Allard, Springfield, leader of two previous marches staged by the unemployed.

Rasmussen departed for Chicago and Milwaukee today pledging support of the national movement of the jobless in the fight to reopen the relief stations in this state. "The courageous expression of our Illinois membership in its effective resistance against the closing of relief stations and in opposing the sales tax is commendable," Rasmussen said. "It has aroused the membership in all parts of the country. It is our intention to throw the full support of every affiliate and sympathetic group behind the march of the Illinois Workers Alliance."

"The Workers Alliance of America calls upon all trades unions and other labor organizations to support the fight of our state division. It is imperative that an iron front of the jobless and employed workers be effected in this march. This is a fight that will decide whether the common people of Illinois are to be reduced to further exploitation or whether they will bring to a stop the disgraceful and abhorrent program of a reactionary class government."

New Castle Jobless Storm Relief Office

By FRED RAYBURN
NEW CASTLE, Pa., May 13.—Despite attempts of local and state police to break their ranks the Co-operative Workers of America are continuing to picket relief offices here. The C. W. of A. is a local unemployed organization with branches throughout Lawrence and adjoining counties. The picketing started on May 2 with the demand for adequate cash relief and the stopping of evictions.

On Thursday evening, May 9, while Governor Earle was preparing to address the American Legion in the "Cathedral," a delegation of the C. W. of A. demanded his appearance before them. The attempt of his secretary to speak in his behalf was turned down by the delegation. Smoked out, the Governor appeared and arranged a meeting at his office in Harrisburg on May 13.

While the delegation was in Harrisburg interviewing the Governor a mass demonstration took place at the local relief offices. George Papcun of the Workers Party was the principal speaker. In a spirited and timely address Papcun brought the workers a message of struggle.

A mass meeting is planned by the Workers Party, New Castle branch, in the near future on the program of the Workers Party with comrade Papcun as the speaker.

A. J. Muste to Broadcast On Radio May 30, 10 PM

Comrade A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will speak over station WJZ on an NBC hook-up on Thursday, May 30 at 10 P.M. He will represent the revolutionary point of view of the Workers Party in a symposium in which Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party and Lawrence Dennis, Fascist, will represent opposing opinions. All readers of the New Militant and friends of the W. P. are urged to tune in on this broadcast. It is the first time a leading spokesman of the party has given its position over a nationwide hook-up.

ILGW Pledges To Support Ill. Relief Battle

Prompt action in protest against the stopping of all unemployment relief in Illinois, was taken today by Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000 workers, one of the largest in the American Federation of Labor. In response to the appeal issued by the Workers Alliance, a national organization of the unemployed, Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of the dressmakers union, immediately wired to Governor Henry Horner of Illinois, vigorously opposing the stopping of relief to the millions of jobless in Illinois and pledging the support of his powerful organization in the fight. The telegram follows in full:

"Thirty Thousand Members of Dressmakers Union Local Twenty two, I.L.G.W.U., affiliated with the A. F. of L., protest emphatically stopping relief to Illinois jobless. We place our strength and influence behind Illinois Workers Alliance in its fight against hunger and misery and join them in their demand that relief stations be reopened."

A similar protest has been sent to Harry Hopkins, head of the FERA in Washington. At the same time, the dressmakers union sent a message of solidarity and support to Gerry Allard of the Illinois Workers Alliance in Springfield, Illinois.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—350 union bakers went on strike this morning, demanding a signed contract which guarantees an increase of \$1.65 in the weekly wage scale, elimination of compulsory insurance, and a reduction in the number of day-rate hours.

The strike will also affect 400 union bread salesmen, who will have no bread to deliver. Five of the smaller bakeries have accepted the terms of the union bakers.

Wage Levels Hit New Low as FDR 'Redistributes' Wealth

NEW YORK (FP).—\$21.86! That's the weekly wage of America's average factory worker after two years of the New Deal. It's the figure for March, 1935, as reported by the U. S. Department of Commerce.

Skilled workers received a little more than that—\$24.25. But unskilled found, on the average, only \$17.85 in their pay envelopes, and women workers in industry were paid an even smaller amount, \$15.47.

The general average has risen since March, 1933. Then it was \$14.56. A year later it had climbed to \$20.53. In February of this year it reached \$22.09, but since then it has slipped again.

This \$21.86 represents a monetary wage boost, but only a doubtful gain in real wages. Food prices have jumped at least 35 percent during the same period, government statistics reveal. Clothing and home furnishings cost about 25 percent more than they did when Roosevelt came into office, and rent and other

Youth Confab Swayed by SYL In Minneapolis

Left Wing Delegates Carry the Field

By REGINALD L. BURKE
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Left wing delegates acting in concert with the Spartacus Youth League in a surprise attack on the reactionary sponsors of the Minnesota "Youth Today Conference" succeeded in wresting away control of the conference.

Overriding the "harmless" plans of the Minneapolis Community Fund, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Junior League, and other individual capitalist and social bigwigs, they passed resolutions favoring the right of youth to strike, opposing militarization, and calling for a solution of the capitalist impasse by the socialist planned economy. A revealing document of the conference was the refusal of Young Communist League delegates to vote for the resolution for a socialist economy.

The Spartacus Youth League of Minneapolis issued a pamphlet which was passed to the five hundred delegates as they entered the Hotel Hotel where the conference was held. The pamphlet pointed out that the conference was part of a nation-wide move "to mobilize the energy and enthusiasm of youth for the upholding of the very social system which today dooms millions of young men and women to a future of impotence and despair."

Purpose of Conference
The real purpose of the conference, said the pamphlet, was to demonstrate to wealth contributors that the various social agencies, such as the Community Fund, fulfilled a conservative function in diverting the youth to harmless pursuits.

"The sponsors of the program have very shrewdly arranged it, so they hope, so as to annul the natural radicalism of youth, which if given free play would bring all their plans to naught."

The pamphlet then proceeded to point out how the conference should be organized so that the control could be wrested from the reactionaries.

The pamphlet created a sensation, both among the youth and among the sponsors. The latter, taken completely at a loss, tried several pitiful tricks to prevent its circulation. Social workers and members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce came to the distributors and said, "These are just the things we want: give us all you got; we want to distribute them in the meeting for you." Their devices failed, however, to stop the distribution.

Nor did any of the parliamentary tricks of the reactionaries in the meeting itself avail them; the convention swung solidly behind the progressive forces, who good naturedly tolerated the presence of Walter Pitkin (famous windbag, author of "Life Begins at Forty," "How to Get a Job," and other humorous works) who was supposed

(Continued on Page 4)

Expelled Professor



WINSLOW N. HALLETT

Allentown CLU Backs Teacher In College Fight

N.P.L.D. Organizes Wide Campaign for Reinstatement

ALLENTOWN, Pa., May 22.—Professor Winslow N. Hallett of Cedar Crest College, dismissed for his labor activities by the Board of Trustees, has been joined in his fight for reinstatement in the local college by the Allentown Central Trades and Labor Council and the Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues.

The central body appointed a committee of four to see the college trustees. If Professor Hallett is not reinstated by May 23, the central body is committed to launching a campaign against the college. Professor Hallett, treasurer of local 359 of the American Federation of Teachers, is a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council.

P.U.L. Protests

The Pennsylvania Unemployed League passed a resolution denouncing the dismissal of Dr. Hallett as a move against organized labor and notified its county organizations to take action. Dr. Hallett is active in the Lehigh County Unemployed League.

Florence Curtis Hanson, national secretary of the American Federation of Teachers, has pledged the support of the national organization to Dr. Hallett's fight for reinstatement. The Allentown and Philadelphia teachers locals have condemned the college trustees. Through the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, North Dakota State College local of the teachers has pledged its support of Dr. Hallett and is rallying Northwestern labor organizations to his fight.

President William F. Curtis and the Board of Trustees of Cedar Crest have refused to give any reason for Dr. Hallett's dismissal. The formal notice contained no charges. The American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Federation of Teachers have all requested a written statement of the reasons for his dismissal but have been met with stony silence by the trustees. In conversations with Dr. Hallett, however, President Curtis definitely stated that his teaching ability was in no way in question, and admitted that his work in the unions and the unemployed organization were the basis for the trustees' action.

Church Considers Case

The Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church, with which Cedar Crest College is connected, is now in session, and liberal ministers have pledged themselves to bring Dr. Hallett's case on the floor of the convention. The Church League for Industrial Democracy, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Committee on Academic Freedom of the Civil Liberties Union have sent telegrams urging the synod to demand Dr. Hallett's reinstatement.

Letters of protest should be sent to the President and Board of Trustees, Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa.

HARTFORD, Conn. (FP)—Wage boosts have ended a 17-day strike of more than 1,500 union teamsters in the Connecticut valley.

Central Union Slams Dillon For Settlement

Worse than Hitler Toledo Body Finds

TOLEDO, May 17.—The Toledo Union Leader, organ of the Toledo Central Labor Union, bears sharp witness to the bare-faced treason of Green, Dillon and Co. in the Chevrolet strike. In addition to the story of the settlement, the paper bears a three column editorial headed "Mussolini—Hitler—Dillon."

To quote: "The strikers voted not to allow Dillon the privilege of addressing them until after the vote was taken. When Mr. Dillon came into the meeting hall the animosity felt against him by the workers manifested itself in loud boos from all sides... he flew into a violent rage and told the officers of the union that the charter of the union was revoked... when Taylor tried to pacify him he showed even more plainly his inability to stand the gaff... he left the hall amid the boos of the workers who bitterly resented his autocratic and dictatorial attitude."

Dillon's Dictatorship

"His dictatorship however had the desired effect. The officers of the union, fearing this one man who had the power to take away from thousands of workers the union charter that they had paid for in strife suffering and money, pleaded with him to return."

"Never in the history of the labor movement have I witnessed such a case of domination, such an arrogant disregard of the rights of workers or such a positive dictatorship over free Americans as was shown by this representative of the A. F. of L. who is hired out of money paid into the Federation treasury by per capita tax on the rank and file."

"Dillon was not alone in assisting the writing of an agreement which was 95 percent in favor of the company. J. A. Wilson, ex-president of the Pattern Makers Association of America, was sent here according to reports as the direct representative of President Green."

"The sabotage practiced against the workers by these high hat, well paid and well fed individuals beggars description in polite language."

In Fitting Company

"Mussolini, Hitler, nor any of the present dictators could possibly take a more arrogant stand. The cheap landing of Mr. Kouslen (vice president of the G.M.C.) through the public press by Mr. Dillon had the subversive ring of a political job holder. It is now up to the local union in Toledo and elsewhere to find out from President Green if hired organizers are placed in the field under his instructions to act as dictators, and to force the rank and file to vote as dictated under pain of being put out of the labor movement."

"If that is the policy of those elected as officers in the A. F. of L., the quicker we workers know it the sooner we will be able to start a fight for American freedom by purging the labor movement of dictators who live off the per capita tax of we workers."

COOLIE WAGES Low Scales Will Drive All Union Rates Down

"Fear of Strikes" Disturbs Bill Green — Would Rather Talk

In the days when black slavery was legal in the South, the slaves had security. They were worth something to their owners; and as a consequence were fed, clothed and sheltered, and given medical care, so that they might be strong and healthy.

The work relief rates just issued by "our" President Roosevelt as a part of his "security" program legalize a new slavery in the South, a slavery of starvation and nakedness, without shelter, without medical care, an endless, hopeless, dismal, slavery that guarantees to millions of "free" Americans an existence worse than that of Indian Pariahs.

The Very Minimum

\$19.00 per month is not the minimum wage, as the newspapers headline. Unskilled Southern workers may consider themselves lucky to receive \$19 a month. Not only has Harry Hopkins the right to vary wages within ten per cent, which immediately sets the minimum at \$17.10 instead of \$19.00, but the wages are not paid "for time lost because of voluntary absence, illness, completion or postponement of project, or permanent dismissal."

A worker trying to support himself, his wife and his children, to pay rent, buy food and clothes for all on a wage of \$19 a month may be excused if he is ill from "undernourishment" or "exposure." But if he is ill his pay ceases, and he must go through the red tape of getting back on relief. The worker fails ill because his wages are too low—according to Roosevelt's "security" program the remedy is to cut his wages, and let the man and his family starve to death while waiting to get on relief.

"The workers' wages depend on 'the completion or postponement of the project.' Every time a job is finished, or postponed by some governmental whim, the worker loses even his pittance during the period when he is neither working nor on relief."

\$19 a month is not at all the minimum. It is cut in the provisions of the order itself to \$17.10, and will be cut in practice to even lower scales.

Truly the slaves of the old South were fortunate not to live in the era of Roosevelt "Security."

Lower Everywhere

\$19 per month is the lowest scale in the lowest zone, the deep South. If the scale will be lower in practice there, it will be proportionately lower throughout the country.

In order to bring every last possible penny out of the unemployed three divisions have been created. The country is divided into four zones, the wages varying according to zone. Labor has been divided into four categories, unskilled, intermediate, skilled, and professional, wages varying according to category. Finally the places of work within the zones are divided according to population, cities of over 100,000, cities of over 50,000, towns of over 25,000, over 5000, and under 5000, wages varying again according to size of the city.

Thus \$19 is set for work in zone 1, for unskilled labor in towns of less than 5000.

The highest wage, for professionals, in zone 1, the North, in cities of more than 100,000 is \$94 a month.

How Scales Were Determined

The wage scales, say the reports, were determined by checking wage data with other wage information, including civil works earnings, weekly earnings in private industry, construction wage data, etc."

Apparently the procedure followed, was to obtain the lowest possible wage rates from every source, divide the resultant average by two, and proclaim the result as a profound study of the wage levels of workers.

A comparison of wage scales of the Roosevelt relief program with the scales on the PWA shows a catastrophic drop. Under the PWA in the South, zone 4, unskilled labor received 40 cents an hour, skilled labor \$1.00. Under the new "security" program unskilled labor receives 19 cents per hour in cities of over 100,000 (12 cents an hour in rural districts), skilled labor receives 42 cents and hour in cities

(Continued on Page 4)

Readers Attention! Change of Address

From June 1 the address of the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League, the International Workers School, the New Militant and the New Internationalist will be 55 East 11th Street, New York City. The Pioneer Publishers remains at the present address, 96 Fifth Avenue.

Key Lumber Plants Walk Out Industry Tied Up on West Coast

SEATTLE (FP).—With the industry's key plants in Longview finally affected by the strike, 35,000 timber workers are confidently holding their ranks firm.

In an attempt to keep workers at the Long Bell and Weyerhaeuser mills at Longview from going out, the operators offered a peace proposal granting 50 cents an hour, a 40-hour week with time and a half, and recognition of the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union, but not the closed shop. This was rejected by an 8 to 1 vote and 3,000 mill workers walked out.

Strikers are demanding union recognition, abolition of the blacklist, 75 cents an hour, and a 5-day, 30-hour week. Refusal of the Longview workers to accept a separate agreement has strengthened the sentiment for a uniform agreement for the whole industry.

Longview pulp, paper and sulphite workers expect to be out by May 29, the present contract expiring on May 26. The local has already sent a resolution to all pulp locally calling for strike action on May 29.

Unemployed organizations in the Pacific northwest are cooperating by taking care of picketing employment agencies and relief stations and by instructing all workers not to take jobs in struck mills.

Comments
On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness
By BILL REICH

Land of the Free . . .

Because she participated in an election demonstration, Mrs. Stella Petroski, of Wilkes Barre, Pa., mother of eight children born in America, faces deportation to Poland. . . . Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., at the Boy Scouts' Silver Jubilee, disclosed that the organization has a "red flag" list of more than 2,000 persons considered unfit to lead or influence American boys. "The greatest bit of patriotism being done in the United States today is being done by the Boy Scouts. Our red flag list is in constant use." . . . The Order of Red Men and the Elks have gathered over a million signatures to a petition urging legislation against "reds" . . .

And Home of Brave . . .

Bruce Barton, the man who baptized Christ, states: "It is a hard thing to say, but we are used to luxury in this country and it has softened us." . . . Curtis Wilson, gassed war veteran and evicted miner, lives with his family of nine in a one-room tent on Paint Creek, West Virginia. On rainy nights the family huddles in a corner to keep dry. Two of the children have never lived in a house. The family receives a weekly food order of \$2.50. The father's war compensation was cut off by Roosevelt's economy program. He is entitled to the maximum bonus. . . . According to TIME magazine, President Roosevelt at the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club in the Blue Ridge Mountains, lunched on venison steak, returned to the private lake where he reeled in ten large trout. Following a dinner of broiled pheasant he sat down to write the scathing bonus veto message. . . .

Great Minds . . .

Roger Babson advocates: "(1) Temporary disenfranchisement of relief workers; (2) payment on relief jobs of only sixty-five percent of going private wages; and (3) life pensions for Senators. These measures would show business men and industrialists that the administration does not believe in Communism or the destruction of private property, but is trying to work along sound lines and at the same time keep the radicals in check" . . . A correspondent from Curryville, Pa., writes to B. C. Forbes, Hearst Mouthpiece: "Our patience is reaching the breaking point at the meddling of our alien population. If this government doesn't suit them, send them back where they belong." Forbes replies: "Doesn't that ring truly American—the America of pre-brain-trust days?"

Higher Learning . . .

The Illinois legislature demands an investigation of Chicago University after Walgreen, the drugist, removed his niece because of "radical social teachings" there. . . . An expensive expedition to Central America is planned by the University of Chicago for Dr. A. E. Emerson that he might study social conditions among termites (white ants) . . . The Federal Grand Jury Association of New York proclaims: "Un-American principles have been taught in workers' schools in the past. We register disapproval of further use of Federal funds for such unpatriotic activities. It is well to preface workers' classes with a study of Americanism and the words and tune of the Star Spangled Banner." . . .

Fearless Journalism . . .

In October, 1934, the San Francisco Argonaut stated: "In Merriam the people of California have a promise and a symbol of strength, progress and stability of traditional growth." . . . For political advantage Merriam sniffs on the Towns send plan, government co-operatives for the unemployed, and a higher income tax. Today the San Francisco Argonaut declares: "All one can discern in Merriam is cobwebs from an empty skull. Heaven help us from the folly of having chosen such a man as governor." . . .

Society Notes . . .

The largest crowd in years assembled at the Youngstown, Ohio, Y.M.C.A. to hear Sally Rand, fan dancer, discourse on "The Economic Dangers of Communism." . . . Cowhand Percy Gassaway, Congressman from Oklahoma, has adopted the slogan: "Every Woman a Queen!" . . . Barbara Hutton's dad paid \$3,000,000 to get rid of Prince Midvian. . . . After the Toledo sell-out Edward F. McGrady, first assistant to Fannie Perkins, stated: "Other American Federation of Labor strikes in the auto industry will be cleaned up in short order." . . . John D. Rockefeller is nearly 97 years old. . . . Director W. C. Mendenhall, of the U. S. Geological Survey announces that America's oldest house, a tiny insect that lived 30,000,000 years ago, has been discovered. . . . Roger Firestone, grandson of multi-millionaire tireman, Harvey Firestone, was voted "most likely to succeed" by Princeton seniors

INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

inevitably arise. What was the leadership and guidance, what the program, what the forces that determined the course of these events? Further, and more significant, what were the means and methods employed by this leadership?

Role of the W. P.

The answer to the first question is generally known and conceded. All competent observers for the capitalist press of the nation, including such an informed reporter as Louis Stark of the New York Times, attributed the leading influence to the Workers Party. It was publicly recognized by Francis Dillon, national A. F. of L. organizer, who fought the progressives and temporarily curbed the strike. It has been openly acknowledged directly and indirectly by official representatives of both the Socialist and the Communist parties in Toledo.

More vital for the future guidance of the American working class, however, is the answer to the second question. That answer lies correctly not merely in the immediate and apparent events preceding and during the strike, but in events which are rooted in the entire course of the labor movement in Toledo for the past two years. It derives entirely from the activities and development of the Workers Party in Toledo.

Toledo Before Auto-Lite

Until the time of the Auto-Lite strike of last May, Toledo to most people was merely a stop-over between Cleveland and Detroit or the place where a boxer named Dempsey gained immortality by successfully pounding with his fists a fellow named Jess Willard. Its only other claim to distinction was the fact that all but one of its ten banks had collapsed two years before Roosevelt stabilized the banking system of the nation by closing all the banks. In 1932, 60 to 70 percent of its formerly gainfully employed population was unemployed.

Toledo was also a notorious cheap-labor, "scab" town. Whatever unions were in existence were weak and ineffectual craft unions among the skilled trades. Year after year they continued in their sleepy and ineffectual way. There was no expansion, vitality or activity.

Latent Power of Workers

For a labor movement built on exclusive and craft lines solely, totally unconcerned about developing genuine power so long as they could fortify the comparative handful in their own ranks, the fact that Toledo was the glass and auto-parts center of America was not even recognized. They did not know, or were unconcerned about the fact that a stoppage of production in even a few plants in Toledo would be sufficient to paralyze automobile production, and indirect-

organized protest. We will never get that through the I.L.D. and it is a misfortune that the New Militant, even for a moment, should have given substance to the illusion that the I.L.D. is not without its virtues.

The I.L.D. is the defense arm of the Communist Party, and that speaks worlds for its character. Whole sections of the labor movement, political and economic, which have no defense arm should long ago have united to create a joint defense body including many party and non-party viewpoints. This is the object of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense which is moving steadily toward that goal.

With fraternal greetings,
—HARRY STRANG.

Tobin Skunk Should Have C P Rat for Pal

Editor, New Militant:
The New Militant recently had a cartoon showing the Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis taking its pet skunk, Dan Tobin, for an airing. Naturally, the cartoonist showed the workers of the city drawing back in disgust. But not everybody has shrunk from the odor given out by Tobin. The Communist Party has launched new attacks on the leaders of Local 574, insinuating that Tobin is justified in kicking that glorious local out of the Teamsters Brotherhood. The cartoonist should show a little Stalinist rat snuggling up close to Skunk Tobin and showing real appreciation of the poisonous odor which all the reactionary cabal hopes will stifle the genuinely revolutionary elements in the Minneapolis labor movement. Hats of course do not go about on leashes, but sometimes they are trained by masters who sit far away when they do their little tricks.
—H. S.

The Party on the Flying Trapeze

Editor, New Militant:
The following is a quotation from United Action, organ of the Communist Party, Minnesota District,

offices. Among those who were placed in office was Jimmy Roland, the fighting leader of the Toledo Chevrolet strikers, who from the beginning was a leader of the progressive forces. Progressives were elected to positions on their executive shop committees of the different plants which were organized and were placed upon the general executive committee of the local. The W. P. inside and outside of the union began to expose the policies of Ramsey and Bossler. Its members built up an air-tight case based on iron facts with which to lay open their anti-union activities. When the progressives were organized to sufficient strength, they placed charges against these corrupt leaders, fought them openly on the floor of the union and had them ousted from office.

In Passing

In this connection, a passing word should be given to the stupid charges voiced in the Daily Worker editorial of May 6, titled "Rene-gades in Toledo." This editorial, obviously written in New York by some hack entirely ignorant of the Toledo situation, asserted that the "American Workers Party" was making an alliance with Ramsey, "an A. F. of L. official," to split the strike. This is not merely a deliberate lie, but a silly one, since everyone in Toledo knows that there is no such official as Ramsey in the union, and that it was the W. P. members and progressives in the union who forced his ousting eight months ago.

Following the cleaning up of the union, the progressives pushed forward a program of intensive organization in the union. Plant after plant was organized, signed contracts secured from the employers, and the union's position consolidated and company unionism smashed in all the plants already organized. The militancy which the workers had learned in the Auto-Lite strike held good. Violations of the terms of the contracts by the bosses met with immediate and strong action. Inside and departmental strikes were numerous. The union men were constantly vigilant in the maintenance of their rights.

General Motors Next

One plant alone remained, in particular, to be organized. But this plant was a harder nut to crack than the others had been. This was not the plant of some local capitalists. It was a part of that huge network belonging to the seemingly all-powerful General Motors Corp., the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, key transmission plant for the Chevrolet Corp. Workers in this plant had always shunned unionism. They would not even accept leaflets. Not more than a small handful had ever been induced even to attend an open union meeting. The spy-system, the blacklist, the company union reigned supreme. But forces were at work inside and outside of the Chevrolet plant which all the power and intimidation of General Motors could not offset.

(Continued next week)

May 1, 1935 issue:
"Walter Frank deserves the support of the voters in his ward. He has been known for a long time as an active and militant trade unionist. The bureaucrats do not like his fighting qualities, but these qualities give assurance that he will fight to carry out his pre-election program. He is not a member of the Communist Party, and the Party has had many serious disagreements with him; but there can be no doubt about his sincerity and willingness to serve the interests of the workers, and on this basis the Communist Party endorses his candidacy."

The following is a quotation from the Rank and File Federationist, organ of the Communist Party's A. F. of L. "Rank and File Committee," July, 1934, issue:
"To Walter M. Frank, secretary of the Lathers No. 190, who for years proclaimed himself as leader of the militant rank and file, goes the official credit for leadership in the sellout (of the May drivers' strike in Minneapolis) . . . When Walter Frank, the great 'left-wing' heard of the death of a special policeman, C. A. Lyman, vice-president of the American Ball Co., he rushed to the battleground and announced the truth to take effect immediately though officially it did not take effect till nine hours later. Mr. Frank rebuked the victorious pickets for cheering. He wept for the death of the special policeman."
What do you say, Walter? We are speechless.

What to Attend

Saturday, May 25, 8:30 P.M.—Dance and Entertainment at Branch 1 headquarters, 420 E. 19th Street, given by Branch 1 W.P. and S.Y.L.

Sunday, May 26, 10:30 A.M.—Hike to Hunters Island. Take Lexington Ave. Subway (local) to Pelham Bay Station. Auspices S.Y.L.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LOBE

The battle of the Toledo Chevrolet workers seems to have set off the spark of another strike wave. In the Northwest the lumber workers have succeeded in shutting down operations. The Independent Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, on strike at Camden, plans to spread its fight all over the Atlantic Coast. Philadelphia teamsters tied up the city's food supply in a surprise walkout. And now comes word from Washington that all negotiations for a peaceful settlement in the coal industry have broken down and that a national strike of the men of the picks is on the order of the day. Only passage of the McGuffey Coal Stabilization Act, say the Washington correspondents, can head off a national walkout. That act, supported by a considerable section of the operators as well as by the United Mine Workers, provides for government regulation of the industry. The U.M.W. sees in it a substitute for the price control features of the coal code which have broken down completely.

Newspaper Guild . . .

One of the most interesting and dramatic organizations in the American scene will hold its second annual convention early in June at Cleveland, Ohio. About 125 delegates from various branches of the American Newspaper Guild will gather to face the problems of the professional worker in a declining capitalist world. It is indicative of the nature of these problems that the big issue will be that of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

The question arose within the Guild soon after its formation. But only a handful of members then recognized the importance of a tie-up with organized labor. The idea has made giant strides in the past year. With some experience with publishers under their belt and the example of the Newark strike fresh in mind, the issue of affiliation will be the major one. At last year's convention at St. Paul, the question was not allowed to assume large proportions. The newspaper workers had not had the necessary experience. Things will be different at Cleveland.

There is no way of telling what the convention vote on this all-important matter will be. The pro-affiliation forces favor a referendum of the entire membership. A New York membership meeting held early in May endorsed affiliation by a ten to one majority. The Newark Guild, after their experiences in the

Newark Ledger strike, are solid in their support for closer ties with the organized labor movement.

Split? . . .

Anti-affiliation forces are talking about the possibility of a split if the proposal carries, but the likelihood of any such action is considered remote. A letter, signed by nine members of the Board of Governors of the Newark unit and printed in the "Guild Reporter," are significant:

" . . . it is our conviction, grown out of the Ledger strike, that the Guild must get into the A. F. of L. . . . We are concerned over an apparent move by a group strongly opposed to affiliation to panic the general membership with the threat, at least implied, of a split in the Guild if affiliation is voted. . . . There is the very real likelihood that at least a few good units will not be able to withstand the onslaught of their employers if we remain out of the main stream of the labor movement. No one questions the right to oppose affiliation. But when that opposition is backed up by the threat to withdraw, the opponent has talked himself out of court."

Copper . . .

In an effort to solve the problem that has been created by the division of the Montana copper miners into craft unions, the Montana State Miners Council has been organized. The Council will embrace under its jurisdiction everyone working in and around mines, mills and smelters in that state. All the various crafts in the industry will have representation on the council.

Here we have another effort to solve the problem of industrial unionism by the council method. In rubber, electrical equipment, manufacturing and many other industries, this shoddy substitute for the real thing, has been introduced to kid the workers into believing that they have industrial unionism. The situation in the metal mines is especially important. At the last session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., representatives of the Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers protested the action of the Metal Trades Department in taking all the skilled men out and leaving only the unskilled in the miners' union. Their appeal was rejected. The formation of the Council is an attempt to meet this situation. But as long as the local craft organizations are under the discipline of the internationals, united action in the industry is far from certain.

The Manager's Corner

From the Toledo branch we have been informed that the membership is starting an immediate drive to obtain one hundred subscriptions for the New Militant. Knowing that the Toledo branch means business when it sets out to do a job there need be no doubt that this will also be carried through to a successful conclusion. But there is more to this decision than the good will and the desire of these comrades. They have witnessed by actual experience what it means to have a live organ guiding and supporting their every step in a serious struggle. Their decision is a tribute to the effectiveness of the New Militant.

At the same time it is a certainty that the organ that served them so well in this recent magnificent struggle will prove equally as effective in the task that the Toledo militants now have ahead of them; namely to strengthen the progressive forces in the automobile unions and in this manner to build a much more potent instrument for the struggles still to come. It is because of this reason that other branches should without delay take up and follow the example now set by the Toledo branch.

In the office certain steps have been taken to assure a greater economy of publication and which, we believe, will serve also in the long run to assure greater efficiency. The managements of the New Militant and the New International have been consolidated under one head. With the cooperation of all the supporters of these publications the greater efficiency can be obtained. But remember please, we count on this cooperation. For our part we shall undertake the following: The New International will appear regularly every month. The May issue is now off the press and the June issue will appear the early part of the month and each subsequent issue similarly advanced until we catch up. For the New Militant we shall gradually advance the press date until it will also appear earlier in the week and thus in a more suitable time for distribution.

From our branches and supporters we expect the following: First we require more concentration and more systematic attention to the building up of a greater circulation

for our press. Secondly, prompt remittances must be made for all bundle orders received and for all subscriptions due to be renewed. Thirdly, and above all, we must have immediate remittances on all accounts due. There are today entirely too large sums outstanding for both publications and the financial crisis caused by this fact will surely lead to a catastrophe unless action is taken right away. This matter we put up to the branches and supporters. Prompt action on this is the cooperation you must give.

All New Militant builders are asked to get in touch with the office immediately to tell us what they can do on the questions raised above. In this connection we wish to discuss with them also some concrete plans that we are now working on designed to make this organ a much more effective and impressive one in the future. We need more New Militant builders and we expect to hear from all who are willing to give a hand.

We have on hand still a limited number of 25c three months subscription cards sold only in clubs of four or more and paid in advance. Those who are ready to assist in building circulation should forward a dollar for each club of four, for which the cards will be issued. They are printed on regular U. S. postal cards and as the subscriptions are obtained by the builder, one by one, the money invested is thereby returned and the cards can be forwarded to the office for entry of the subscriptions on our mailing list. Please remember, we have only a limited number of these club cards and no other 25c three months subscriptions will be accepted.

On June 1st we are moving into new headquarters. Our new address will be 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

Bronx Housewarming

Bronx Branch W. P. and S.Y.L. Entertainment by Group SATURDAY EVENING, JUNE 1 859 Westchester Ave. Dancing and Refreshments Admission 20c

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Franco-Soviet Pact . . .

Why was it necessary for the Soviet Union, according to the lackeys of Stalin, to enter into the mutual assistance pact with French imperialism? The Stalinists would have us believe that history began yesterday; that is, with the advent of Hitler to power in Germany. German fascism is the main enemy of the October Revolution. It is preparing, with the aid of Japan and Poland, an imperialist war of intervention. To put obstacles in the way of Hitler and thereby maintain world peace, it was necessary for Soviet diplomacy to make use of the contradictions in the camp of capitalism; namely, the antagonism between French and German imperialism. These "tactics" are falsely compared—after eighteen years of Soviet power—with the tactics of Lenin in the course of the civil war when Soviet Russia was ringed around by white guard armies and imperialist troops.

But history does not begin with Hitler. German fascism came to power with the "permission" of the Stalinist Comintern. It came to power by the defeat of the German workers, due directly to the betrayal of the German and the world proletariat by the Stalinists. Stalinism is capable of resorting to the worst features of capitalist diplomacy, but was and is incapable of practicing revolutionary policies, the essence of which is to utilize the contradictions, not only as between capitalist enemies, but the far deeper ones that exist at all times, and particularly in the epoch of the decline of capitalism, between the classes.

Stalinist Wreckage . . .

The passage of power from the Leninists in the Soviet Union to the Stalinists, took place over the bridge of "socialism in one country." It was over this bridge also that the October Revolution passed from its period of upswing accompanied by the world-wide strengthening of the proletariat, to the period of decline and defeats under the "savior" Stalin. The Third International turned its back on world revolution while the Soviets engaged in building socialism in one country. The October Revolution lost the offensive while Stalin resorted to the theory of "pure defense" in order to protect the gains of the five year plans.

The German Revolution was felt to be a threat to peace, the peace necessary then to "build socialism in one country." Hence the Stalinists gave no guidance to the German workers; hence they failed to use the class contradictions within Germany, refused to enter into the "counter-revolutionary" united front with the social democracy, and "permitted" fascism to come to power as the easier course, the course of lesser evil. Thus Stalinism, itself a major cause of the German debacle, is historically the cause of the "necessity" for signing the pact with France.

But the fever of the anti-united

front days in Germany now gives way to the chills of the "popular front" and the "sacred union" in France. Both the fever and the chills are manifestations of the same disease, that cancer that saps the strength of the October Revolution—Stalinism. The Bolshevik-Leninists clearly predicted in advance that if Stalinism persisted in its course in Germany, then Hitler would come to power and become the worst threat to the very existence of the Soviet Union. And now again the Bolshevik-Leninists warn that if the French proletariat are misled into following the betraying course laid out by Stalin in France, fascism will again be victorious there too.

In Germany the Comintern refused to enter into a united front with the socialists, then known as social-fascists. But in France Stalinism enters into a "popular front" not only with the socialists but with the bourgeoisie itself. As the guarantee of French imperialism for its pact, the Stalinists will tie the workers to their bourgeoisie, will bring about the "sacred union" of civil peace, will aid in the building up of French militarism, will advocate that the proletariat aid its own bourgeoisie if that bourgeoisie is the ally of Stalin. Stalinism pursues the policy of the lesser evil for the preservation of French bourgeois democracy, hoping thereby to keep fascism from power. This is the road best calculated to lead the proletariat to bloody defeat. For the sake of maintaining the power of the bureaucratic Bonapartist regime in Russia, a discredited growth on the Soviet system, Stalin would sacrifice once more the interests of the world proletariat.

Rules of Class War . . .

The rules of class war are in many senses analogous with those of war in general. The enemy of the working class is the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. The war should at all times be waged against the enemy. In war no enemy is ever defeated by pursuing a course of "pure defense." The Stalinists would pursue that strategy in defending the Soviet Union; that is, the first stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tactics in France and in connection with the Franco-Soviet pact are not in disagreement but in complete accord with the larger and completely false strategy of the Soviet bureaucracy.

If the workers are to capture and maintain power, then they must pursue the Marxist strategy of world revolution, that of turning the defense at the proper moment into an assault on all the positions of capitalism. Today the decisive field of battle is France. The working class of the entire world must rally to the aid of the French workers and help them arm for the final struggle against French imperialism. That will be the best defense of the U.S.S.R., a defense which cannot be entrusted to the Stalinist betrayers.

The Left Socialist Conference --A Letter and A Declaration

Ed. Note: We publish herewith a letter from comrade Seegers on our previous report on the Paris Conference of the Left Socialist Parties and groups (International Arbeiter Gemeinschaft). It appears to us that comrade Seegers misunderstands the import of the position taken by the German Socialist Workers Party (S.A.P.) on the question of the Fourth International. The declaration of Schmidt and Sneevliet, the leaders of the newly-formed Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.), which is also printed below, throws more light on the real nature of the dispute.)

Letter of Comrade Seegers

Dear Comrade:

In the issue of March 30 there is an introduction to a translated reprint from De Basnabreker a note on the Paris Conference February 14. In this introductory note you state that the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) appeared as the chief saboteur of the slogan for a New (Fourth) International. From the reports on the Paris Conference that I have received (and certainly you have or should have the same information) this does not seem to be the case. Against the motion of Comrades Sneevliet and Schmidt voted only the two Scandinavian comrades and the comrade from the I.L.P. The S.A.P. and five other comrades abstained because they wanted to demonstrate that they are for a New International but believe it will be attained in a different manner. As the official organ of a responsible revolutionary party, we should be careful to avoid misleading statements, and I therefore hope you will correct this statement in the next issue, or print this letter instead.

The resolution submitted by the

S.A.P., for which ten of the twelve delegates voted, with only one vote against it (Comrade Schmidt abstaining) is as follows: "In the face of the total failure of the Second and Third Internationals the conference notes that the international revolutionary labor movement is at present without a real leadership having the confidence of the movement and that it is therefore necessary to create such a leadership, i.e. a real, proletarian international. The conference emphasizes that the necessary international revolutionary leadership can develop only as the result of a historic process and only through the co-operation of the revolutionary elements inside and outside of the prevailing Internationals. It further declares that this leadership can develop only on the basis of a fundamental renewal (Erneuerung) of the international workers movement.

"To accelerate the achievement of a proletarian international capable of action (aktionsfähig), which alone can realize the necessary unity upon a revolutionary basis, the parties represented at the conference resolve:

"1. To concentrate with all their power upon initiation of international actions;

"2. To utilize all possibilities for the coordination of the ready-for-action forces in the international frame and at the same time to expand the International Arbeitergemeinschaft."

For this resolution voted 10 of the 12 delegates, against it only Comrade Sneevliet, Comrade Schmidt (O.S.P.) abstaining.

According to the Neue Front, the S.A.P. was ready to sign the motion submitted by the two Dutch comrades, namely: "The conference declares that the proletariat, in order to conduct the international struggle, must create for itself a new international," if it had been submitted as a declaration instead of

Ed. Note: This is the third of four articles by comrade Muste. The fourth article will appear next week.

By A. J. MUSTE

III.

It is a short and easy step from an undervaluation of internationalism to a nationalistic attitude—or at least to attitudes and expressions which play into the hands of those reactionary forces which use "patriotism," "Americanism," nationalism, chauvinism, in order eventually to smash the workers' movement and to impose Fascism upon the masses. I am thinking of such slogans as "Advance America."

The hold of patriotic sentiment on the masses and the havoc wrought by capitalists and militarists by playing upon it, have been abundantly demonstrated. Those comrades who insist that we have here a crucial problem and that we must know how to deal with it are entirely correct. Yet for the very reason that we are dealing here with explosive material we have to be careful that the bomb we plan to use against the enemy does not blow up in our own hands!

Borrowing Symbols

The idea that seems to underlie a good deal of the discussion on this point is that if the revolutionists would take over the patriotic symbols and slogans, they would get the following instead of the Longs and Couglights; and attaching new ideas and aims to these symbols they would make the masses fighters for a workers' world. It is a tempting idea to many who foresee the danger of a Fascist triumph and who behold the contrast between the immense following of the demagogues and the handful of supporters of the revolutionary movement. If only we could use their tricks and get the masses to jump on our bandwagon! But, alas, the easy way is not necessarily the right way.

The same eagerness quickly to win a mass following for the idea of a non-profit economy, by the way, leads some to propose that the middle class which seem more rebellious than the workers should be "sold" on the right brand of revolution, instead of looking to the working class as the spear-head of the revolutionary movement. This quick cure Comrade Budenz correctly rejects. Let the middle class organize as a middle class, and the result will be reactionary, to maintain, not to overthrow, the profit system. But "merely threaten a general strike and chills and fever run through the present body politic."

A Deadly Parallel

Equally dangerous and deceptive is the despairing resort to "patriotism." How and why that is the case can be made clear, as one of the comrades has written in about this question suggested, by an illustration from another sphere. Religion, the argument would run, has a great hold on men. It is true that religion, its institutions and symbols, have been used as supports of the existing order. But it is also true that the great prophets of religion have denounced the rich and

as a MOTION, and the majority of the delegates probably would have followed that example, according to Neue Front. As it was, only the two Dutch comrades and the representative of the International Youth Bureau voted for their motion.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the conference and the decisions, I believe the revolutionists should be fully (so far as possible) and fairly informed about it. The following parties or groups were represented: 1. The I.L.P. (England); 2. The O.S.P. (Holland); 3. The S.A.P. (Germany); 4. The Independent Labor Party of Poland; 5. The Socialist Party of Sweden; 6. The Iberian Communist Federation (Spain); 7. The "Red Front" (Austria); 8. The S. P. (Maximalists) of Italy; 9. Friends of Workers Unity (Doriot), France; 10. R.S.P. (Trotskyists), Holland; 11. The International Bureau of Rev. Youth (Stockholm); 12. The group "Mot-Dag" (Norway).

Fraternally yours,
WILL A. SEEGERS.

Declaration of Schmidt and Sneevliet

The organ of the S.A.P., "Die Neue Front," in the March 1st edition, in the course of a report on the Paris International Conference in February, presents the Dutch resolution on the new international as an abstract "proclamation" of the new international.

This presentation is false and without foundation.

Both Schmidt and Sneevliet said quite clearly that they realized that a new international could never be formed by a mere "proclamation." Both of them understood the difficulties connected with the formation of the new international. Both of them stated with equal clarity that the first step toward the new international must be the recognition of the necessity for a new international. They refused to add to the confusion surrounding this question by voting for ineffective, compromise resolutions.

The proletariat needs above all clarity and precision on this question. The S.A.P., with its resolu-

Twin Evils of Labor — Nationalism & Reformism

powerful, have pictured a world of peace and brotherhood, etc. Let us harness the institutions, emotions, symbols and slogans of religion to the revolutionary movement, therefore, and to carry the latter to victory! The realist, the Marxist, knows that this is a fantasy. Religious institutions are a bulwark of the existing order. Keep the minds and emotions of men bound to religious ideas and symbols, and you keep them bound to the existing economic and political order. The hold of these ideas and symbols must be broken. As one great prophet pointed out, you cannot put "new wine into old wine-skins."

The state, the governmental system under which we live, is likewise an agency and bulwark of capitalism. We have to overthrow the capitalist state. But that means that we must break the hold of the symbols and the emotions that attach to the present state.

A Practical Example

When in the great unemployed convention in Columbus in 1933 hundreds of honest but politically undeveloped workers were roused to fury against us by labor spies and Fascists, and Arnold Johnson was about to be dragged from the platform and lynched on the ground that he was radical and un-American and did not properly respect the flag, we did not "wrap the stars and stripes around us" or make any effort to claim that we were "patriotic." Arnold Johnson stood his ground, pleaded for reason and calm consideration. When quiet was restored, we claimed that those who raised the issue did so in order to serve the capitalists and their political henchmen by breaking up the League and that the waving of the flag, patriotic appeals, etc., were constantly used for precisely this purpose, as "when men were led to slaughter in the war to end war, the war for democracy," etc.

Statements about "serving" the nation, the country, the community, have also to be carefully guarded. The notion that the country is "our country"—i.e. everybody's alike, that there is such a thing as nation or community, a mystic something to which we belong and which protects us, is cultivated by the ruling class for the purpose of hiding the fact of class cleavage, of exploitation for the purpose of making the worker think that when he goes to war he is fighting for "his" country, instead of against himself and for the capitalists.

American Tradition

The same caution holds for an uncritical use of "the American revolutionary tradition." There are, to be sure, revolutionary traditions in American history, to which we shall have occasion to refer again. But the dominant American tradition has been that of capitalist expansion, exploitation, imperialist adventuring. Years of experience in workers' education have demonstrated to my complete satisfaction, and I know that all who attended the classes at Brookwood or similar ones elsewhere, will back me up in this, that outside of the actual experience the American worker gets of injustice the most effective way to make him class-conscious is to teach him the real facts of American history, American imperialism, i.e., from a Marxist viewpoint. And this is by no means to teach him in an uncritical fashion that anyone who opposes labor is a "black betrayer of the ideals of the Founding Fathers" or that "Hancock and Adams slept with a price on their heads."

Quite the contrary, it involves pointing out that Washington with his 30,000 acres of western lands; that Hancock and Adams with their mercantile business threatened with destruction by laws passed by a British parliament in the interest of British merchants, acted in line with their class interests when they engaged in the Revolutionary War and brought the American farmers and artisans into it; that as soon as possible after the war was over they conveniently forgot the "principles" of the Declaration of Independence and in the most high-handed fashion imaginable put over a constitution which protected their property interests against the farmers who had manned the revolutionary armies; and that this constitution has been used ever since as an

instrument of class-domination; those provisions in it intended for the protection of the masses either being perverted like the "due-process" clause or simply not enforced like the amendment granting civil and political rights to Negroes.

By this means faith in America, i.e. in capitalism, is broken down, and that is a prime essential for the building of a working-class revolutionary movement.

We have nothing to gain and much to lose from a romanticizing of American history. The unvarnished Marxist interpretation of it is a priceless instrument in our hands. Certainly in an age when patriotism is the dominant emotion upon which capitalism in its decline calls in order to fasten the chains of reaction and terrorism upon the masses, we must not fall into the trap of arousing sentiments upon which the demagogues can in any case play much more effectively than revolutionists can, and which in the end can only be used to destroy the revolutionary movement.

The formation of a Dutch workers' party proclaiming the necessity for a New International is an important event in the life of the international proletariat. It is the second of the same sort, as the Workers Party of the U. S., formed in December 1934, proclaimed even more clearly the creation of the Fourth International as a most urgent task.

International Affiliation

There exists in the heart of the new Dutch party some difficulty on exactly this point. The O.S.P. is a member of the Amsterdam Bureau of Left Socialist Parties and Groups. The Bureau, it is true, is a very loose organization, functioning mainly as an information bureau. Several of the members even recognize the necessity for a New International, although generally hostile to the slogan for a Fourth International. Those that recognize the Fourth International, incidentally

The 'American Approach'

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The Constitutional Amendment

At this point may properly come an analysis of Comrade Budenz's suggestion of "a proposed amendment to the constitution" as a, or the, means to "strike a death blow at the profit system." On the face of the article in question this amendment to abolish private ownership, wage slavery etc. is presented as the fundamental basis for an American revolutionary movement.

If, the amendment, would "safeguard its integrity" (not, e.g., firm adherence to Marxist and Leninist principle); the movement will "give a focal point to the struggle by basing itself" on this amendment.

"The proposal of this amendment, as a basic starting point, is essential for any real revolutionary movement in the U.S."

If this was not intended, if the amendment is proposed as a slogan, the basis for a tactical maneuver at a certain point, then certainly it was a grave error not to make that clear in a serious and formal political document as this article proclaims itself to be.

A "Parliamentary" Revolution

If the expressions describing the proposal are taken at their face value, then it must be said that it is clearly and utterly out of accord with the position of the Workers Party. No indication to the contrary being given, one must assume that the amendment is to be put

into effect in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, viz., by action of Congress, ratification by state legislatures, etc. This is certainly suggesting in a most extreme form the possibility of revolution by parliamentary method which Comrade Budenz has often violently denounced. In a country where it is impossible to get an amendment to abolish child labor passed, the profit system is to be abolished by constitutional amendment!

If the idea is to use the proposal of such an amendment as a slogan, a tactical maneuver at a certain stage of political development, then it is a matter of tactics and not of principle which would have to be discussed on its merits and from all angles when it came up as a definite political proposal in a given historical setting. Even so the question whether it fostered a fetishism of parliamentarism would have to be very seriously considered.

As for tactical considerations, in view of the difficulties and delays in getting any kind of constitutional amendment passed in this country, the proposal does not appear to me at least. Nor can I conceive of it as making any appeal to workers or farmers generally. There are quicker ways of getting results, and ways more calculated to build labor militancy, as when in 1916 the threat of a general railroad strike forced the Adams eight-hour law through Congress and got a verdict of "constitutional" from the Supreme Court—which, incidentally, can always have a few judges added to it if the will and the power are available.

If we ever had a situation where passage of a constitutional amendment abolishing capitalism was actually in sight, well, we could then dispense with formalities and write a brand-new constitution for the Workers Republic!

Logic of a False Position

There is one other possibility, viz.: that the idea is that the workers will gain power by revolutionary means and then enact a constitutional amendment. This idea has no merit either. In the first place, when the workers are once in power as a result of revolutionary action, they will not need to stop with an amendment. In the second place, it encourages the notion that in the main the machinery of capitalist government will remain and will serve the needs of a workers' order. That notion is of course a flat contradiction of the position set forth in our Declaration of Principles.

The final article in Comrade Muste's series will appear next week.)

Fourth International Party Formed in Fusion in Holland

From The Bulletin of the International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists).

On March 2, 1935, the two Dutch workers' parties, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), member of the International Communist League, and one of the signers of the "Pact of Four" of August 1933, and the Independent Socialist Party (O.S.P.), also a signer of the pact, which had, however, not immediately started unity negotiations on account of internal divergences, held their last separate congresses before the fusion of the following day.

The conditions on which the fusion took place had been formulated during a preparatory period of several months. The R.S.P. congress accepted the conditions unanimously, whereas in the O.S.P. a small minority was opposed.

The Name of Party

The fusion congress took place on March 3. There were 1,100 delegates, numerous guests and on-lookers. The spirit was enthusiastic, since a revolutionary workers' party was formed which would have nothing to do with the Second International. The R.S.P. had never been a member, but the majority of the O.S.P., as a left wing, had only left the Dutch Social Democracy a few years before. The name for the new party was proposed by the R.S.P.; several comrades of the O.S.P. preferred the more simple and, from the revolutionary point of view, less forceful name of U.S.P., that is "United Socialist Party," which was voted down by a large majority.

The formation of a Dutch workers' party proclaiming the necessity for a New International is an important event in the life of the international proletariat. It is the second of the same sort, as the Workers Party of the U. S., formed in December 1934, proclaimed even more clearly the creation of the Fourth International as a most urgent task.

International Affiliation

There exists in the heart of the new Dutch party some difficulty on exactly this point. The O.S.P. is a member of the Amsterdam Bureau of Left Socialist Parties and Groups. The Bureau, it is true, is a very loose organization, functioning mainly as an information bureau. Several of the members even recognize the necessity for a New International, although generally hostile to the slogan for a Fourth International. Those that recognize the Fourth International, incidentally

also a signer of the Pact of Four, recognizes it. Without breaking with the Amsterdam Bureau, the new R.S.A.P. also has delegates to the International Communist League. The attempt of the S.A.P. to exploit, in the January session of the Amsterdam Bureau (in Neue Front, its organ) the adherence of the Dutch Party to two international organizations, and to exploit the fake contradiction between the representative of the R.S.P., Sneevliet, and that of the O.S.P., Schmidt, have been publicly repudiated in the organ of the R.S.A.P., De Nieuwe Fakkel (The New Torch).

Parties in Holland

The formation of a party independent of the Second and Third Internationals has naturally been violently attacked by the parties of these two "Internationals." The central organ of the social democrats, Het Volk (The People) forecasts for the members of the R.S.A.P. that while they have thus far been for "democratic socialism," they will now be transformed against their will one might say unconsciously, into communists—the worst fate imaginable for the Dutch reformists. The Tribune, central organ of the Dutch C. P., declares that the R.S.A.P. is nothing more than an obstacle in the way of the united front in Holland. But in Holland there is no united front between the 90,000 members of the social democracy, the 301,000 members of the independent trades unions under social democratic influence, and the less than 4,000 members of the Dutch C. P., which is entirely without influence in the trades unions.

Not only the international situation but the situation in Holland itself demands the formation of a strong revolutionary workers party. Holland, it is true, is nothing but a small and unimportant country in Europe, but beyond Europe it is master of a large colonial empire. The depression has hit this country of renters, until now prosperous and wealthy, the colonial profits have shrunk, Indo Asia, the colony from which Holland draws its wealth, is the object of Japanese imperialist greed; national separatist movements, and revolutionary insurrections wrack the colony; the mutiny of the cruiser "Seven Provinces" was an alarm signal for the Dutch bourgeoisie, and it is for that reason that restrictions of democratic and parliamentary liberties are undertaken in Holland today.

The Colijn government is a com-

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. W. HAMILTON—

Question: In his article on April 6, Comrade Muste states: "If, however, any party refuses to face and discuss the issues we raise, such a party is not revolutionary and a true revolutionary cannot remain in such a party." Is this not the same as Stalinist ideology of leaving the mass organizations to the mercy of the reactionaries because the reformists inside them would not listen to them?

Answer: In the first place the organizations used to quit the mass organizations for reasons, theoretical at least, which are other than that which you give here. They merely drew a correct conclusion from an INCORRECT assumption by declaring that the A. F. of L. etc. was "fascist" and that they therefore could not remain inside these organizations.

Secondly, Comrade Muste refers specifically to the revolutionary party of the working class and not to its mass organizations. Different workers have different ideas as to how they are to achieve emancipation and, based on these various conceptions, form themselves into political parties with different ideas and principles (revolutionary, reformist, etc.), so that, because it is contrary to his beliefs, it is obvious that a revolutionary-minded worker cannot remain in an organization which preaches reformism or whose activities lead to revolutionary defeats. This was the essence of Comrade Muste's statement.

The mass organizations of the working class, however (trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc.) are composed of all sections of the class regardless of political or other beliefs because there are economic interests binding the workers together, and the limited framework of such organizations permits unity of the class within them. It is the duty of the advanced worker to stay with the masses at all costs, and to build up the broad organizations embracing them, as means of teaching the proletariat that their emancipation lies beyond these narrow boundaries.

liamentary democracy with a "strong" policy, which it is true is not, nor yet need be, openly fascist, but which, in case the depression in Holland should become more intense, could take on an even "stronger," a pre-fascist, character. For this reason the defense of the political and economic positions of the Dutch working class requires a revolutionary party which can have no community of interest with the bourgeoisie—as have the social democrats—which does not act solely in the interest of the Russian national bureaucracy—as does the C.P. in any case without influence.

Bi-Weekly Organ

The R.S.A.P. has a bi-weekly (The New Torch). The theoretical review of the R.S.P. (The New Way) has been replaced by The International, monthly theoretical review of the R.S.A.P.

The new party has about 4,500 members, that is to say more than the C.P. of Holland.

A Left opposition has formed in the C.P.H. during the last year, most of it leaving the party. However the K.A.P. (German Communist Labor Party, ultra left) tendency in the split-off was so strong that the R.S.A.P. gained little with the exception of Comrade Van Riel, former member of the C. C. of the C.P.H. who was one of the leaders of this opposition (C.P.O.).

A Forward Step

There can be no doubt that the formation of the R.S.A.P. marks a step in advance, not only in the life of the Dutch workers, but in the international arena as well. The danger of war becomes more and more acute. No one of any political development can believe that the Third International in case of war will be any less catastrophic than its collapse in Germany on the eve of Hitler's rise to power. It is even less credible that the social democratic parties will behave in any other way than they behaved in 1914. The task of the Fourth International is to pose and to attempt to solve the problems which no other organization can solve. For that reason the existence of two parties on the same basic platform, the W.I.U.S. and the R.S.W.P. is a great advantage. Let the opportunists ridicule the numerical weakness of the parties, let the centrist "revolutionaries," such as the S.A.P. cook up their recipes for a New International, let the Stalinists boast, as they did in Germany until 1933—"The existence of living parties growing in both America and Holland furnishes a beginning which may perhaps prove decisive precisely in case of war."

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Progressives Organize!

An individual cannot successfully cope with a machine. Even a group of individuals getting together in a crisis and agreeing on a program are in the end no match for an old well-oiled machine.

That is the lesson which was hammered into the progressive unionists in Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood and other General Motors centers by the betrayal of Dillon a couple of weeks ago. Already they are taking steps to build the militants in the auto industry into an organized force.

The moment progressives undertake such a move they are met with the objection: "But this means having an organization within an organization. This means that a certain group is going to try to dominate the union. Then another group will start up—The union will be divided."

It is curious to have this cry raised so constantly in a country which works under a party system, where it is an accepted thing that the parties, Democratic, Republican, etc. organize to advance their respective programs. What should be more natural in a democratic organization such as the trade union movement purports to be, than that groups should organize about a program, bring it to the attention of the membership, etc.? Could anything be more educational for the membership? Is there any better way to bring issues into the open and have them decided in an open and above-board fashion?

As a matter of fact, in some of our most respectable and conservative unions such as the typographical, two or more parties have operated openly, put up slates in elections, etc. for years. There are hundreds of unions throughout the country in which groups with different programs have functioned year after year, and this has not meant the collapse of the union.

Honest workers must not be led astray by the crimes and mistakes which have been committed by the Communist Party in the trade unions. It is true that the groups they organized and influenced set out to "capture" unions, often by allying themselves with reactionary and gangster elements in order to get votes. It is also true that the C. P. pursued a disruptive policy in the unions. Today, in a feverish attempt to win back the confidence of the trade unionists which they lost by these insane methods, they actually play the game of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats as they did in Akron.

Progressive unionists, whether they be also members of the Workers Party or not, will seek to influence the unions by working out sound policies for the unions, advocating them openly, doing everything in their power to educate the membership, make them acquainted with the policies they are advocating. If they are defeated they will take the licking and get right to work again in order that the policies they advocate may eventually win the day. They will gain the confidence of the membership by their willingness to work harder for the union, fight more valiantly on the picket line, etc. But they will not be deferred from organizing and fighting with all their might for the policies in which they believe.

What is the alternative if the militants do not organize? That there are then no groups, no "machine" in the union at all? Not at all. The officialdom in the trade unions is organized, openly or secretly. They have their machine, their cliques, through whom by strong-arm methods, by job control, deceitful propaganda, they control the membership, often without the membership being aware of it.

It is these bureaucrats, these Tammany politicians, in the trade union movement who raise the cry, "We must not have an organization within an organization." They do it in order to defend their jobs, to maintain their own policy of collaboration with the bosses. They know only too well that once the militants cease acting as individuals, cease depending on an occasional joint action in a crisis, but make themselves into a permanent, independent, fighting force, the day of the bureaucrats is done.

Progressives, militants, organize! You have a right to organize! You must organize if trade union democracy is to be maintained! You must organize to save the unions from reactionaries, racketeers, and betrayers, to make the unions into mighty weapons of defense and offense for the workers!

Auto International

One of the problems which the militants of the Federal Automobile locals will have to give careful attention in the immediate future is the setting up of an international union with a charter from the American Federation of Labor. At the close of the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council, when the General Motors strike was on, William Green announced that the charter for an international union which had been promised to the automobile workers a long time ago, was to be issued "as soon as things quieted down." Well, thanks to Francis Dillon's strenuous efforts on behalf of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the General Motors strike had been "settled" and except for a flurry here and there in the automobile centers, "things have quieted down."

The first move of the progressive automobile workers should be to demand an end to delays, to call for the international charter immediately. The Federal locals cannot act together quickly and effectively so long as they are loosely tied together in a council which has no real power. Furthermore, an international union and its locals have, under the A. F. of L. set-up, much more control over their own affairs than the Federal locals which are merely puppets in the hands of the bureaucrats. One of the ways, therefore to make Dillon betrayals more difficult is for the automobile workers to get their own international charter immediately.

In the second place, much may depend upon the way in which the new international is set up. Doubtless the Green-Dillon proposition will be that for a year at least the present council which is dominated by them or some group they appoint, shall serve as the provisional executive board of the new international. Then when this outfit is fairly secure in the saddle it will call a convention and by the methods so well known to the labor politicians, will see to it that "safe and sane," that is, machine, delegates are elected, so that the convention may put the politicians into permanent control of the union.

Doubtless the Green-Dillon outfit has already sent reassuring word to General Motors and the rest of the automobile corporations: "We will take care of everything and see to it that no hot-heads, no wild young men, no reds, have anything to say about the new union. Trust us and you will be safe. See what we were able to do even in Toledo!"

Progressives must insist on a convention of delegates elected by the rank and file of the local unions. The situation in the automobile industry is such that a convention, in which the workers can compare notes and make plans for a national organization and a national strike when conditions are ripe, is urgently needed. At such a convention the new international must be drafted and officers elected.

One other basic consideration must receive careful attention at once. As things stand the A. F. of L. proposes to assign a considerable percentage of the workers in the automobile industry to the machinists and other craft unions. The auto workers have been led to believe that the Federal locals were a stepping stone to industrial unionism. It is reported that when in a recent interview Green was asked whether the new union in automobiles could be described as "industrial" he answered that he could not be sure! In other words, the auto workers can be sure that the new international will not be an industrial union if the genuine sense of the A. F. of L. leaders have their way.

With a dozen or twenty unions in the industry there will be continual bickering and strife between the job-holders in the unions. The employers will assiduously play off the one against the other. In strikes they will be scabbing on each other as has happened so often under the craft union set-up. The workers will be the victims of these conditions. The new international will be seriously handicapped if not crippled from the outset unless it is in the full sense of the term industrial, embracing all the workers in and about the automobile and auto parts plants.

Let the slogan of genuine industrial unionism be raised immediately. Let an educational campaign be set under way among the auto workers, both in and out of the Federal locals. Let the question be raised in the central labor bodies and in all local unions that can be reached. The soil is ready for such a campaign. Let all the militant and progressive forces get behind it, and it will sweep the country.

Mass Meeting

The United States and the European Powers
Are Preparing for War!

HOW ARE THE WORKERS PREPARED TO
MEET THE NEXT WAR?

Speakers:

A. J. Muste

National Secretary of the Workers Party

Manny Garrett

Editor of Young Spartacus

FRIDAY, MAY 31st, 8 P.M.

Germania Hall, Third Ave. and 16th St.

Auspices: N. Y. District Workers Party of U. S.

\$4.75 A Week - The Roosevelt Standard

Union Wages To Go Down

(Continued from page 1)
over 100,000 (22 cents in rural districts). For the South then, city relief wages drop from 40 to 19 cents and from \$1.00 to 42 cents per hour. The first step into the promised land of Roosevelt security.

Under P.W.A. Rates

In the North P.W.A. wages were 50 cents an hour for unskilled and \$1.20 for skilled labor. Under the new scheme they will be 34 cents and 53 cents in the cities (25 and 34 cents in rural areas).

This is the way President Roosevelt goes about "lifting up the underprivileged."

The lack of any provision for prevailing rates in the new bill is of paramount importance. It means, in effect, that skilled workers will no longer work for union scales, as they did under the P.W.A. Whereas they now work five or six days per month at union rates to earn their fifty or sixty dollars, under the new plan they will work the 40-hour week, four weeks a month, to gain the same sum. On the new scale will be played the funeral march of union wages.

Not Isolated—Competing

Many liberal papers deplore the new program as "creating a caste of the unemployed, as isolating a large body of the American people and condemning them to semi-slavery."

But the unemployed will not be "isolated in a semi-slave caste," not at all. On the contrary the unemployed, far from being isolated, will be in direct contact with the employed, and will tend to pull down the wages of all labor to the minimum level of the program.

Workers on "government" projects (frequently let out to private contractors) will work at program wages side by side with "privately" employed workers. It is evident that the interaction of the two wage scales together with employers' greed and government connivance will drive all wages down to the security level.

Instead of creating an "isolated caste of semi-slaves" consisting of the unemployed, the new program will make the whole working class, in time, a caste of semi-slaves. Under the modern wage system there is no such thing as an isolated "caste," for wages of one section of the working class inevitably react on the wages of every other. It is not from idealism that labor organizations proclaim that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Green's Nightmares

There can be little surprise that even the doddering A. F. of L. officialdom was stirred out of its rosy dreams of peaceful and endless collaboration by the announcement of the new program. William Green is reported to say: "I am fearful

(!) of protest strikes among the unemployed, and I am also fearful that private industry will use these rates to reduce the wages they are now paying."

Bills, Not Action

At present Green and the rest of the A. F. of L. skates are putting their faith in the Wagner Bill. This bill, which would relieve Bill Green of his "fearful" strikes, may pass. Roosevelt having taken two important steps to the right, the work relief program and the bonus, must now cover up with a gesture to the left. The Wagner Bill furnishes him with just the proper cover, nothing more than an empty gesture, it has, nevertheless, the endorsement of the A. F. of L. In practice it will have no more effect than the now half-dead National Labor Board—i. e. it will serve to "arbitrate" workers out of the gains they might make by strike action.

William Green feels the sand running out from under his feet. But it is not from William Green and his fears that workers can expect any aid.

The new program contains a clause which permits the Works Progress Division "to upset the entire scale by exempting projects where necessary in accordance with local wage conditions." This simple clause really invalidates the whole published scale, and leads us to suspect that the scale is nothing more than a "feeder" to see how the people will react. In practice the scale will be even lower if the administration can get away with it.

It Depends on Labor

At the same time workers can force the scale up—anything that can go down, can, in this case, go up—if workers force it up.

The new program provides minimum wages at best 19 dollars a month, and maximum at best \$94 a month. It provides that only one member of each family may work for that sum. All food, clothing, rent, furniture, amusement, medical care, etc. for the whole family, no matter what size, must be found in that sum.

The wages are not steady. The work is irregular, depending on the projects in hand. The worker is docked for illness. He is liable to permanent dismissal. The Works division (appropriately named) can cut his wage, paid, as an added insult only monthly, at whim.

The worker is at the mercy of the government for which he toils at slave wages.

There is but one recourse: not votes, not bills, not laws, not labor boards, not William Greens, but direct action, organization and strike action.

Gould Speaks In Kansas City

By JEFF RALL

Kansas City, Mo., May 18.—"The Future of American Youth" was the topic of Nathan Gould's address, delivered to an attentive and enthusiastic audience gathered at the Workers' Modern Library to hear the message of the Spartacus Youth League presented by its national secretary.

"He who has the youth has the army," stated Comrade Gould, quoted from Karl Liebknecht. "The imperative need of rescuing the working class youth from the dangers of fascist demagoguery and mobilizing them behind the revolutionary party was convincingly set forth."

Both the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Communist League have conclusively demonstrated their inability to rally the youth for revolutionary action, he said, and the responsibility thus rests with the Spartacus Youth League to fulfill this duty imposed upon them by history.

The belief that the American working class is inhibited with conservatism and a tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions was emphatically repudiated by Comrade Gould, as he pointed to the magnificent examples of heroism and the capacity for self-sacrifice displayed by the workers in recent strike battles. These militant actions prove that the American workers will not accept fascism and the continued assaults of capitalism upon their living standards with folded arms and passive acquiescence. With a vanguard worthy of their allegiance they can and will be led to a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State. Further, such a vanguard has been created, asserted Comrade Gould—the Workers Party of the U. S. and the Spartacus Youth League.

Youth Sways Mpls. Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

to summarize the discussion in a "safe and sane" manner.

The most progressive report was made to the conference by the employment discussion group. It included resolutions endorsing the Landrum bill, favoring government operation of idle factories as a temporary measure, calling for equal wages under the NRA for black and white, favoring the right of youth to organize, strike and picket, urging the expenditure of war funds on education, and opposing the militarization of C.C.C. and transient camps. The last of the series of ten resolutions which were passed by a majority of the delegates from all over Minnesota read: "We realize that most present measures for relieving unemployment are palliatives only, we believe that the ultimate solution of the depression and unemployment lies in a socialized planned economy."

Leo Tuuri, communist candidate for alderman, rose on this resolution to say, "Although I am a Young Communist, I do not favor the passage of this motion. We desire unity, and unity can only be obtained on the basis of a minimum program."

Replying to Tuuri, a member of Spartacus countered, "Zero is the minimum program conceivable. Logically you ought to favor nothing, and you would have unity with everyone." A young Farmer-Laborite remarked that "The demand for socialism, after five years of depression, is certainly the most minimum of minimum demands that could be included in a 'minimum' program."

The resolution carried by an overwhelming majority, the Young Communists abstaining to the surprise of all. One youth remarked: "I always thought that the Communists were revolutionaries."

S. Y. L. Fights for a United Protest on Memorial Day

On May 30, the bosses and profit-seekers will hold their Memorial Day services and parades, calculated to whip up the jingoistic and patriotic spirit of the American working class youth. The desires of the class conscious youth to show their determined opposition to the whole spirit and meaning of Memorial Day and to the profit system that gives rise to it, has been repeatedly manifested by the powerful pressure towards broad youth demonstrations and rallies.

Last year the Young Communist League, by its maneuvers to foist its own name and leadership over the united front, and its arbitrary attempts to dominate the demonstration, forced a rupture of the united front and resulted in two separate demonstrations.

S.Y.L. Efforts for Unity

This year again, a genuine united front for May 30 has not been achieved, partly because of the injurious activities of the Stalinist Youth organization. The Spartacus Youth League proposed from the very beginning to both the American Youth Congress continuations committee which was arranging the united front, to the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Y.C.L. respectively, that a broad united front arrangements committee be set up to include the major political tendencies and city wide organizations. This united front committee would include the members and organizations in the continuations committee.

But the Y.P.S.L., capitulating to the pressure of the "Old Guard" and "Militants" in the S. P., decided to withdraw from the demonstration on the pretext that it "could not participate in a united front with the dual unions of the T.U.U.L., which split the labor movement."

The Spartacus Youth League, in a letter to the City Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L. made it clear that such a stand could not possibly be condoned by a revolutionary youth organization. The letter reads in part:

Letter to Young Socialists

"The argument that the Y.P.S.L. cannot march with the T.U.U.L. unions seems to us as spurious and a specious one, directed against the whole conception of the united front. In the first place, it is rather late in the day to raise this particular issue—where are the T.U.U.L. unions that the Y.P.S.L. objects to? But even granting that they may exist, then in what manner can the Y.P.S.L. reconcile its marching with the I.W.W. unions on May Day and rejecting the Stalinist paper unions on May 30? Moreover, it is inconsistent with your past policy: for some six months T.U.U.L. unions have been affiliated to the American Youth Congress, why only now, when the T.U.U.L. is being liquidated overnight, does the Y.P.S.L. suddenly become conscience-stricken?"

"We are not the apologists for the Stalinists nor for their dual

unions. But we stand for a broad and representative united front. There would be no question if the Y.P.S.L. were being asked to work together with the T.U.U.L. to win the working youth into the trade unions, but here it is simply a matter of expressing in a united front action a joint opposition to militarism, to the war program of the imperialists, to fascism. The Y.P.S.L. will be taking upon itself the full responsibility for splitting the demonstration unless it reverses its position of last week."

Opposes Stalinist Disruption

The Spartacus Youth League dissociates itself completely from the position of the Y.P.S.L. But how do things stand with the Y.C.L.?

The sectarian and bureaucratic policies of Stalinism are now reaping their full fruit. The dual paper unions of the T.U.U.L., the ultimate attempts at domination, the tactics of wrecking what they could not control—all those policies that have so discredited Stalinism in the eyes of the labor movement, and have made it possible for the trade union bureaucracy and the Old Guard leadership of the S. P. to reject and refuse the formation of a real united front stand out today as solid barriers in the way of every move towards a united front.

Although it has superficially changed some of its old policies and methods, the Y.C.L. still persists in many of them: in packing the united front conference of May 11, publishing dishonest articles in the Daily Worker calculated to lump the S.Y.L. together with the Y.P.S.L. (May 14), attempting to dominate the demonstration, etc. The S.Y.L. was and is anxious to see as broad and genuine a united front as possible on May 30. But the Y.C.L. is determined to exclude the "counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class."

Refused Speaker

The Y.C.L.-controlled continuations committee refuses the S.Y.L. not only a speaker but even representation on the arrangements committee! We requested this as a guarantee that the Y.C.L. would actually stand by their word for a genuine united front. The refusal of these elementary conditions makes it impossible for the S.Y.L. to participate. We do not intend to fall along in a Stalinist demonstration, without representation and without voice, giving their farcical "united front" the cover of our banner and our name.

For these reasons the S.Y.L. has decided not to take part in either the Y.C.L. or the Y.P.S.L. demonstration or mass meeting. Instead it will call its own mass meeting on the evening and significance of May 30 and explain our stand to the working class youth. The meeting will take place next Friday, May 31, at Irving Plaza. We call on all our readers and sympathizers to demonstrate with us their understanding and determination to fight consistently for a genuine united front of the working class.

French Situation Is Feature of May "New International"

More brilliant, more interesting, and as fundamental as previous issues, is the comment already made of the May issue of the New International, now off the press. It is a special issue, the main body of its contents dealing with the present situation in France and the problems of the French labor and revolutionary movement. "Where is France Going?" is the title of this exhaustive and extremely timely Marxist analysis of French politics. Is it going toward murderous Fascism—or the workers' revolution?

Nineteen solid pages of material make up this article fully on the height with fundamental analyses carried in our press for example during the months and weeks preceding the Hitler seizure of power in Germany. An estimate is given of the existing class forces in France today and the way out, the only way out, for the working class is shown in unmistakable fashion. It is impossible for the thinking worker to understand the present day situation in France without reading this article.

One of our European correspondents contributes an article on the problem of Abyssinia—"A New Nerve Center of Imperialist Lust." For the first time in an English publication its readers may learn about this African native state not yet conquered by the imperialist robber bandits. They may learn about the reasons for the feverish mobilization by Mussolini in what very clearly appears as a planned attempt to make an end to the independence of this native state and

to finally and fully subject it to imperialist plunder clothed in the black shirts of Mussolini's hordes.

Comrade Muste contributes an article in this issue: "Labor in 1935—Pessimism and Prophecy." In his usual direct and forceful style Comrade Muste deals in this article essentially with the forces within the labor movement—reactionaries and progressives, and forecasting the prospects of the latter, he concludes: "Then Lewis, Hillman and Green will not be the only ones claiming to represent the workers in Washington, and in any case the decisive events will not then occur in the White House with the smiling Roosevelt presiding as the cigars are passed, but on the picket lines in the steel, coal and automobile towns, as the gas bombs and the bullets fly about."

The May issue of the New International contains also an article beautiful in style and forceful in its analysis dealing with the native question in South Africa, written by R. Lee of Johannesburg. It contains a further installment by R. Gotesky on the discussion of "Marxism: Science or Method?" and other valuable material.

Readers of the New Militant and their friends cannot afford to miss this issue and we shall be glad to accept your order either for single copies, bundles or subscriptions. We take this occasion also to mention in reply to inquiries that we have a very small number still left of the first issue of the New International. The price per single copy is 25 cents.

ART PREIS

Editor of the suppressed strike
bulletin, "Strike Truth"

JAMES P. CANNON

Editor of the "New Militant"

Inside Story Of The Toledo Strike

Sunday, May 26th, 8 p. m.
Irving Plaza, 15th st. & Irving Pl.

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THE END OF THE BLUE BUZZARD

AN EDITORIAL

By its decision in the Schechter Poultry Case, the Supreme Court has finally signed the death warrant of the NRA. During the past months the once proud structure of the New Deal's major achievement has been gradually picked apart, stone by stone. Little more than a skeleton was left for judicial execution.

What is the central lesson to be drawn from the Supreme Court decision, coming as it does as the last act in the grim farce of the Blue Eagle? Is it, as the A. F. of L. leaders would have us believe, a staggering blow at labor, which is now "deprived of the benefits" of the labor-loving NRA? Or are we to conclude logically from the two year propaganda of the Communist Party that it is a "victory" for labor, since it does away with the "Roosevelt Slave Act"?

It is necessary to review the facts. When Roosevelt took office in 1933, the capitalists were faced with what seemed to them a nearly insurmountable crisis. The banks were closed, and complete financial collapse was threatening. The volumes of production and employment were at their lowest points of the depression. Industry as a whole was operating at a loss. The price structure was weakening under an avalanche of desperate competitive price-cutting. Labor was growing increasingly restless, and moving toward direct action.

Strong arm methods were necessary to pull capitalism out of the ditch and to set it going once more along the road of profits. Only the Federal Government was in a position to apply these methods; and the Federal Government could do so only by departing widely from the traditional Constitutional forms.

Roosevelt took control. Realizing that the ponderous machinery of the courts would only get into the picture many months later, he concentrated the full power of government into his own hands, reducing Congress for the time being to a rubber stamp. By a rapid series of measures, he saved the banking system, stopped the bankruptcies of large corporations, and started U. S. capitalism once more going forward—that is, once more in a position to make profits.

Among the measures he used, the NRA was the most grandiose and the most unusual. It was the NRA that was supposed to usher in the New Age of "fullness of life" for all. This was the Roosevelt solution to the crisis—the most ballyhooed measure ever passed by a U. S. Congress.

Essentially the NRA consisted of two distinct parts: (1) Regulations to secure what was called "fair competition." This phrase covered a multitude of capitalist sins. Under its banner, codes were set up to eliminate "destructive price cutting," "regulate trade practice," "promote cooperative actions among

The actual effect of these regulations, as brought out by the Darrow report, was to increase the domination of trusts and monopolies within each industry, since it was the monopolies that controlled the code authorities.

(2) The second part of the NRA dealt with "labor provisions"—partial prohibition of child labor, regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours, and the famous Section 7a, covering so-called "collective bargaining."

The pretended aim of these labor provisions was to aid "the forgotten man." The actual chief purposes were two: First, the New Deal in its early stages needed the unified support of all classes of the population. The labor provisions, looking on the surface like a concession to labor, were worded in such a way as to soft soap the working class into supporting the New Deal program. Second, they were designed to prevent independent class activities (i. e., strikes) on the part of the workers, by turning the workers' struggles aside into governmental channels. With the cooperation of the A. F. of L. officials, the workers were encouraged to look to Roosevelt for higher wages and better conditions, not to their own efforts; and they were tied up in a complicated system of "neutral" Labor Boards whenever they tried to start actions on their own account.

The NRA, aided by a partial "natural" upswing in the business cycle, did its job. Helped by the "codes of fair competition," the big corporations were once again piling up profits by the end of 1933. Though the labor provisions could not entirely prevent independent working class struggle, they did manage to strangle two strike waves in their infancy, and to keep every large strike from reaching maturity. This was not done without certain real concessions to the workers in some industries. But it should be understood that, with few exceptions, these concessions resulted not from the NRA but from the threat or actuality of militant labor struggles. The business of the NRA as of every capitalist "plan" was to increase profits not along with but relatively at the expense of wages, since that is the only way in which profits can any longer be increased or even continued.

With U. S. capitalism temporarily out of the ditch, a division of opinion set in among the capitalists themselves. During the first months of the NRA, almost the entire ruling class was too worried to ask questions. But as profits returned, more and more bankers and industrialists began to protest against "government interference in business," "regimentation," etc. The ruling class was not unanimous in this protest. The codes of fair competition met with approval, for example, throughout most of the retail trade associations. Again, these codes and also the labor provisions were well liked by the big clothing manufacturers with closed shops, who were helped in their fight against the sweatshops which had been undermining their markets prior to NRA.

But the big shop industrialists and bankers were impatient with "interference." They felt confident of their power to go their own way both against their competitors and on the field of the class struggle. They wanted a return to the pre-NRA structure, at a stage higher of finance-monopoly development.

The Supreme Court decision marks a partial temporary

(Continued on Page 4)

Wage Slashing Drive Begins

Victory Greeted Efforts of Ill. Jobless Masses

C.P. Rivals Mr. Hearst In Slurs at I.W.A.

By GERRY ALLARD
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 23.—Over 3,000 jobless workers, from seventy-two Illinois cities and towns, converged on the state capital for the third time Tuesday in defiance of the orders that they were to starve unless the sales tax was increased.

City and state police warned the marchers that they could not march or parade in this city. The jobless did parade. They marched through the heart of the city and passed on the towering state capital building. Weary, hungry and desperate, the throng proudly marched, waving high their Illinois Workers Alliance banners so the political oppressors who had starved them for nearly four weeks could read and take note.

One Marcher Dies

The plight of the workers was clearly shown by the fact that one of their numbers died and several fainted during the march, undoubtedly from the lack of food. Several women from northern Illinois rode a C. & A. freight to get here. Others hitch hiked, commandeered trucks and cars and still others walked for miles. Nevertheless the hundreds of thousands of starving men and women sent their mass delegations to Springfield to tell the capitalist agents that they were not going to starve without a fight.

That afternoon the sales tax was defeated again for the fifth time. Late that night news came out that Gov. Horner would give up the attempt to pass the bill as an emergency measure and instead pass it in the ordinary procedure which requires a majority vote of the legislature. Gov. Horner had a majority from the start but he persisted for weeks to pass the increase in sales tax as an emergency to take effect immediately which required a two-thirds vote of the House. The sales tax increase will not take effect until July 1.

A committee headed by Edward C. Morgan, chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance, was refused an audience by the Governor. Gov. Horner's secretary stated that the chief was too busy to pay attention to a committee representing thousands of starving workers.

Jobless Make History

The Illinois Workers Alliance put up a militant fight against the sales tax. It was mainly responsible for the six weeks deadlock in the state legislature over the issue. The unemployed made history. They carried their fight for bread to great political proportions. Out of this

(Continued on Page 3)

N.U.L. Protests Paupers Wages on Work Relief

Demands Adoption of Workers Security Bill

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 22.—Reminding the President of his inaugural promises, the National Unemployed League, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, and affiliated organizations in 22 states, today condemned the administration's "starvation wage scale" in a letter to President Roosevelt, stating, "The organized unemployed will refuse to work for the privilege of starving on wage rates which are not enough to live on and just too much to die on."

Quoting the President's statement, "that no business which depends for its existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country. By living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level—I mean the wages of decent living."

The League demands that the President live up to his promises and scrap the entire present program by going before Congress for the Workers Security Bill sponsored by the National Unemployed League.

The Bill provides for the 30 hour week in all industry; a program of public works on a basis of 30 hours per week at a minimum of \$30.00 per week; a system of unemployment and social insurance to be paid by the employers and the government through taxation on individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 per year and over, and taxing gifts and inheritances to provide benefits to all unemployed during the total period of unemployment at a rate of \$10 per week per person plus \$3.00 per week for each dependent. Pending such unemployment insurance, that direct cash relief shall be given on the basis of \$10 for a single person plus \$3 for each dependent weekly.

The Bill proposed by the Unemployed League combines into one document a complete program "to protect the health and welfare of the workers of the land," according to the communication.

NEW YORK (EP)—With the world, and especially Japan, preparing for war at record speed, the exports of steel scrap from the United States reached a new high at 560,000 tons in the first quarter of 1935—a 66 percent gain over last year's record-breaking total and more than was ever shipped in any whole year prior to 1933.

The proportion of steel scrap exported to that used in the United States has increased four times in four years.

Muste Speaks for Workers' Revolution on Nat'l Hook-Up

Choice Between Fascism or Communism He Declares

NEW YORK, May 30.—In a stirring address over WJZ on a national hook-up comrade A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party of the U. S., pointed to the fundamental maladies of the modern economic system. He concluded his broadcast by placing before the American people the dilemma that stirs the modern epoch—fascism or the workers' revolution. Comrade Muste represented the standpoint of Communism in a three-cornered debate under the auspices of the League for Political Education, in which the other speakers were Norman Thomas and Lawrence Dennis.

The complete text of Muste's address follows:

"I wish to make it clear that in setting forth the Communist answer to the problem confronting the American people today, I am not representing the Communist Party or the so-called Third, Communist, International, with which I have no connection and of which I have never been a member. I am setting forth the historic Communist position embodied in the experience of the modern working-class and in the writings of its great teachers, which constitutes the program of the United States.

"According to both the popular and the official conception, this nation embodies and was founded to realize certain great social ideals. It was to differ radically from 'the old countries.' There were to be no aristocracies of birth or wealth. No individual or group was to be allowed to exploit and oppress others. Not for a favored few, but for the masses of the population there was to be abundance, security, an equal voice in the government, the opportunity for self-expression and self-development,—a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Abundance for All

"The material and technical resources for such a society, unquestionably exist in the United States today. No competent student doubts that insofar as it depends upon natural resources and the productive plant, everybody could have a comfortable and attractive home, abundant food, decent clothing, opportunity for recreation and education, security against accident, sickness, and old age; and the sense of independence and self-respect that goes with these things.

"What we actually have, however, is mass unemployment, widespread poverty, a fifty percent cut in the standard of living since 1929, a society which does not know how to use the thousands of its youth coming out of the high schools and

(Continued on Page 4)

N.R.A. FLOPS

Bosses Rush To Cash In On Court Decision

Organization Is Only Power In Labors' Hands

By F. FERRY
The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court handed down last Monday effectively killed whatever was still alive of the NIRA.

It may be of some interest, but probably of no great importance, to look into the reasons why the legislation pertaining to the National Recovery, as it is called, was held to be against the Constitution. It is more interesting and also more vital, as far as the working class is concerned, to analyze the situation for the purpose of being able to see the effect of the elimination of the NIRA. Not to be misunderstood—the workers know from their own experience that the NIRA, all and parts of it, was in no effective way helping them in their fight against the so-called principal employers of this country.

They recall it too well, that whenever there was a conflict between the workers on the one side, and Mr. Ford, General Motors, the large coal companies etc. on the other side, and whenever in such a fight the workers in their innocence invoked the help of the NIRA, the result invariably was special consideration given to the large employers; as in the President's automobile decision or in the decision pertaining to the longshoremen and shipping workers.

Anti-Labor Decisions

The lesson learned by the workers in the anthracite field of Pa. was and cannot be forgotten because it clearly showed that the authorities in charge of the enforcement of the NIRA were neither willing nor able, nor at any time ready to challenge effectively the coal barons for the purpose of securing the meager advantages which the NIRA alleged to give to the workers. It cannot be forgotten how flagrantly the decisions of the NIRA board were violated by men of the type and size of Weirton of the Weirton Steel companies, nor did the workers forget the pitiful and cowardly attitude of the government representatives in the recent Toledo strike, or the humiliation which the National Labor Board or Madam Fannie Perkins was exposed to in the controversy with the rubber barons, in which controversy the government and the blue buzzard representing the NIRA came out second best.

There is very little sentiment left among workers for the NIRA; as a

(Continued on Page 2)



A. J. MUSTE

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Assumes Wide Proportions

With the dismissal of five members of the staff of Columbia University's medical college this week, suppression of pro-labor professors reached the proportions of a systematic campaign.

Two instructors and three technicians were fired at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia without a hearing and no reasons given.

Dr. Lienhard Bergel, instructor in German at the New Jersey College for Women, a unit of Rutgers University, dismissed for his anti-Nazi opinions by the chairman of his department, a Nazi sympathizer, was effectively aided this week by colleagues and students during hearings being held by the college trustees. The hearing, forced by widespread protests against Dr. Bergel's dismissal, heard evidence piled up to prove the Nazi basis for the action against him.

Hicks Dismissed

Granville Hicks, professor of English at Rensselaer Technical Institute in Troy, New York, dismissed by the university on the grounds of "retrenchment," charged that his dismissal was due to a red scare.

Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, professor of psychology and mathematics at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa., was dismissed on May 11.

C. L. U. to Extend Action
Dr. Hallett's case is unique in being fought not only as an issue of academic freedom but also as a straight labor case. The Central Trades and Labor Council is solidly backing his fight. Dr. Hallett is a delegate to the council and treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers local. The American Federation of Teachers is circulating its hundreds of locals for support

(Continued on Page 4)

Statement on the Franco-Soviet Alliance

By the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S.

The military alliance signed between France and the Soviet Union, and the statement thereon issued jointly by Laval and Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov, mark another departure by the present heads of the Soviet Union from the principles upon which it was established.

The Soviet Union is the only land in which the workers, allied with the poor farmers, succeeded in overthrowing their exploiters and oppressors and setting up a workers' republic as the gigantic first step to a free socialist society. Its great advances are a promise of the glorious future which the working masses throughout the world are striving to achieve. As such it is the elementary duty of workers everywhere to guard the achievements of the Soviet working class, and to defend the Union from all attacks made upon it by its capitalist enemies. In essence, this means the extension of the workers' revolution throughout the entire world.

The workers in the capitalist countries, the slaves of imperialism in the colonies, are thus the only true allies of the Soviet Union. Even though the working class of several countries has suffered cruel defeats in the past year, and has been weakened as a result, it nevertheless remains the only reliable defender of the workers' republic against the destructive designs of world imperialism.

It is precisely because of these defeats, however,

to which both the Socialist and the Communist parties alike have contributed, that the present leaders of the Soviet Union have considered themselves obliged to seek alliances with one imperialist power or another against the danger of attack which threatens Russia most acutely from the side of Hitler Germany and reactionary Poland and Japan.

This is precisely the principle which was violated by the Socialist parties in the last World War, when they betrayed the working class, supported their imperialist "fatherland" and concluded a "peace" with the capitalist class.

This is precisely the principle which is now being violated by the leaders of the Communist parties in their support of the manner in which the Franco-Soviet Pact is being carried through. The latter are thereby preparing to play the same part in the coming world war that was played by the Socialist parties in the last war!

The preparations for the new world war are being made at break-neck speed. All the preliminary steps have already been taken. Never since 1918 have the military, naval and aviation budgets of the imperialist powers been so big as they are today.

In the Far East, Japan is engaged in a brutal war of aggression against the Chinese peoples.

In Africa, Italian Fascism has launched a pirat-

ical war against the Ethiopian people, even though both countries are part of the notorious League of Nations.

Germany is rearming at a furious pace with the openly avowed intention of regaining her former imperialist power.

France is increasing her armaments with the hypocritical assurance that it aims to preserve the peace, but in actuality as part of her preparations for a war with Germany for the preservation of the imperialist robberies she committed at the end of the last war.

England is arming heavily for that next world war, whose coming is inevitable unless the working class first crushes imperialism, in order to safeguard and extend her vast colonial empire.

The United States is in the race with the rest and is even now conducting preparatory maneuvers in the Pacific in rehearsal for the war with Japan.

Everywhere, a decaying capitalist society is proving again that war is one of its inevitable products. Once more it is being shown that war is not prevented by "good" or "peaceful" capitalist powers, or caused by "bad" and "bellicose" capitalist powers—but that it is only one of the most frightful and most natural products of capitalism itself. Only in the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been over-

(Continued on Page 4)

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Labor . . .

Calling themselves the Sindicato por Defensa de la Mujer, Mexican prostitutes formed the first union of their craft. They voted for a general strike unless their demands are met by June 1. . . . The American Federation of Ministers, Local No. 1, was recently formed in New York City. . . . Labor has a new champion: "American labor will not long stand for price fixing, limitation of output, stifling of competition or other monopolistic of Fascist practices inherent in the NRA," proclaims Herbert Hoover. . . . William E. Green replies: "As for labor, we will follow Roosevelt, not Hoover." . . . Green threatens a general strike to force labor legislation pending in Congress. . . . In September Green denounced the tactic of the general strike and broke the general strike in San Francisco by refusing to support it. . . .

Boom . . .

Jiggs, the trained Hollywood chimpanzee, draws a salary of \$350 a week. . . . The U. S. Chamber of Commerce reports that the average worker in industry receives \$21.86 per week. The average unskilled worker, \$17.85. . . . The cocker spaniel that played in the "Barretts of Wimpole Street" received \$100 a week. . . . Cotton textile workers in the South average \$10.29 per week for male workers. . . . Samuel Goldwin spent a million dollars to make a star of Anna Steen. She receives \$3,000 a week. . . . The first project under the new works program opened in Mississippi. Wages for labor were \$4.75 per week or \$19 per month. . . . As a sequel to his book, "The Coming American Boom," Major L. L. D. Angas has written "The Boom Begins." . . .

Arts and Letters . . .

Dr. John F. Condon (Jafise) dedicated an ode, "The Bronx Beautiful," to the Bronx Chamber of Commerce. . . . Huey Long's song, "Every Man a King" is a best seller in the South. . . . "Soviet Russia will end in nothing and so will the Roosevelt Administration end in nothing. Huey Long will not end in nothing. He is stimulating, he is not ephemeral and will not end in nothing," babbles Gertrude Stein. . . .

Progress . . .

Five years ago the average length of a screen kiss was 72 inches of film giving four seconds of bliss. Today the screen kiss has dropped to approximately 18 inches which means they last but a second and a half. . . . The fastest airplanes were used to rush bullfrogs from Louisiana to New York for a frog-jumping contest. . . . Virgil Garvey, humane society head, forbade the use of live cats in the Seattle "put-out-the-cat" derby. Dr. D. D. Jones won the race, in which men wearing night-shirts, each carrying a calico cat and lighted candle, gallop 50 yards. . . . Eighteen disciples of Father Devine could not cease ecstasy after a recent "Garden of Eatin'" session. . . .

Games . . .

Eight men were killed, two seaplanes destroyed and two battleships smashed in the recent Navy "games" in the Pacific. . . . Increase of cadets at West Point necessitates placing three in a room. . . . Lord Rothermere, England's Hearst, says: "To expand the royal air force by 1,000 planes is childish and useless for defense. Germany has 10,000 bombing planes." . . . Mathew Melton, nephew of Andy Mellon praises Hitler: "Personally I rejoice when I hear that Germany is rearming. Being a property owner in Germany, I regard Adolf Hitler as having saved my home from the communistic rabble that would have speeded all over Europe had he not come into power in 1933." . . .

Society Notes . . .

John Elton, recently discharged from the hospital with a hopeless case of cancer, was evicted from his home in Toledo, Ohio. . . . Margot, Countess of Oxford and Asquith, wore gems valued at \$7,000,000 at the Silver Jubilee Ball. Queen Mary wore a diamond valued at \$500,000. . . . William Fisher, Michigan Relief Administrator, threatens to cut people from relief who refuse to work in the best fields at cooie wages. . . . The late Alfred I. duPont left an estate estimated at \$100,000,000. His wife gets an annual income of \$200,000, the Florida estate and the yacht. . . . Mulligan stew was served on May 15 at the Cincinnati transient flop-house. One hundred men were poisoned. . . . Andrew Mellon's \$4,000,000 art treasures are locked securely in the Corcoran Art Gallery to be seen only by the Mellons and their friends. . . . As the Salvation Army celebrated its jubilee in Chicago ten men were evicted from its flophouse. . . .

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

By ART PREIS
(Ed. Note: This is the second of a series of three articles by Art Preis on the great Toledo strike. Art Preis was the editor of "Strike Truth," the Chevrolet strikers' bulletin.)

Two-fold were the lessons of the Auto-Lite strike, lessons which quickly permeated the entire Toledo labor movement, and which in turn affected through the Toledo labor movement the Chevrolet strike. The first lesson was that better conditions for the workers are won on the picket lines. Secondly, the Toledo workers had learned that the struggle of one group of workers is the battle of all workers, in which all labor must cooperate if victory is to be assured.

Side by side with the progressive growth and development of the auto workers union, Local 18384, a new spirit began to animate the other unions as well. One of the significant indications of this fact was the increasing participation of the Toledo Central Labor Union in every strike battle and its response to the appeals for assistance from the organized unemployed.

The Organized Unemployed
It was a well established fact that the Lucas County Unemployed League, acting with the assistance of the Workers Party, had taken the initiative and aggression in smashing the Auto-Lite injunction and reviving the lifeless strike. This action on the part of the organized unemployed served to drive home to the union men that the unemployed, instead of being a serious menace to their jobs and wage-standards, a huge reservoir of potential "scabs," might become an invaluable ally on the picket lines. In the Armour and Swift and Larowe Milling strikes, which shortly followed the Auto-Lite, the Lucas County Unemployed League was officially invited to aid the strikers and in actuality formed the backbone of the mass picket lines.

One of the significant contributions of the Workers Party to the Toledo labor movement, and one which has had a vital bearing upon the present characteristic solidarity, was the weapon of the united front. While the Unemployed League was demonstrating the effectiveness of joint action between the unemployed workers on the Auto-Lite picket lines, a united demonstration was secured for increased relief between the Central Labor Union, the Unemployed League and the now defunct Relief Workers Association. A successful united front anti-injunction demonstration, originally proposed by the W. P., was carried through by the Workers Party, Socialist and Communist parties.

The Famous Death March
In the fall of 1934, on the initiative of the Unemployed League, a Joint Action Committee was organized with several other local independent unemployed groups. A continuous fight of several months duration was conducted to better the relief standards for unemployed single men. A series of extremely militant marches and mass demonstrations, culminated by the famous six-day and -night Single Men's Death March and the seizure of the Lucas County Court House, were organized and led by Sam Pollock and Ted Selandar.

During the latter part of February of this year, the Toledo Building Trades Council initiated a strike among the skilled workers on the Federal Emergency Relief projects in Toledo. The Unemployed League soon stepped to the fore in this strike. The program of the Unemployed League for the conduct of this strike was adopted in entirety. A Joint Action Committee, representing the entire Building Trades Council the U. L. and the Workers Alliance, was set up and a general FEERA strike was effected. Mass strike tactics, hitherto completely outside of the experience of the skilled craft unions, were adopted. Again W. P. and U. L. members organized and led the picket lines and a series of splendid demonstrations.

A May Day United Labor demonstration was organized by the Joint Action Committee, endorsed by the Central Labor Union. This was the largest May Day demonstration ever held in Toledo, with A. J. Muste as the principle speaker. It ended in a militant march upon the Lucas County Relief headquarters.

"March of Labor"
While the FEERA strike was reaching its height, four other strikes occurred, the outstanding being the general Milk Drivers strike. An unofficial Joint Board of Strategy was devised, composed of the leaders of all the strikes including Sam Pollock, representing the Joint Action Committee. The forces of the various groups of strikers, under the leadership of Pollock, were combined into a joint picket line, called the March of Labor, which by a series of quick concentrations on various struck plants and projects closed them all down effectively.

It is only on the basis of an understanding of this simultaneous development—the organization of the progressive forces within the auto union and its expansion and achievement by virtue of the militant

policies fostered by these forces, and the corresponding development in the entire labor movement of the attitude of working-class unity and mass action, with a weakening of class-collaboration policies—that the subsequent unionization of the Toledo Chevrolet workers, their strike and its unique aspects, can be correctly understood. In the final analysis, what preceded and immediately followed the Chevrolet strike is as significant from a broad perspective as the strike itself.

Showdown Comes in Autos

Following the unionization of the vast majority of the Toledo auto-parts plants by March of this year, the auto workers' union finally approached the last major challenge in its path, the transmission plant of the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Company, employing 2,300 workers. Previous attempts to organize this plant had met with almost total failure. Certain more backward elements and leaders in the union balked at the seeming magnitude of the task, for this was poaching upon the previously inviolable domains of the General Motors Corporation whose illimitable resources would be fully and unhesitatingly used to smash the union. Nevertheless, the progressive forces in the union pressed unceasingly for an organizational drive on the Chevrolet plant. They recognized that all previous union activities had been merely preliminary skirmishes and training for this major onslaught, which carried with it the possibility of a general auto strike and a genuine showdown on the issue of unionism in the automotive industry.

Three primary factors determined the ultimate success of the progressive program for organization of the Chevrolet plant. The first of these was the general atmosphere of unionism which pervaded the air of Toledo and the steady succession of labor battles and victories and partial victories which followed in the wake of the Auto-Lite strike. The Chevrolet worker might have shunned direct union appeals, but he could not avoid the experiences of his friends and neighbors who were in the unions nor the daily evidences of union activities and achievements which constantly forced themselves into the Toledo press.

The Company Maneuver

Secondly, the officials of General Motors connived with the Automobile Labor Board in attempting to put over a crude maneuver to place the official stamp of company unionism upon the Chevrolet workers. This was an "election" called in the Chevrolet plant for April 9, under the supervision of the completely repudiated Board, to deter-

mine what agency the workers desired to represent them in collective bargaining. The real union had not even requested such an election, but it was the intent of the company to force through a vote favorable to the company union before the genuine union could secure the slightest foothold in the plant. The obvious crudity and arrogance of this maneuver acted as a boomerang against the company and served to drive the workers in desperate defiance to the union.

Then there was Jimmy Roland. Jimmy was a plain everyday production worker in the Chevrolet plant. He joined the union in its early stages prior to the Auto-Lite strike. In short order, he got the "can." During the Auto-Lite affair he was one of the handful of union militants who fought the injunction. He was one of the real mainstays of the fight. During his period of unemployment he joined the U. L. and became one of its leading members. He likewise established himself as a leading progressive in the union and was elected to the position of trustee on the executive board.

One-Man Picket Line

Despite his inexperience and youth, Jimmy was class-conscious to the core, intelligent and eager to learn, tireless in his efforts to build the union, honest and incorruptible in every fiber and, above all, a bull dog fighter for his principles. He refused to back down before General Motors. When the Auto Labor Board avoided his appeal for reinstatement on his job, he put on his one-man picket line before the Chevrolet main gate. He was rehired in short order—and placed in an office post at his original wage.

With his hand forced by the imminent Auto Labor Board election, the union was compelled to act promptly and decisively. Ten days before the election a meeting of the Chevrolet workers was called. The phenomenal number of 600 showed up. Jimmy Roland was chairman and acting organizer. Other successful meetings were called in quick succession. The union was flooded with applications for membership. When the elections were finally held, despite the fact that the union advised the workers not to participate in it, the vote of the Chevrolet workers went overwhelmingly for the representative of the union, the business agent, Fred Schwake.

Acted Quickly

Once the vote was over, there was no stalling or delay. Moving quickly and decisively, guided by the strong and militant leadership of Jimmy Roland, as chairman of the elected executive shop committee, the new union men acting through

their committee drew up a union contract and presented it to the plant executives on April 19. Roland firmly and skillfully directed the inexperienced committee through this first treacherous conference, and indicated thereby the undeviating position he would maintain throughout the strike. The committee refused to discuss anything but the terms of their own contract. They would not accept cigars or non-union brand cigarettes offered by the bosses. They declined to lunch with the bosses or deal with them in any but a formal and business-like manner. The class lines were strictly drawn.

Every significant condition in the union contract was flatly rejected by the bosses. That very night a mass meeting of the Chevrolet workers was held and a unanimous vote for strike taken. A strike committee of nine was elected with authority to call the strike. Jimmy Roland was the chairman.

Trying to Stall

Desperately, General Motors sought to delay the action. Top-notch G. M. C. officials flooded into Toledo from Detroit Monday, April 22, at 5 A.M. and called the shop committee into another conference. General Motors was obviously on the defensive. They knew they were dealing with leadership of a different calibre than that of the weak, vacillating, conciliating type of the A. F. of L. officials, personified by individuals like the national auto union organizer, Francis Dillon. They kept the committee closeted in conference for twelve straight hours so that the strike could not be called that day. The committee held to its demands like the Rock of Gibraltar.

At 6:15 A.M., April 23, Jimmy Roland and his committee went through the plant and spread the word. The power was turned off, the wheels stopped moving. In a disciplined organized line, the workers marched from the plant. The company foremen tried to threaten and cajole the strikers not to leave. Company handbills, calculated to distort the issues of the strike and confuse the workers, were circulated. The company tactics were useless. In short order, the plant was entirely shut down.

At the plant gate, the strikers were met by a group of the union men, headed by Bill Prior. The progressives aided the strikers to organize a solid, effective mass picket line.

Then the strike committee, as guided by Jimmy Roland, sent a number of telegrams. One went to Washington to the surprised and chagrined Francis Dillon, informing him that the strike was on. The others went to all the union locals in General Motors plants throughout the country, telling them of the strike and urging them to take similar action. Every one of these moves had been previously calculated by the union progressives.

where in certain restaurants, waitresses returned to the wage basis of \$4.00 for a 7 day week. The American worker cannot fool himself that the result can be anything but a general lowering of wage scales and a still more general increase in working hours.

Prepare for Action

He must be ready now that the decks are clear for action. He must give an answer, and the only possible one, to those who up to now have controlled the life and destiny of 125 million people in this country. The American worker must respond to the coming onslaught of the employers against the living standards by an effective method of organization. Their answer must be: into the unions to fight for higher standards, and to fight effectively as only can be done by strong and all embracing unions.

WASHINGTON (FP).—By a 6 to 3 ruling, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to reverse the sentence of Angelo Herndon, 28-year-old Negro labor organizer, to 10 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang, claiming no jurisdiction.

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Censure Silk Workers Board; Fails to Carry Out Decisions

By FELIX GIORDANO
PATERSON, May 22.—The Joint Board of this local of the American Federation of Silk Workers was extended a unanimous vote of censure at a meeting of the Plain Goods Department, held last Saturday. The vote came as a result of an attack against the Stalinist-influenced Board for failing to carry out its own decisions.

At an open hearing of the Mayor's Conciliation Committee held the previous night at Central High School the Joint Board was supposed to present a resolution for public approval, which was then to be forwarded and presented to the open hearing on the silk code in Washington on Tuesday. Such a resolution was not presented and no one represented at the hearing the official view of the union. Tom Morgan, notorious local representative of the U.T.W., was the labor spokesman on the Mayor's Committee, which sanctioned unanimously the passage of resolutions that were very clear in so far as the bosses' demands went, but which became miraculously vague as soon as they began to babble about a standard of wages for the workers.

W. P. Member Speaks

Aud none of the known members of the Communist Party dared get up and protest at the hearing. It was only a member of the Workers Party who demanded that the resolution which read in part " . . . resolved, that we place these craft minimums on the basis of the program adopted by the workers . . . " specifically state the program adopted by the A.F.S.W., which is for a thirty hour week and a \$25 minimum for weavers.

Having failed to protest of their own accord, the C. P. carried its program to its logical conclusion and did not even support the demand, with the result that the resolution went unchanged.

Not such was the attitude of the officials of the Federation and of the Local of the Dyers. George Baldanzi made no bones about presenting a resolution of his own, which was carried as a substitute resolution for one presented by the Mayor's Committee.

Union Muffs Situation
At this hearing our union failed miserably. It did not mobilize the membership to attend the meeting, it did not present the official resolution embodying its views, it did not even take the floor to try to give official leadership to the workers. What fight there was, what resistance was offered, was not organized by our union, but was instead organized by the dyers' union, which was not affected by the meeting.

The failure of the local officialdom on Friday was not the end, but the beginning of a disastrous chapter in the history of our union. Where the C. P. left off in Paterson, the infamous national leadership of the U.T.W. took up in Washington on Tuesday, with Gorman and McMahon accepting the standard of wages proposed by the Labor Advisory Board, in open defiance of the standard of wages and other labor provisions demanded by the membership of the union nationally only a scant three weeks ago.

An Alarm Signal

Nor can we be surprised; for, had not Paterson, even Paterson, the city of struggles, allowed the Mayor's Resolution to pass?

The events of last Friday in Paterson and of yesterday in Washington bear a warning and sound the alarm.

The membership of our union needs intelligent and alert leadership. The so-called "Progressive Group" failed when it was in charge, and now cannot do anything better than spread a whispering campaign against individuals, instead of presenting a policy and fighting for it. The Communist Party, grown "respectable" with the right turn effected in the trade union policy, does not dare put up a fight against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. What is needed in Paterson and in every other silk center is a new alignment of really progressive forces, a genuine left wing, established on the basis of a sound program of real militancy, and challenging both the old bureaucrats and the Communist Party for leadership in the locals and nationally.

The Manager's Corner

More Builders Are Wanted

Among the New Militant builders Comrade S. W. Semington of Chicago holds the record for the period of the last fortnight. He sent in a total of six yearly subs and two club subscriptions of four each. But there is another sign of activity in this field from Chicago. More attention is being given to general distribution and Rose Casano also forwarded two club subscriptions of four each.

From Los Angeles A. C. Doughty sent in two club subscriptions of four each. From Philadelphia we received from Norman Penn one such club subscription and from Davenport, Iowa, Betty Rowland forwarded one club subscription and two six months subs. Chester Johnson of Minneapolis forwarded four one year subs and our indefatigable builder among the railroad workers in the northwest sent in a club subscription of four. All in all when this is taken together with a number of single subscriptions turned in notably from New York City, this is not such a bad record, but it is, of course, not sufficient for a real serious extension of circulation.

A practical means of quick results in this respect is afforded by the club subscription cards. They are issued in clubs of four three-months subs for each dollar paid in advance, printed on U. S. postal cards, to be deposited in a mail box as soon as the subs are obtained and the investment thus refunded to the builder. We have only a limited number of these cards and they will be good only for a limited period of time. Some changes by the way of real improvements of the New Militant are now in contemplation, hence the limited period for which these club cards will hold good.

The changes that are contemplated are of a far reaching character and as soon as the plans take on concrete shape the announcement

Next New International To Appear Soon

We are making a serious effort to catch up with the past delays in publication of the theoretical organ. The management of both publications has been brought together under one head and we believe that this will facilitate the matter of appearing on time in the future. The June issue will be off the press on June 10. Following that the date of appearance of the July issue will be further advanced and so on until we have caught up.

Time is short for distribution of the May issue and for settlement of accounts, but the remittances are a very important item in assuring a prompt appearance. The May issue features a fundamental Marxian analysis of the present situation in France. From the Lome front one of the most important developments taken up for a thorough discussion is the Long and Comblin movements. The June issue will carry as one of its outstanding features a new theoretical article on Soviet Russia by L. D. Trotsky.

In this connection let us remind you of the complimentary offer of a one year subscription for the New Militant and the New International both for \$2.00. This offer also will be good only for a limited period. The best thing to do for those who are interested is therefore to avail themselves of this offer right away.

Speed Is Most Important Now!

The New Militant is in a very serious financial crisis. Only disaster can follow if this situation is not changed. It will go under unless our alarm signal is heeded.

This crisis is brought about by and large due to the fact of the inexcusable negligence in many instances and the undue slowness in others in making settlements for accounts due for bundle orders forwarded regularly. We do not doubt that the bundles have been disposed of; but the remittances are lacking. To say the least, this is an intolerable situation.

We do not believe that our sup-

porters will want to see the New Militant go under. We feel certain that you will all lend a hand to get it out of its difficulty. But action is required without a moment's delay. The first thing to do for those who owe on bundle accounts is to make an immediate settlement. In addition all subscriptions about to expire should be renewed without delay and the New Militant builders get busy soliciting new subscriptions. If this is acted on promptly we can get out of the crisis and continue in existence.

In this we count upon all the friends and supporters of the

As the French Working Class Approaches the Final Crisis

Lessons of the Municipal Elections — 'Victory' Brings Fascist Danger Closer

GENEVA, May 17 (ICL Press Service).—The Marxists have always struggled against the anti-parliamentary cretinism of the anarchists but they have never ceased their vigorous struggle against traditional "parliamentary cretinism." We are far from the thought of under-estimating the importance of the "victories" won in the municipal elections from the 5th to the 12th of March by the socialists and communists, by the "popular front" for short. It is not our object to minimize the extent of these "victories" thanks to which a large number of municipalities have passed to the hands of the socialists and communists. We must, however, put the proletariat on guard against the boasts of the incorrigible parliamentarians who try to present these "victories" to us as an "impressive defeat" of the forces of the "6th of February," that is the forces equipped for civil war against the workers.

Whoever believes that is deceiving himself and deceiving the working class by lulling them on the electoral results. On the contrary, the forces of the "6th of February," the forces of counter-revolution and coup d'état, will be no less disturbed and no less active after the elections of the 5th and 12th of May. The armed forces of coup d'état and civil war are not defeated by ballots. That is what we learned first from the Italian experience, and then from the German and Austrian, and recently from the Spanish events.

The Italian Experience
In 1921, in Italy, Giolitti dissolved the Italian Chamber, hoping thus to weaken the socialist and communist opposition in parliament. The country voted once more against Giolitti and against Fascism, which at the time of the coup d'état had only 25 out of 500 deputies. After two years in power, Mussolini sought to sanction his coup d'état by new elections in 1924. Once again he was disavowed by the country, especially in the great industrial centers but even in the country. It was after the results of these elections that Mussolini had recourse to a second coup d'état by provoking the assassination of the socialist deputy Matteotti by his

bands—it is from this crisis that the present totalitarian state in Italy emerged.

And in Spain? There also, the results of the elections in 1930, evaluated not according to the number of those elected, but according to the real number of votes registered by each party, basically marked a defeat of the forces of the old regime. And in spite of that nothing prevented the forces of reaction from marching to the destruction of the democratic republican conquests.

Disavow "Civil Truce"

Yes: Engels pointed that out long ago. Lenin illustrated it once again: universal suffrage can offer nothing more than a gauge of the forces which are at play in the country; its only value is as an indicator. What then is the meaning of the results of the 5th and 12th of May? The communist "gains" do not signify an approval of the policy of "civil peace" which the communist leadership slavishly following the steps of Soviet diplomacy, practices towards the French bourgeoisie which is allied to the U. S. S. R. Wherever this problem has been posed and despite its being posed in terms disgusting to revolutionary Marxism and to proletarian internationalism ("defeat of the enemy at home") the policy of "civil peace" with the imperialist "allies" of the U. S. S. R. has been clearly disavowed: we are referring to St. Denis. But the communist "gains" as well as those of the "socialists" and of the "popular front" in general signify that even despite the confused and capitulationist policy which was carried on by both socialist and communist leadership, the will to struggle against fascism has taken unshakable roots among the French workers ever since February 12.

A question must be posed to the leaders of the "popular front" after the "victories" of the 5th and 12th of May. What will you do with these victories? How will you utilize this great force which has fallen into your lap in the form of so powerful a net-work of municipalities? Will you continue to prostrate yourself at the feet of Flaminio, Regnier, Laval and others, by

pleading with them to come to the rescue of the working class and disarm and disperse the fascist bands? Will you squander the force put at your disposal by the workers of France as you did after February 12? The race to power after May 5 and 12 will be much sharper and much quicker: who will get there first, the working class or fascism? This is what must be understood and be made understood.

The Dilemma

Upon the solution of this unavoidable dilemma—we or they in power?—depends the possibility of maintaining and extending the victories of May 5 and 12, depends the possibility of a real and lasting alliance of proletarian France with the proletarian U. S. S. R., depends the fate and the near future in Europe and the world, the fate of peace and socialism. If on the contrary they rest contented with these municipal election "victories," in the hope of new "victories" in the next political elections in order to continue in this fashion ad infinitum, if they continue to morally and materially disarm the French working class by stupid injections of petty bourgeois pacifism, if they associate themselves with the type of national defense Stalin prescribed in Moscow during Laval's visit while the enemy organizes, arms and trains itself for civil war, the result, the sad result will be that instead of the defeat of the "forces of the 6th of February" they will end up by surrendering themselves to it together with the victories won by the entire working class.

Once more we sound our signal of warning: If the French working class is not to suffer the humiliation and the slavery of our brothers in Italy and Germany; if it is not to suffer the heavy defeats as in Austria and Spain—

Down with parliamentary cretinism!
Down with the disarmers of the working class!

Love live the Workers' Militia!
Long live the united front of struggle, which organizes and embraces all the toiling masses of France for the revolutionary struggle against Fascism and against war.

PHILADELPHIA (FP).—Pay boosts, union recognition and a 40-hour week in a temporary truce ending June 1, have ended a strike of 800 Philadelphia teamsters and helpers.

Resolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists For the Coming Congress of the French SP

Motion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group for the National Congress of the French Socialist Party, June 9, 1935.

I.
The Congress of the Socialist Party considers that the entire national and international situation imposes on the proletariat the task of immediately placing itself in the forefront of the struggle for power. If the working class and all the oppressed are not ready to seize power and expropriate the bourgeoisie, the militarist reaction—the Tardieus and the Weygands and the fascists—the La Rocques, the Bucards and the Taittingers will inevitably seize it.

That is why the Socialist Party proclaims its will to organize the working masses immediately under the slogan of the struggle for power, which must serve as the axis for action by the party on all fields: political, economic, social, military.

The only path to power is the revolutionary path. Between the reformist methods and the insurrectionist methods there is no third road. Only "force is the great midwife of societies."

II.
The prerequisite of this struggle is merciless action against the Flaminio government of spoliation and war, which far from defending the rights of the workers within the capitalist regime, methodically destroys them with the support of the fascists, the militarists and the church.

The Radical-Socialist party lends its support in this task. For this reason the Socialist Party considers it imperative to break all connections with it in the elections, in parliament and outside of parliament.

From this also it flows that the whole attitude or practice of benevolent opposition towards the government and its policy (votes in parliament, etc. . . .) must be denounced as incompatible with a revolutionary orientation towards power.

The struggle for power demands a break with all promises and all practices of civil peace "even in the case of German aggression" (speech of Blum in the Chamber of Deputies).

ties), even under the banner of the defense of the U. S. S. R. The party must carry on the struggle for the revolution and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe, as the only method of avoiding war. If nevertheless war does break out, the struggle for power must be followed up by the continuation of the class struggle, regardless of the defeat of its own imperialism.

The struggle for power must also be combined with appropriate propaganda to win the toilers under arms for socialism.

III.
The Socialist Party declares that the democratic conquests (freedom of assembly and press) must not be confused with the parliamentary state and the Constitution of 1875, which can only be defended by methods of revolutionary mass action. Utilizing these conquests deriving from the democratic period as the method and point of departure for an action which is not restricted by bourgeois legality, the action of the masses directed by the socialists will lead to the decisive struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

IV.
The program of action towards power will develop on the basis of the program of action containing the important demands (nationalization of the banks and the key industries) connected with demands indigenous to every strata of the toiling population (draw up a list of demands principally for the workers, the women, the youth, the peasants, the unemployed, the foreign-born, the employees, the small storekeepers, the colonials).

The struggle for these demands will take place under the aegis of control by the exploited of production, exchange and credit now monopolized by a handful of exploiters. The Party will appeal to the confederal unions for joint action in order to support the organization and mass actions around the above demands, inscribed in the confederal plan.

V.
The propaganda around the above mentioned demands will be connected with the following slogans as the principal objectives and

methods on the road to power:
a) Popularization and preparation of the general strike;
b) Creation of the Workers' Militia;
c) Propaganda for the arming of the people.

VI.
The party emphasizes that the struggle for power can only connote the struggle for the radical destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus (police, administrative, constitutional and military) and its substitution by the workers' and peasants' state, the form of which has been initiated by the Paris Commune, then realized by the Soviet Commune. In the aim of establishing dual power in society the party will begin the creation of the first elements of workers' power (neighborhood committees, workers and peasants committees, factory committees, soldiers circles).

VII.
The party demands the concession of elementary liberties to the natives of the colonies oppressed by the French bourgeoisie (trade union rights, freedom of press and assembly, etc. . . .). The working class of France can conquer power only jointly with the peoples and classes exploited by French capitalism in its colonies.

In the struggle for power an important role will be played by the categories of the most exploited and most oppressed, such as the youth, the women and the foreign-born workers. The Congress of the Socialist Party therefore decides to conduct a campaign which will particularly aim at intensively developing a program of demands, suitable for them.

VIII.
Victory of the workers is not possible without strong cohesion, without the constitution, in the fire of struggle of a revolutionary leadership, that is, in the present conditions of organization of the working class, of a regrouping of its conscious elements in a single revolutionary party constituted on a clear political basis derived from the lessons, the victories and the defeats of the past.

The party decides, in order to hasten this regrouping in the fire of action, to hold regular joint meetings between members of different proletarian parties so as to elaborate a unity platform on a truly revolutionary basis.

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the furor created among many sections of the population by their propagandizing of the vision of Plenty must not be lost sight of.

Very complex technical problems are involved in the problem of taking political power and likewise in the job of keeping the machinery of production and distribution going after power has been taken, in a highly industrialized nation. The capitalist story is that "after the revolution" chaos, distress and so on are inevitable because unskilled and inexperienced workers will be running the trains and power stations, making plans for bridges and ships, etc. The story is of course, absurd. It fails to take account of the great competence of the masses of the workers themselves.

Who has constructed this country's vast productive plant anyway? Furthermore, this capitalist tale makes no mention of the fact that technicians and scientists are constantly thwarted under capitalism. They are given scanty funds unless immediate profit is in sight from their work. Countless inventions and discoveries go unused because it would not "pay" the private capitalists who own them to put them to use. The revolutionary party will make it clear that it is well aware of the delicate nature of the technical tasks which the workers must carry out, and that so far from standing for inefficiency and anarchy, it is precisely the socialist economy under workers' control which alone will give full scope to science and will effectively plan for human welfare.

Elsewhere the conception of a Leninist, i.e., a disciplined, revolutionary party (not reformist or not parliamentary) which the Workers' Party holds, the role of such a party in the mass organizations today, and in the revolutionary crisis itself, has been set forth.

The Party, standing upon the principles already discussed in this series, must be created of course by the American workers. No one else can do the job for them. The Party must so root itself in and address itself to the conditions under which the American working class lives that they will feel the Party to be their party—concerned about their problems, able to talk their language, intimately acquainted with their experiences, to be trusted in action, more and more to be looked to for guidance.

We heartily agree, furthermore, with the contention that the Party must know how to popularize its message and even more to dramatize the daily struggles of the workers and the revolutionary struggle as a whole. An emotional loyalty to the revolutionary movement must be developed. A movement which does not care or know how to march and sing and fling its banners to the breeze, is already dead.

This involves the use of symbols. The hold of capitalist, unscientific, nationalistic symbols upon the workers must, however, be broken, not confirmed. The revolutionary movement must, therefore, have its own. They must be such as to bring forward the idea and strengthen the emotion of class—the working class against the capitalist—and consequently the idea of labor internationalism against middle class nationalism. To break the hold of false ideas is difficult enough at best. We should be foolish indeed to make the task still more difficult by using symbols which might confuse the workers, which do not clearly and uncompromisingly suggest loyalty to class, loyalty to the world-wide brotherhood of labor, and not to any lesser cause!

The events of each new day, both in the U. S. and abroad, make clear the need in this country of such a revolutionary party as the W. P. More than in any previous period in modern revolutionary history the responsibility for leadership rests upon the American working class and its vanguard. If it is essential that this party have an international outlook and constitute a part of an international revolutionary force, it is equally true that such a party in the U. S., the very stronghold of capitalism and imperialism, will play a mighty role in the freeing of the workers in the Latin American nations, in Europe, throughout the world.

Therefore, for an effective American revolutionary party!
For the Workers' Party of the United States, committed with its sister parties and groups to the building of the new revolutionary Fourth International!

L. Budenz Resigns From Workers Party

Louis F. Budenz has resigned from the Workers Party and his resignation has been accepted by the Political Committee.

Radical differences between comrade Budenz and the party on a number of fundamental questions were the reasons for the resignation and its acceptance. These differences, first indicated in the article published in the Modern Monthly, were further confirmed in several discussions which followed its publication. The party point of view on these questions has been set forth in a series of articles by comrade Muste in the New Militant.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Victory Greeted Struggle of Illinois Unemployed Masses

(Continued from Page 1)
fight they made their organization a great political force in the state and what is equally important, the Illinois Workers Alliance grew by leaps and bounds.

The jobs fought against the sales tax almost single-handedly. The State Federation of Labor supported the sales tax and condemned the Illinois Workers Alliance. The great mass of partially employed workers remained apathetic in the struggle. Within the ranks of the Illinois Workers Alliance great confusion existed over the sales tax. Especially among some of the members who took the position that "whether its an income or sales tax the workers pay the bill, so what the hell." And then there was the wrecking crew of the Communist party who did everything from the start to wreck the march. Despite these obstacles the unemployed workers staged a truly heroic battle for six long weeks.

Wrecking Crew at Work
The Communist party again revealed their insincerity with their fake "united front" policy. They violated the discipline of the march, boomed militant non-Stalinist speakers, attempted to take over the microphone at the meeting, and in general made a nuisance of themselves to the Nth degree. No more than fifty Unemployed Council members participated in the affair but still the Communist Party wanted to take control of the situation.

Karl Lockner, Chicago Communist leader, was among those who did all in his power to disrupt the mass demonstration. Having done absolutely nothing to make the march a success the Communist Party leaders arrived at the scene of the march and began "united fronting." They took a handful of Illinois Workers Alliance members with Communist Party sympathies and shoved them to the fore asking for a united front. Here was a proposition that was the height of comedy if its reactions were not so tragic. Members of the Illinois Workers Alliance asked the executive board of the Illinois Workers Alliance to make a united front with their own members so Karl Lockner and other Communist leaders could capture leadership of the march! The Illinois Workers Alliance told Karl Lockner and his handful of "leaders" that they could march in the demonstration but under no circumstances were they to attempt to wreck the Alliance as they had the Unemployed Councils.

Charges that the leaders of the Illinois Workers Alliance were made by the Communist Party leaders. Records will prove that in past years the Communist manhandled Unemployment Council did not march in the capital city a single time despite their advanced notice that they would march in defiance of police orders. The Illinois Workers Alliance by its force of numbers marched three times throughout the city in less than two weeks.

While the Daily Worker was in the process of exposing the Hearst press for its lies in regards to the Soviet Union it, too, lied about the Illinois Hunger March. For instance, in the Daily Worker issue of May 22, the day after the march, a front page story stated that there were more than 1,000 marchers. The Associated Press stated that there were more than 2,000 in the parade. In the same item the Daily Worker said that "the marchers were led by the Unemployment Councils." Not one line made reference to the Illinois Workers Alliance, an organization of 150,000 members organized in 266 towns in 81 counties. On the other hand a check-up of capitalist papers from coast to coast revealed that the Illinois Workers Alliance was the organization that led the march. No wonder Karl Radek lauds Adolph Ochs of the New York Times. He, too, has to read the New York Times to find out what is going on in America.

Despite these enemies of labor, despite the array of forces that ranged from the Washington government down to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and Communist disrupters, the Illinois Workers Alliance led a splendid fight in defense of the unemployed workers. It still continues the fight in hundreds of towns where the organization functions.

What to Attend

Sunday, June 2—Hike to Palisades, Broadway line to Dyckman Street. Meet at Dyckman St. Ferry, 11 A.M. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Saturday, June 8, 8:30 P. M.—Housewarming Party and Dance. Entertainment and Refreshments. 1776 Pitkin Ave. Admission 10c. Brownsville Spartacus and W.P. Friday, June 7th, 8:00 P.M.—Lecture: "The End of the NRA." Speaker: M. Shachtman, Brownsville Branch, W. P. 1776 Pitkin Avenue.

The 'American Approach'

(Ed. Note: This is the concluding article of the series of four by comrade Muste.)

By A. J. MUSTE

IV.
Having pointed out the falseness or inadequacy of some of the means which have been proposed for overthrowing capitalism in the U. S., we must now state positively how the Workers Party believes the job can and must be done.

Fundamentally, as we have already pointed out, the W. P. way is the way of Marx and Lenin. We do not believe that we have a new-fangled contraption with a U. S. 1935 patent for achieving the workers' revolution.

The central position among the forces which must be depended upon to overthrow capitalism belongs to the working class, especially the workers in the basic industries. As the capitalist system declines and presently falls to pieces, presents the masses with growing hunger and insecurity, the threat or actuality of fascism and war, the fight of the workers for direct and simple things, about wages and hours, for the right to exist, necessarily becomes more intense. It has to be fought on a broader front. From a fight in a single plant, it develops into a fight against a gigantic corporation, against all the corporations in an industry, against industry, the economic system, as a whole. The government, moreover, takes sides more and more openly against the workers, so in order to exist they wage the fight against the government too, that is, the entire governmental system, the State, which supports capitalism. In the course of these struggles the Workers (or Workers, Farmers, Soldiers) Committees or Councils (Soviets) are compelled to take on broader functions. Under the leadership of the revolutionary party, they presently overthrow the capitalist state and become the basic organs of the Workers State.

Allies of the Workers

By workers we mean the working class. It includes the miners, transportation, factory workers. It includes also the clerical workers, agricultural workers, many technicians and professionals who are also wage earners. These have to organize in their economic organizations, just as the factory workers. They will more and more engage in the same kind of struggles as the latter.

The workers must have the support of other oppressed and exploited sections of the population—the farmers, small business people, the persecuted Negro race, colonial peoples who also suffer under the yoke of American capitalism. A lot

How the Job Can and Must Be Done

of people hold that the middle class cannot be gotten to support the workers in revolutionary action. We must not make the mistake of underestimating the problem. Farmers, for example, do in certain cases oppose the Unemployed Leagues because if relief rates or wages on public works are kept up, it is harder to get farm labor to work for a pittance. Small business people often line up with Big Business interests. This is true. It is the job of revolutionists to carry on skillful propaganda work among these and similar elements. But this is not an impossible task. These groups also suffer, and ever more intensely, under capitalism. Their leaders are as intelligent as are the workers' leaders and some at least can be won to the revolutionary position. There have been many cases in the U. S. as well as other countries, where these groups have given substantial support to workers in strike struggles. We do not have to accept it as foreordained that they are going to line up with Fascism. It has been shown in Russia, Germany and other countries that they were willing in the war and post-war crisis to support or at least tolerate revolutionary workers' leadership. It was only where socialist and communist party leadership had become bankrupt and these middle class elements sensed that the workers' movement under this leadership had "shot its bolt" and offered no courageous and clear way out, that they rallied en masse behind the fascist banner.

Here in the U. S. there is unquestionably among the masses resentment against restraint and regimentation. What fascism, the triumph of capitalist reaction, means in practice in Europe has been seen by the workers and farmers of this country. It would be absurd to assume that they are now immune to fascist propaganda; but it is certain that the European object lesson has made an impression. The country today is not fascist in psychology. In strikes, organizing campaigns, etc., popular sentiment is with the revolting groups nearly everywhere. (Of course there are exceptions.) The revolutionary Marxian knows better than to get panicky, lose his head completely and insist that the following, real or apparent, of a Long or Coughlin

means that fascism is going to sweep the country next week and that only by some tour de force, some colossal exhibition of American salesmanship, some clever building up of a rival personality, can we stem the tide and achieve the workers' revolution. We face indeed a hard fight; but the outcome is not yet decided.

Since the country as a whole has not passed through a feudal experience, as well as for other reasons, the American masses do not, as has frequently been pointed out, regard themselves as a class apart, they are slow in achieving class consciousness. This tends to make labor organization work more difficult. It keeps workers voting for republican and democratic tickets, etc. But this also means that at any rate large sections of the American working population do not have any feeling of inferiority. They are not habituated to oppression and servility. It is a fresh, very vigorous working class, capable of bold and defiant action, easily fooled as yet but nevertheless rapidly becoming more hard-boiled and convinced that "the whole thing is a racket." It is, furthermore, a working class which has never suffered a major disaster. It has not lost confidence in itself. All this is to be kept in mind and used by revolutionists working in the American scene.

Nor is it merely that in the case of the American working class there is no feudal tradition to reckon with. The popular concept is that the United States was meant to be different from "the old countries." It was "a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal"—a nation in which there were not to be rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited; in which not merely a privileged few but all the people should have plenty, security and opportunity for self-expression. This aspiration or "dream" has had a real influence on the thinking and the emotions of the masses of this country. It is not an aspiration which they need to dismiss. It is not only permissible for revolutionists to make use of this factor in American psychology; they would be plain fools if they did not do so.

If, however, we are not to slip into sentimentalism about "the American dream," which would at best accomplish nothing and at worst serve to fan the fires of nationalism, we must point out how the rising capitalist class developed the concepts and slogans of "liberty, equality, fraternity," in its own interest: how after luring the workers and farmers to back them in

their fight against British merchants by means of such slogans, American merchants promptly turned around and wrote a constitution based upon Hamilton's idea that "the people is a beast" rather than on conceptions of freedom and equality for the masses, and so on. We must point out that in the pre-industrial era the conception of plenty, security, etc. for large masses was to a great extent an unrealizable dream, that in the Machine-Age the dream can be realized, but only in a socialist economy in which private ownership in the means of production is relegated to the museum of history along with the ox-cart, an economy in which furthermore artificial national boundaries are wiped out and the international brotherhood of labor realized.

The "revolutionary tradition" of American history can also be utilized—not the romantic idea that Americans are inveterate crusaders prepared to shed their blood for ideals; but the fact that the history of the nation is one of constant and severe class-struggle, that the capitalist class did not hesitate to fight for its class interests whenever the situation required as in 1776 and 1861, that the working class today must be prepared to use all means to carry forward the evolutionary process and establish a higher economy and finer culture than capitalism could achieve.

While the growing impoverishment and insecurity under capitalism in its decline, as we have already pointed out, play a decisive role in bringing the masses to the point of revolutionary action, it is also true that the American standard of living has been comparatively high, that the American worker does not usually feel himself a member of "a poor, oppressed class," and that the appeal to him must be based in a considerable degree on his outraged sense of justice over the things he might so easily have in this highly mechanized economy with its fabulous natural resources, and instead of which he is given a five to fifty dollars a month "security wage!" In other words, those who insist that revolutionary propaganda in this nation must paint the picture of what might be, must show concretely what the machine age could do for the masses if the fetters of capitalism were struck off the Machine, are entirely correct. In this connection, it may be observed that the many varieties of Technocrats are indeed vulnerable in their economic and romantic in their conception of the problem of political power—how we are going to get a chance to put a new economic system into effect—but as engineers pointing to the capacity of our productive mechanism they have made a contribution. And the lesson of

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End of the Blue Buzzard

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triumph of the point of view. The question here was not an issue between the capitalist class and the working class, but an issue between two groups within the capitalist class.

The Supreme Court said in effect that the U. S. is not yet ready for the social and political structure foreshadowed by the NRA, even though it might have to make use of it to pull out of an emergency. It invalidated the NRA on the grounds that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated legislative powers to the President and attempted intra-state regulation of the relations between employees and employers. The specific grounds are not important, since the Court can always find legal justification for whatever suits the requirements of the dominant capitalist grouping. Nevertheless, they serve to indicate the still immature character of the developing crisis of U. S. capitalism. Finance capital does not yet need a radically new departure. There is now a breathing space, with the old ways, the "Constitution," for the time being "vindicated." But during the breathing space the historical contradictions will ripen further. The Blue Eagle has not gone forever. Like the phoenix, a new and greater Blue Eagle will begin before long to rise from its ashes. And the new Eagle will conceal beneath its wings the Fasces and the Swastika. For Fascism is the necessary capitalist solution to the historical crisis of the capitalist system.

From a survey of the role of the NRA, the central lesson—or, rather, double lesson—emerges:

The workers must defend their rights and advance their demands by militant struggle, by their own independent class actions. It was the misleaders of the workers, above all the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and not primarily the NRA itself, who permitted the last two years to pass by without advances on the part of the working class. They put their faith in Section 7a, in Roosevelt, in Labor Boards, in "the government." And—not surprisingly—the government of the capitalist class used every one of these agencies to beat back the workers. That is what the government is for. Now, following the Supreme Court decision, the bureaucrats are once more flying to the government, and "demanding" the Wagner Bill, the Guffey Bill, a "new NRA."

In contrast, the answer of the working class to the decision must be a repudiation of this parliamentary horse-trading, whose only possible effect is to befuddle, weaken, and lead aside the working class from its proper business.

The answer must be: Organization, strikes, discipline, militant struggle. The working class has no friend and no support other than its own organized strength. This is what it must learn from its experience with the NRA.

The second, more fundamental, lesson is in fact the central lesson of our entire historical epoch. The NRA proves once more, openly and dramatically, that there is no way out for the working class other than through the socialist revolution. No capitalist "solution," imposed by the capitalist government, can possibly benefit the working class. All such solutions at the present time can only prepare the way for the final capitalist solution—Fascism. The only government on which the working class can rely will be their own government. The independent struggle of the workers to defend their economic and social rights against the capitalist regime must lead to the political struggle of the working class for state power.

This is the lesson of the Blue Eagle.

A Shady Adventure

The recent attempt of David Lasser, Chairman of the Workers Alliance of America, to gather recruits for his organization in territory in West Virginia where for more than two years unemployed leagues affiliated with the National Unemployed League have carried on effective militant activity, met with a cold reception from West Virginia workers. This does not change in any degree the disruptive character of Lasser's adventure.

When the W.A.A. was founded this winter at a conference of certain state and local officials of unemployed organizations, its leaders insisted that it was in no sense an attempt to build an organization "dual" to the N.U.L. Resolutions looking toward conferences for setting up a single, unified organization of the unemployed were carried. W.A.A. officials have recently called certain conferences to discuss his question of unity and of united action.

When the leader of an organization making these professions runs away in the very midst

of the crisis created by the new works relief program, from his own local organization in New York City which has as yet gathered in only a handful of the unemployed of the Metropolis, and apparently carefully avoids the many states and localities in which practically no unemployed organization exists, to attempt an invasion of territory already very effectively covered, he is guilty of playing on the deep-seated desire of the workers for unity for sectarian purposes, and at the same time creating conditions which bring about division and not unity. It would be hard to find in the whole history of the labor movement of the United States a more flagrant and inexcusable instance of "dual unionism."

The Workers Party stands as always for united action of responsible unemployed organizations for special ends by agreed-upon methods. It supports the N.U.L. in its oft repeated demand for a single unified unemployed organization democratically controlled by the rank and file, as against a loose federation created and controlled by a top leadership. Because of our profound concern that solidarity in the face of the common enemy be achieved, we call upon the executive of the W.A.A. as well as the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, under whose direction we assume Lasser is working, to repudiate the action we have referred to and to see to it that no similar adventures are indulged in in the future. We believe that all unemployed organizations ought to record their condemnation of such tactics in the most emphatic manner.

We agree furthermore with the N.U.L. that it is time for the W.A.A. to make plain whether it has entered into an agreement with William Green and the A. F. of L. officialdom generally, with regard to unemployed work, and if so what are the terms of this agreement. Unity of the workers, employed and unemployed, is not the same as collaboration with the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. which is itself committed to a policy of collaboration with the employing class and the capitalist government.

The Wagner Bill

The Wagner Bill passed the Senate on May 16 and has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor Relations. With reasonable certainty it may be assumed that this most bitterly contested proposed legislation will become law before Congress adjourns.

Then what?

Will it meet the same fate at the hands of the nine judges on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court as did the NRA or will it become one of the means, by virtue of its compulsory arbitration provisions, to help start the American working class on to the road of rebellion?

In the bitter contest that has raged pro and con around this proposed Bill is reflected the great paradox of highly developed industrial America: an retarded political development and union organization of its working masses.

It is true that the Wagner Bill provides for the establishment of an independent labor board; it provides for the outlawing of company-dominated unions and requires collective bargaining in which the representatives of a majority of the workers in any plant would speak for all the workers. These are the provisions that are being condemned by industrialists as a government imposed closed shop. They are not inclined to yield even an inch of ground to labor.

The faint-hearted fraternity of reactionary labor leaders take the opposite stand and hail the Wagner Bill as the Magna Charta of labor while fully understanding its compulsory arbitration features. This is not the expression of the paradoxical position of today for in regard to this point they are heart and soul with the industrialists. They could wish for nothing better than the kind of legislation that would help them put a stop to the prospective strikes which they dread even more than do the hard-headed exploiters who are determined to fight the issues out boldly and brazenly.

The real significance of the Wagner Bill lies not in the provisions that ostensibly outlaw the company union but in what follows. This is the compulsory arbitration features. It provides for the creation of a National Labor Relations Board, composed of three members to be appointed by the President—Section 3 (a)—None are to be appointed by labor. It provides that "the findings of the board as to the facts, if supported by evidence, shall be conclusive." In its clause (f) under Section 9 the Wagner Bill provides that labor disputes shall be placed under the jurisdiction of Federal District Courts, and it expressly prescribes that "the jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the U.S."

If any more proof be needed of the compulsory arbitration features of this Bill it would be necessary to mention only the provisions for punishment of what is called "unfair labor practice affecting commerce." Translated into common everyday language this could hardly mean anything but strikes.

The NRA has been declared unconstitutional in all its code provisions. Insofar as its celebrated Section 7a is concerned, the collective bargaining clause, chairman Biddle of the present Labor Board has already recommended that it be scrapped because of the Wagner Bill being on the way. This Bill is now about to reach its final reading in the House. To the workers it will represent a contradiction

Muste Speaks for Communism on Radio

(Continued from Page 1)

colleges, universal insecurity among industrial workers, farmers, small business people, professionals, curtailment of liberty and the exercise of severe and brutal repression against efforts of the masses to right their wrongs.

This appalling contrast between what might be and what is does not, in our opinion, spring from superficial causes. It arises from the nature of the economic system—capitalism—under which we operate.

"A revolution in technology has occurred since 1789 and is still in process. Steel, automobiles, electric light and power, are produced and distributed not by individuals in individual enterprises, but through socialized, 'cooperative' enterprises. Ownership and control, however, of these enterprises, and with it the right to make profit from them, to exploit the labor of those engaged in them, is still on the same individual basis, operated under essentially the same legal and political system as in 1789. It is just as impossible for this antiquated system of private ownership and profit to function, to supply the needs of the population today, as it was for the feudal slave-holding economy in the Southern states to continue to do so in 1860. The sys-

tem acts, obviously as a brake upon production so that, as the phrase goes, you have 'want in the midst of plenty.'

"If, therefore, the workers and farmers of the United States under the political leadership of the Workers Party were to come into power, they would take steps to end immediately private ownership and control over natural resources and over the plant for production, distribution and communication which their toil and skill have built. Ownership and control would be vested in society represented by the new Workers' State. The owners, so-called, would not receive 'compensation.' It is the workers and farmers, not the industrialists and financiers who have been coining profit from their toil, who have 'compensation' coming to them! The new state will as a matter of fact take whatever measures may be necessary to make it impossible for the old owning class, the czars of industry and finance, to get back into power. All inhabitants, however, who are not engaged in organizing resistance to the new regime and trying to restore the old order of special privilege, insecurity and war, will have their opportunity to do useful social work and to share in the products of that work.

"Citizenship in the new state will likewise be the prerogative of all who are engaged in useful work, industrial, agricultural, clerical, domestic, technical, professional. The workers of these various categories in the various enterprises will be organized in Councils or Unions democratically controlled. They will elect representatives to the higher governing bodies and eventually to the National Council or Congress.

"A National Planning Commission, with subordinate and cooperating commissions in various industries and localities, will be established. Its business will be to plan for the most efficient production of goods and services of all kinds, to utilize fully the many inventions and discoveries already available but held out of use by their owners because no private profit can accrue from them at present, to set the scientists and technicians to work freely and with adequate resources in order to plan for still greater efficiency in the use of our resources and thus for greater abundance of leisure as well as goods. It should be added that the Workers' State will envisage not only national but international planning. National boundaries are as artificial and restrictive today as state boundaries had become in 1789, and

socialism is in essence an international, a world economy. Every effort to establish 'planned' production under private capitalism breaks down, since the warfare between rival capitalists in a nation and capitalist groups in different nations disrupts such efforts.

Obliterating Insecurity

"The removal of the brake of private ownership which shuts down factories, plows under raw materials and stifles the scientist and technician, and putting in its place the social, that is, scientific, use of natural resources and the productive plant, will mean an immediate and substantial improvement in the standard of living of the masses. That improvement can be continuous. The specter of insecurity will be removed. The undemocratic economic domination of the few over the many will be at an end. No one can predict the cultural advances which may follow this release of the human spirit. On no other economic basis can the 'American dream' of liberty, equality and fraternity be realized under the conditions of modern life.

Like every ruling class, the present capitalist class will seek to maintain its power. In the period of its rise and expansion capitalism could accumulate profits and also raise the standard of living of the masses. In the present period, as is clear enough on the face of it, it can no longer do this. Profits can be made only by fiercer exploitation, cutting down the living standards of the masses, taking away even such concessions as were previously made.

"Since capitalism must keep pushing the standard lower and lower, it must eventually seek to destroy every vestige of democratic rights, every means of resistance that farmers, workers, small business men, etc. may have. For obviously no matter how meek, peaceful, conservative an organization of these elements may be, at some point it will try to resist the imposition of further impoverishment and distress. To maintain their system, the capitalists will then seek to destroy any such organization in utter disregard of law, constitution and bill of rights. In other words, capitalism can save itself in the present period only by the resort to Fascism. Under these circumstances to assume that democratic processes will be maintained is an ostrich policy. Unquestionably the struggle and strikes of the workers against impoverishment and injustice which now goes on daily will have to be waged ever more intensely and on a broader front, becoming eventually a struggle against the economic system as such and against the government which resists even moderate adjustments as witness the Supreme Court decision on NRA and becomes more and more openly an undemocratic agency of oppression. The choice is between Fascism and revolutionary action for a new social order.

The Choice for All

"To those elements in this country who are well aware from their own experience that something is radically wrong but who hesitate to face the clear and drastic alternatives, we point out what has happened to similar groups and classes in Germany and elsewhere. They espoused Fascism because they wanted an improvement in their standard of living; they are being beaten down to the level of bare existence. They desired security; and they have insecurity. They wanted national self-respect and peace; they are being rushed down the precipice to war. They wanted freedom and recoiled from the 'regimentation' which they were told would obtain under socialism or communism; they have gotten the extreme of regimentation. They wanted a life based on the old virtues, and recoiled from the march forward to a new culture; they have gotten all the indecencies of Hitlerism. They wanted to go back to the 'good old days' before the war; they are being swept back to the middle ages, to barbarism, to savagery. Capitalism today means retreat, reaction, Fascism, war, the collapse of civilization. The one road to security, to peace, to freedom, to cultural advancement is the road of the workers' revolution.

"This is your choice—capitalism which means reaction and chaos or a Workers' World which means a higher level of civilization and culture."

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Spreads

(Continued from Page 1)

of Dr. Hallett. The local unions are requesting their international to take action. If Dr. Hallett is not soon reinstated, the Central Trades and Labor Council will appeal for aid to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues, in which Dr. Hallett is also active, announced today that if Dr. Hallett is not reinstated before June 10, graduation day at Cedar Crest, the Unemployed Leagues of Lehigh, Northampton and Carbon counties will throw a mass picket line around the college. Dr. Hallett has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to rally support of labor organizations nationally.

by the fact that while it presumably recognizes their right to collective bargaining, outlaws company unions, etc., it attempts to shift the fate of all the conditions of the workers in industry and in union organization from the field of battle in strike struggles, where the workers have their real strength and where militancy counts as an important asset, to the decision of labor boards and judges of the capitalist courts.

Needless to say the final decisions by the courts will be properly backed up by policemen's clubs and steel helmeted soldiers. In this is concealed the attempt to completely disarm the workers. Hence the joy of the reactionary leaders who prefer this means of taking off from their shoulders the responsibility of the old time crude betrayals which are becoming increasingly dangerous to their salaried positions.

But if and when enacted, this Bill will reflect a yet greater contradiction in the American scene. The workers have already learned some bitter lessons of what they can expect from industrial disputes referred for settlement to labor boards and to the capitalist courts. The cleavage that is developing out of these experiences between the working masses, who have nothing to lose but their chains, and their union officials who try to sit on the safety valve to prevent an explosion, is bound to increase with an ever growing speed.

More conclusive proof will be at hand to convince the former that regardless of the latter it will be necessary to rely only on the kind of relations with the employers that they can establish and enforce through union organization and through the welding of their strike weapon. Not the reliance on governmental legislation but on their own militant action should be the watchword.

The Franco-Soviet Alliance

(Continued on Page 4)

thrown, is no imperialist policy pursued; only there can and does a natural policy of peace exist.

The task facing the workers in the capitalist countries, therefore, is an enormous intensification of their efforts against the coming imperialist war. The only preventive for war is the extermination of imperialism itself. Nothing short of that can be effective, and all phrasemongering about "disarmament," the League of Nations, "arbitration" and the like is so much dust in the eyes of the masses calculated to facilitate the work of the warmongers.

To exterminate imperialism, however, the working class must follow a policy of intransigent class struggle against its classic enemy. It cannot for a moment relax its vigilance. To every militaristic and war step of every imperialist power, the working class must consistently reply: "Not a man, not a penny for imperialist war!" In every war that breaks out despite the efforts of the working class, the latter must be prepared to utilize the crisis of the capitalist rulers in order to change the imperialist war into a triumphant battle of the workers against the exploiters, for their overthrow and for the establishment of the workers' republic which will truly bring an end to war and suffering.

This is the position taken by the Workers Party. It is identical with the position taken by all those parties and groups throughout the world with which our party is associated in the work of welding together the vanguard of the working class into a new and genuinely revolutionary world movement—the Fourth International.

The position of the Socialist parties, and of their International (the Second) is just the opposite. Just as in 1914, they are now talking about supporting the so-called "democratic" capitalist countries in the coming war with the Fascist countries. And just as in the last war, they will sit by quietly while the democratic rights of the workers—the right to free press, free speech, free assemblage, to organ-

ize, to strike—are destroyed by the very "democratic" governments which they are supporting.

The argument of these Socialist parties, now as then, is a lie and a deception, because whatever the ostensible and apparent reason for entering the war, the fact remains that in it every capitalist country, "democratic" or otherwise, pursues purely reactionary and imperialist aims. For all of them, wars are wars for new banditry and conquest or for the preservation of yesterday's banditry and conquest.

In the early period of the Communist parties and their International (the Third), that is, in the period of Lenin, their position was identical with the present position of the Workers Party. In the period of their degeneration, that is, in the period of Stalinism, their position has drawn steadily closer to that of the Socialist-patriots.

In the joint statement issued in Moscow on May 15, 1935 by Laval, Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov, it says: "Above all, the duty falls upon them, in the interest and maintenance of peace, not to allow the means of their national defense to weaken in any sense. In this regard, M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at a level required for security."

In a speech in the League of Nations on April 18, Litvinov declared in the name of the Soviet Union: "Our standpoint is that of the equality of the nations and their indisputable right to security and to all the means of guaranteeing themselves this security. All the peaceful states have the right to arm themselves in order to protect their security."

By these declarations, the spokesmen of the Soviet Union and the Third International are depriving the Communist party of France of the possibility of conducting an effective struggle against the militaristic armaments measures of French imperialism. With these declarations in the hands of the French capitalist class, the French Communist party is henceforth able to argue only as to what measure of armaments and militarization is best calculated to "protect the security" of French imperialism.

In other words, it must now consistently assume the fundamental position of *defense of the capitalist fatherland*. With these declarations, the spokesmen of the Third International covers up the fact that the army of imperialism ("democratic" or not) is not only, basically, an army for imperialist aggression against other imperialist powers, but that it is used to subjugate the colonial peoples of France, and the militant working class of France itself!

Just as the Socialist and Communist parties were jointly responsible for the catastrophic defeat of the German working class at the hands of the Hitlerites, so they are now jointly preparing for the new social-patriotic betrayal of the masses in the coming war!

The Workers Party reaffirms its uncompromising opposition to imperialist war and the imperialist powers—be they represented by Fascist Italy, Imperial Japan, Nazi Germany, Republican France, Monarchical England, or Democratic United States. The Workers Party calls upon the workers in every capitalist land to concentrate all their forces, all their forces, all their blows, against the real enemy: the capitalist class at home. The Workers Party renews its pledge of unreserved solidarity with the Soviet Union and will continue its work of rallying the American workers to form a bulwark of support and defense of the first workers' republic.

Down with imperialism and its wars!

Strengthen the lines of struggle against exploiter and oppressor!

Hail the fighting solidarity of the international working class!

Hail the workers' revolution and the workers' world—the only real and lasting guarantee of peace, freedom and security!

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N. P. L. D. to Appeal Criminal Syndicalist Case in Sacramento

NATIONAL ISSUE

Campaign Planned in Labor Movement of Entire Country

First steps to raise the recent Sacramento criminal syndicalism convictions to the level of a nationwide fight with broad, aggressive labor backing, were announced yesterday by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Termed a national "test case" by the Hearst press, and hailed by the California reactionaries as a "model for all states," the Sacramento convictions have become the basis of a drive for new anti-labor laws. The N.P.L.D. has called a conference for Monday afternoon to seek united labor action on behalf of the eight Sacramento prisoners and against the type of prosecution which convicted them.

The N.P.L.D., representing Norman Mini, who refused probation and is now serving a 1 to 14 years sentence in San Quentin, has invited to the conference the International Labor Defense, which represents Mini's seven fellow-prisoners; the National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party, charged with the S. P.'s defense work; the American Civil Liberties Union; and the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. The Workers Party, of which the defendant Norman Mini is a member, and many trade unions have already endorsed the work of the N.P.L.D. in the Sacramento case.

If progress is made at this meeting and basis for cooperation laid, expansion of the united defense movement should be relatively easy to achieve, the N.P.L.D. announcement states. Thus far acceptance of the invitation to the conference have been received from the A.C. L. U. and the Socialist Party. The G.D.C. has not yet reached a decision but has acknowledged receipt of the invitation. The I.L.D. alone has not answered the invitation.

Socialist Party Reply
In replying to the N.P.L.D., Paul Porter, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Party, underlines the N.P.L.D.'s view of the Sacramento fight as one on behalf of trade union and democratic rights which can be won only by a combined legal and mass defense. After outlining S. P. activities in support of the trial defense in Sacramento, Porter goes on to say:

"Despite the fact that we have no political agreement either with the members of the Communist Party or the one member of the Workers Party among the defendants, we are prepared to participate in joint action to aid their appeal against the infamous verdict of Sacramento. Whether or not practical arrangements satisfactory to your organization (N.P.L.D.), to the I.L.D., to our party and to the other organizations you mention, can be made, remains to be seen. Our California comrades, after their experiences in the Sacramento trial, are very sceptical of the possibility of joint work with the I.L.D. We are not without such scepticism ourselves. So important is the issue at stake, however, . . . that we do not wish to close the door on the possibility of joint action. Only a conference such as you suggest can answer the question practically."

Porter's letter concludes by asking the N.P.L.D. to convey the greetings of the National Labor Committee of the S. P. to the Sacramento prisoners, and by naming as delegates of the S. P. to the joint conference Murray Baron, New York trade unionist, and Jack Altman, Business Manager of the Socialist Call.

The N.P.L.D. provided the trial attorney, Albert Goldman of Chicago, and a complete defense for Norman Mini, who was convicted along with the seven others due to the superior pressure on the jury of the labor-hating forces of the state. The N.P.L.D. also bailed out two Communist Party defendants, after the I.L.D. failed to do so for six months; got wide publicity and considerable union backing for all the defendants; built a unified defense movement in California, including the state organization of the S. P., which was soon disrupted by the I.L.D. and C.P. The N.P.L.D. after the trial obtained from a

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Radio Symposium Brings Thousands of Letters

Thousands of letters commenting on the symposium between Thomas, Dennis and Muste have been received by the offices of the League for Political Education under whose auspices the radio broadcast was held. Comrade A. J. Muste defended Communism against his Socialist and Fascist opponents. In a brilliant address, printed in the last issue of the New Militant, Muste pointed to the glaring defects of capitalist society and the need for communism. Workers from many parts of the country have written in, displaying keen interest in the program of the W. P. and commending him on his masterful treatment of the subject.

Slug Pickets in Brutal Sally on Packing Strike

Mayor Praises Police After Attack in Columbus

(Special to New Militant)
COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Eight weeks of grim picketing of the Columbus Packing Co. were climaxed Friday, May 31, by one of the most disgusting instances of flagrant strike-breaking ever perpetrated by any police force.

The meat cutters, members of Local 346, struck when the company refused to sign a new closed shop contract to replace the one which had expired. Conditions in the plant had driven the workers to a state of desperation. Even under the closed shop, the maximum wage had been about \$8.00 per week, a terrible speedup had been instituted, and many had been forced to apply for supplementary relief.

Immediately, Truck Drivers Local 413 went out on a sympathy strike. The picketing lagged at a slow pace until the entrance of the Franklin County Unemployed League revitalized the strike. Arthur Wedemeyer and James Van Meter, members of the Workers

(Continued on Page 3)

Mass Picket Line For Hallett Defense

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 7.—A mass picket line thrown around Cedar Crest College campus on Monday, June 10, Commencement Day, will be the answer of the trade unions and the Unemployed Leagues to the summary dismissal of Professor Winslow N. Hallett. Plans were completed today for a mobilization of a thousand workers to confront the college authorities and demonstrate to graduates and visitors the indignation of organized labor against the college's refusal to reinstate Dr. Hallett.

ALLENTOWN, Pa. June 6.—With impressive backing from the trade unions, a mass protest meeting was held last night to defend Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, recently dismissed by Cedar Crest College authorities because of his pro-labor activities. Professor Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of New York University, and Felix Morrow, secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, were the chief speakers. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Hallett Defense Committee, on which the Central Trades and Labor Council and the leading unions of Allentown are represented.

Earlier in the day, the Cedar College Board of Trustees held a meeting and refused to permit Dr. Hallett to appear to defend himself. The trustees issued a resolution denying that Dr. Hallett was dismissed because he organized the Allentown Local of the American Federation of Teachers and was active in the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, but giving no other reasons why he was fired. To date requests of various professional and labor organizations for a statement of charges against Dr. Hallett have not been answered by the trustees.

Drive Begins for Eight-Page New Militant by August First

Interesting Features and Educational Articles Will Be Attraction in Enlarged Paper; Members, Sympathizers Urged to Support

Beginning August first, Anti-War Day, the New Militant will appear as an eight page publication in an enlarged eight-column format.

With this change we will make a new and a great leap forward. Double space will be available for more news from the field of the class struggle, about the activities of the trade union militants, and for new features as well as for analytical and theoretical articles. The New Militant should become doubly effective—in reality a popular paper and fundamental in character.

The need for this change is obvious. Throughout the country the workers find themselves today face to face with new attacks upon their standard of living and new attacks against their organizations. Momentous battles are on the order of the day. Great events are in the making on an international scale where the extension of Fascism is threatening and the imperialist powers are rushing headlong into another world war. To us this can mean only a much greater responsibility necessitating first of all the strengthening of our party press. This we have accepted as a duty that brooks no delay.

To measure up to this responsibility we will need the most complete cooperation from every party member, from every friend and from every supporter.

Our plans call for a two months campaign to strengthen the party press and to lay the foundation for the eight page weekly. Comrade Swabeck has been placed in charge of carrying this out. During the campaign we aim to accomplish the following:

1. To establish a SECURITY FUND through pledges of monthly payments for a period of one year or six months, with the first installment payable when the first issue of the eight page weekly appears. The goal for this security fund is to be \$50.00 monthly for the first six months at least.

2. Collection of \$2,000 cash contributions for launching the eight-page weekly, including the acquisition of needed additional machinery. To help us reach this goal we make the following requests:

a. That each Party member who is employed contribute a DAY'S PAY to the eight-page weekly.

b. That all our readers and supporters solicit ADVANCE SUBSCRIPTIONS for the eight-page weekly at \$2.00 for a yearly sub, \$1.00 for six months and 65c for three months. One feature of the advance solicitation will be a special three

months subscription in clubs of four, purchasable at \$1.50, prepaid, and selling at 40c each sub.

c. Solicitation of GREETINGS TO THE EIGHT PAGE WEEKLY to be printed in the first issue at 25c per name and \$1.00 per column inch greeting adv.

d. Solicitation of specially increased bundle orders of the first eight-page issue with efforts for effective distribution made accordingly and followed up by increased bundle order sales. The price for single copies will be 5 cents and in bundle orders to agents 3 cents a copy.

e. Special affairs to be arranged by the party branches to greet the appearance of the eight-page weekly and with proceeds to go to the New Militant.

f. Systematic efforts to obtain regular advertisements for the eight-page weekly.

Plans are now being worked out for the establishment of a first class editorial staff and for proposals for the contents and the new and additional features to be carried by the eight-page weekly. Announcements of these plans will be made during the progress of the campaign.

There will be premiums, in the form of valuable books, offered for the best sub getters during this campaign and special inducements for the prospective subscribers as well as for those who send in the most greetings to the eight-page weekly or otherwise carry on particularly effective work for its realization. Announcements will be made in respect to this aspect in future issues.

Material for this campaign will be in the mails within the next couple of days. Meanwhile those of our comrades, readers and supporters who are especially interested in seeing the greatest possible speed applied in reaching the goal set for the eight-page weekly, do not delay! Get to work right away and forward your contributions. Send in your suggestions for the campaign. From this end we shall meet our promise. We feel sure that we are in a position to produce an eight-page weekly that will become a worthy and an authentic spokesman for the revolutionary forces in the United States—a real weapon in the class struggle and an effective organizer for the American and world revolution!

Forward your contribution to lay the foundation for the eight-page weekly. Make all checks and money orders payable to the New Militant, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

Ohio Jobless to Meet on June 7

Protest Splitting Move by W.A.A. Chairman In State

(By Special Correspondent)

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The Executive Committee of the Ohio Unemployed League, in pursuance to a proposal by President Wm. R. Truax, has called a state-wide conference to meet here on June 7-8.

The chief business will be the consideration of the new work relief set-up and the most effective way to combat the latest attempt of the Roosevelt administration to break down wage standards. The last conference of the O.U.L. in March of this year brought over 400 delegates from all parts of the state.

The O.U.L. office reports that it is receiving indignant protests from leagues throughout the state over the announcement that the Workers Alliance of America, David Lasser, chairman, is to hold a state "convention" in Columbus later in June. "What is the idea," writes one county U. L. secretary, "of the W.A.A. coming into Ohio where a state league with tens of thousands of members has existed for over two years and a hundred militant struggles have been fought by the workers under its leadership? Is this promoting unity among the unemployed? What is the difference between the tactic of the Socialist Party leaders of the W.A.A. and the tactic of the now defunct Unemployed Councils who talked united front and practiced disruption? The W.A.A. will no more be able to serve the workers or even to survive at all on this false basis than were the Councils."

Local leagues in the mining section of the state, where Bill Green is well and not favorably known, the asking what kind of an understanding there is between Lasser and Bill Green!

Proposals for a state-wide strike for union rates on relief jobs and for a mass convention of thousands of unemployed and relief workers in Columbus next month, will be considered at Saturday's conference of the Ohio Leagues.

BOSTON (FP).—A New England regional council of teamsters' unions looms as the result of the recent successful strike which tied up motor transportation in western Massachusetts, Connecticut, etc.

N. C. of W. P. to Hold Plenum

The second regular Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U.S. will be held in New York City, June 14-16.

The meeting will be devoted chiefly to the discussion of fundamental political problems which confront the working class today. Among these are the relations of the Party to the parties and groups in other countries standing on the same program and what steps can and should be taken, in view of the war danger, toward building the Fourth International; developments in the Communist and Socialist parties and the relation of the W. P. towards these organizations; the meaning of recent events in the Soviet Union with special attention to the Franco-Soviet pact; the collapse of the NRA and the perspectives before the American working class.

The work of the party in the trade union field, the unemployed movement and in labor defense will be evaluated and the policy of the Party in these fields elaborated. On the basis of the political decisions, the organizational problems before the party will be dealt with and plans for the summer period outlined.

In this connection careful attention will be given the campaign to make the Party's weekly organ, the New Militant, an eight-page paper by Anti-War day, August first. The Political Committee has already approved this proposal and the National Office is giving the fullest support to the editorial and business staff of the paper in carrying it into effect.

LUMBER STRIKERS WIN INITIAL VICTORY

BREMERTON, Wash. (FP).—The strike of 40,000 men in the logging and sawmill industry in the Pacific northwest got its first taste of victory when the McCormick Lumber Co. settled on a 40-hour week and 50c an hour minimum scale. The previous rate was 45 cents. It has mills in Washington and Oregon.

The strike is still spreading. Federal mediators and union higher-ups are having a hard time in negotiations because there are 1,500 employing firms and because the men, having taken a lot of dirt the last ten years from the bosses, are in no mood to settle unless they get real gains.

Terror Is Used Against Bakers

Solidarity Will Win Strike, Union Leader Says

The third week of the strike of Local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union finds organized labor pledged to help the men carry on. Financial aid has already come in from many locals in the International. Other A. F. of L. locals have also voted similar aid. The strike is directed against the Gottfried Baking Co. plants of Manhattan and the Bronx. The Baking Trust is lined up solid to smash the strike. Plans for a mass picketing demonstration are now being worked out as an answer to the attacks of the company's thugs on strike pickets. Such attacks coupled with arrests, police intimidation and fake advertisements in the boss press are the means employed by the company in an effort to overcome the splendid solidarity and spirit of the strikers. On May 22, two strikers, Irving Bach and A. Mueller were first fired on and then brutally attacked with blackjacks by a gang of gorillas led by two of the Gottfried brothers.

Face Smashed In
Bach whose face was smashed beyond recognition is still in the hospital. In other cases where the strikers were not so badly outnumbered the Gottfried gangsters met with such a reception that they will think twice the next time before attacking the fighting men of Local 50. Several strikers have been pinched on cooked-up charges.

Herman Gund, manager of Local 50, interviewed at his office at 799 Broadway, stated that the spirit of the strikers was not only not dimming in face of the boss's terror but rather that it was increasing. Workers throughout the city are refusing to buy the scab bread and many stores, after being picketed, are refusing to handle the scab made products of the Gottfried Baking Co. Mr. Gund paid high tribute to the solidarity of the men on strike. Aid from other sections of the labor movement is coming in, and, he added, "With a continuation of this spirit and solidarity plus the support of organized labor we will be sure to win."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Toledo Edison Strike Is Called Off After Paralyzing Industry

Article on Franco-Soviet Alliance on Page Three

On page three of this issue of the New Militant we print a lengthy analysis of the Franco-Soviet Alliance by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League. The impending war will place all working class parties to the highest test. But even today these organizations are laying the groundwork for their future position. The Stalin-Laval communique has definitely committed the Communist parties to a position of social patriotism, i.e., defense of their capitalist fatherlands. We recommend the careful, deliberate study of this article to every revolutionary worker who wants to know how to cope with the problem of war when it comes.

A.F.L. Leaders Split Ranks of Canton Strike

Succeed After Bosses Guns, Clubs and Gas Fail

By JACK WILSON

CANTON, Ohio, June 3.—After successfully resisting for over a week the ruthless terrorism of the Republic Steel Co. here to break up the picket lines, nearly 7,000 steel workers at six plants found themselves split by a more insidious force than the clubs, guns and gas bombs of company thugs—the treachery of A. F. of L. bureaucrats whose misleadership was directly responsible for the "go-back-to-work" vote passed by over half the strikers.

Although 75 workers were sent to hospitals, victims of five brutal provocative company thugs attacks, the determination of the pickets to win union recognition was undaunted and firmer picket line was established after each attack than before. Public sympathy was entirely with the strikers as even bourgeois journals criticized the terrorism of the company.

Instead of crystallizing the anti-steel baron sentiment and building a more solid strike movement which spread spontaneously for two days to four plants, the A. F. of L. sent the notorious Akron rubber organizers, who betrayed the rubber workers, into the scene and they permitted the city officials to hold an "independent" vote of workers on the question of returning to work, giving the company ample opportunity to propagandize for "peace" and thus breaking the back

(Continued on Page 4)

New Castle WP Gains In Intensive Drive

NEWCASTLE, Pa., June 1.—After several weeks of intensive activity the Workers Party Branch of Newcastle held a mass meeting May 28 on the "Purpose and Program of the Workers Party." It was enthusiastically received by a good crowd of workers present. The speaker at the meeting was Comrade George Papcun, Akron branch organizer. Comrade Papcun became known for his activities in Newcastle when he helped in the picketing of the relief office by the unemployed who are organized in the "Co-operative Workers of America."

The mass meeting by the Workers Party was a culmination of a series of mass meetings and demonstrations held by the unemployed of this city at which he spoke. As a result of this meeting and the work of the branch in Newcastle, the Workers Party succeeded in organizing a Spartacus Youth Club and has taken into the Party several new members with prospects of gaining more. The workers who came in were some of the most active and advanced from the picket line. The branch expects to open a headquarters in Newcastle this week.

Comrade Slavin of Youngstown came down to help in the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club, and he busied himself with the details necessary in putting the Spartacus Youth League on the Newcastle map.

PRESS FRANTIC

Enormous Pressure Causes Cave-In of Strike

BULLETIN
As we go to press news comes from Toledo that the power strike which threatened to shut down power in a radius of 800 square miles and affecting twenty-three cities in three states has been called off pending negotiations on their demand for a 20 percent increase in wages. It is understood that these negotiations are to start Monday with officials of the Henry L. Doherty Company in New York, parent company of the Toledo Edison. Oliver Myers, business agent of the union, attributed the sudden termination of the strike to pressure "from many sources." The union workers voted 237 to 22 to end the strike. The men are to be paid in full for the day of the strike.

(Special to New Militant)
By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, Ohio, June 5.—A strike of employees of the Toledo Edison Co., which supplies the electrical power for Toledo, northwest Ohio, northeast Indiana and southeast Michigan, including a score of communities, began at 7:00 A.M. this morning. 500 maintenance, production and technical workers, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 245, were the first to walk out. 125 office workers also struck and picketed the Toledo Edison Building. Plans for the strike, announced by Oliver Myers, business agent of the local, indicated that it will not be totally effective until tomorrow morning, as the shut-down will be progressive, only a portion of workers having been called on strike today.

Hysteria has struck the local press, as well as all the other agencies and groups of the capitalist class of the city. Operation of industrial plants, street cars, street lights and other major sources of electrical consumption has not as yet been seriously curtailed.

Frenzied Attack on Strike

There is a strong possibility that the strike may be suspended or terminated before morning. Terrible pressure is being exerted from every side, press, government, "outstanding citizens," business and church groups—and the international officers of the union—upon the local strikers and their representatives to suspend the strike for arbitration or pending negotiations. A meeting of striking electrical workers will be held at midnight tonight to act upon the suggestion of the international officers that the strike be suspended pending further negotiations.

The striking office workers have already voted in meeting tonight to return to work if the maintenance, production and technical workers decide to accept the proposal of the international officers.

There is a strong feeling in organized labor circles here that such a move may prove to be disastrous for the strikers, as arbitration or negotiations without picket lines will mean another shell-game settlement which will give the workers nothing. Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, and notorious government strike-breaker who did such effective work here just three weeks ago in the Chevrolet strike, is expected on the scene momentarily.

Press Demands Violence
The company has already announced its intentions of operating the power and transmission plants in the face of mass picket lines. The newspapers are openly calling for police force and demanding that the plants be operated under any conditions. Should the strike continue and go into full effect, a certain amount of power will be brought into the city from outside Ohio communities. This will be sufficient only for emergency maintenance of electric power for hospitals and similar institutions, it is believed.

The question of the maintenance of the strike rests largely at present upon the position taken by Oliver Myers, in whom the almost sole leadership of the strike now rests. While Myers has been known to

(Continued on Page 3)

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Peace on Earth . . .

Hitler proclaims: "Germany needs peace and wants peace." . . . The title of Nazi General Werner von Blomberg was changed from Defense Minister to Minister of War. . . . On Nov. 1 German youths of twenty will be conscripted for military training. . . . The New York Herald Tribune emblazons: DER REICHFUHRER WOULD HUMANIZE WAR. . . . Six students, three technicians and two instructors were expelled from Columbia University for anti-war activities. . . . In 1931 Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia U., was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. . . .

Captains of Industry . . .

Vice President Arthur Young of the U. S. Steel Corporation swears: "I will go to jail or be convicted as a felon rather than obey the provisions of the Wagner Bill." . . . The Iron and Steel Institute awarded him a gold medal for his "outstanding and creative" work in promoting company unions. . . . President Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel says: "Business is being halted by undue emphasis on reform, unsound, biased and perhaps even unconstitutional legislative proposals, political maneuvering, unrestrained public expenditures, currency tinkering and increasing tax burdens." . . . President William A. Ervin of U. S. Steel, states: "Under the code, our filed prices are less than those ruling in 1926; our rates of wages are now 7 percent higher than those of 1926. The financial return under these conditions has been disappointing." . . . During the first quarter of 1935 the steel industry reported \$8,300,000 profits.

Labor . . .

Six hundred destitute miners in western Germany staged a hunger strike in the mines, refusing to come out until concessions were granted. They were routed with tear gas. . . . On May Day millions of Germans celebrated the "great improvement of labor's condition since Hitler came to power." . . . Illinois adopts a 3 percent sales tax to pay for relief. Labor leaders endorse the tax "in order to get federal relief funds back to Illinois." . . . Henry Ford announces a raise in minimum wages from \$6 to \$8 a day. With the first pay envelop came an announcement of a five day layoff for 81,000 workers. . . . A surplus of \$380,000,000 has been accumulated by the Ford Motor Company. . . .

Majesty of the Law . . .

The Russell-Cramer Bill now in committee makes it a felony to issue literature proposing change in Federal and State governments by other than parliamentary procedure. . . . Governor Earle of Pennsylvania signs a bill requiring all relief recipients to post a cash bond of \$500. . . . 20,000 cans of government beef intended for distribution to the unemployed exploded in a New Orleans warehouse. . . . Mail contracts awarded to the U. S. Merchant Marine last year cost the government \$28,000,000. Operating expenses of the entire fleet amounted to \$28,460,000. . . . Though dead, William Humphries, Federal Trade Commissioner, ousted by Roosevelt, was awarded \$3,043.03 back salary. . . . Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, addressing a woman's conference against the high cost of living proclaimed: "The economic system is wrong. I would like to be in Congress where I could do something about it." . . .

Population . . .

Arthur Brisbane advises all women "to have six good children." . . . More than 12,000,000 young people have reached the employable age since 1929. "Few have been able to take their place as producers and contributing citizens in our society," states J. W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education. . . . "Five million youths of mating age are unemployed," sighs Mrs. Grace Sloan Overton of the National Council of Federated Church Women. . . .

Wonders of Science . . .

Scientific experiment carried out at the International Convention of Beauty Shop Owners: Ten beautiful girls exposed one unit of the body after another—hair, eyes, legs, lips, breast—to a selected group of men in order to determine woman's crowning glory. An acoustaphone registered the effect on the men. "Body-as-a-whole" won. . . . "Teen-sy Weensy Razors" can be obtained for shaving eyebrows and nostrils. . . . "Baby's Tidy Diddy Service, Inc." of New York offers "an economical and unstinted flow of scientifically cleansed, soft swell diapers." . . . A toilet seat which weighs the sitter when he lifts his feet is on the market. . . . A new pretzel twisting machine enables two men to twist as many pretzels as formerly twisted by ten. . . .

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

INSIDE STORY OF TOLEDO STRIKE

Told by a Leading Participant in the Battle with General Motors

(Ed. Note: This is the last of a series of three articles by Art Preis on the great Toledo strike. Art Preis was the editor of "Strike Truth," the Chevrolet strikers' bulletin.)

By ART PREIS

From the outset of the Chevrolet strike, the line-up of opposing forces was clear-cut and marked. On the one side were the strikers, a minority of the strike committee and the progressive forces in the union local. On the other, were General Motors, the organized commercial and industrial interests such as the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the capitalist daily press, the "leading citizens" including prominent socialites, university and school officials, ministers, public officials, etc., the government, and finally, certain union officials themselves, particularly those representing the national leadership of the A. F. of L.

The strategy of the union progressives was first of all to maintain the Toledo strike on a militant, mass action basis, to keep the leadership of the strike in the hands of the elected strike committee, and to prevent the settlement of the strike by Francis Dillon and the A. F. of L. officialdom over the heads of the strikers. Further, the progressives realized the necessity of spreading the strike to every General Motors plant and, if possible, to inspire a general auto walk-out.

No Try at Scabbing
For the first four days of the strike, under the aggressive leadership of the progressives, the strikers pushed forward with irresistible power. Apart from the newspaper propaganda—anti-strike stuff thinly disguised under a veil of impartiality—and misleading advertisements on the strike paid for by General Motors and the Chamber of Commerce, no effective counter-attack was launched. No effort was made by the company to run scabs into the plant, for memories of the Auto-Lite strike still provokes sleeplessness among the industrialists in Toledo.

Mass picket lines kept a 24 hour vigilance about the deserted plant. Plant managers and officials were forced to beg the permission of the strike committee to enter upon their own premises. The company was compelled to pay the strikers off the property and while on the picket line. By keeping one step ahead of the company, by taking the aggressive, the strikers prevented the company from carrying through a co-ordinated counter-offensive. The company simply did not know how to deal with progressive labor leaders of the caliber of a Jim Roland.

Combating Company Propaganda. Moreover, from the standpoint of demoralizing propaganda, the strike committee began to show the "public relations counsels" of General Motors a thing or two. When the company issued lengthy statements to the public through press channels, the strike committee promptly replied through the same channels with equally lengthy but extremely devastating prepared statements that quickly forced the company to change the substance of its propaganda. Further, the strike committee issued a strike bulletin, "Strike Truth," which had wide-spread distribution among the Chevrolet workers and workers in other auto-parts plants. The militant tone, the factual material and the clear-cut analysis of the strike issues contained in this single bulletin tremendously strengthened the morale of the strikers and laid the basis for the progressive principles which strongly directed the further conduct of the strike and the negotiations.

One primary consideration motivated the union progressives as they mapped out their tactics. They understood well enough that in this particular situation the most dangerous forces they had to combat were within their own camp. They knew they were dealing with inexperienced, uneducated (from a working-class standpoint), inarticulate workers, fearful of "public opinion," subject to confusion in the welter of rumor and misleading propaganda, raw with indoctrinated prejudices against "radicalism," suspicious of everything they could not understand—but nevertheless anxious for competent guidance and willing to make a stand-up fight. The real enemy they would have to combat would be the A. F. of L. top officials, Bill Green and his lieutenant, Francis Dillon, whose policies were opposed to strikes and militant action, who believed in asking favors of the bosses and keeping on friendly terms with the labor exploiters and the government. In every major industry these elements had succeeded in curbing necessary militant action by reliance on compromising methods of arbitration and the diversion of action into the deadening channels of endless conferences and government boards and agencies which were promptly converted into instruments for the protection of the interests of the employers.

The Negotiations

From the outset, the progressives put forth the idea of direct negotiations between the elected committee

of the strikers and the employers. They impressed upon the strikers the dangers of permitting the government to direct the terms of the strike settlement, or to allow other than those from their own immediate ranks to have final authority in negotiations.

The first move of the company had been to proffer counter-proposals to those contained in the union contract. These proposals were in effect the acceptance of company-unionism, the notorious "merit" and "proportional representation" clauses of the now defunct Automobile Labor Code, "conditional" promises of slight wage increases, all hidden behind neat sounding phrases. Francis Dillon did not arrive in Toledo until four days after the strike was under way. Even had he desired to, he could not have forced the company's proposals down the strikers' throat. For the time being he had to appear to go along with the sentiment of the strikers, in order to gain their confidence by a display of militancy and to seize in his own hands the leadership of the strike. At a mass meeting of the strikers, held on the day of his arrival, he urged them to vote down the company's offer. This they did unanimously.

Conflict Sharpens

Once Dillon arrived on the scene, the conflict of forces within the union ranks, between the reactionaries and progressives, became more sharp. The company refused to deal further with the strikers' representatives or to negotiate until the men returned to work. This left the situation in Toledo at a complete stand-still. It was obvious that the strategy of General Motors (and Francis Dillon, who was equally anxious to have the strike terminated) was to keep the strike isolated, undermine the morale of the strikers through propaganda and the threat of permanent closing the plant and starting operations elsewhere, demoralize them through inaction and subversive methods and, if possible, starve them out.

The next move of the progressives was to spread the strike. On the day of Dillon's arrival in Toledo, a group of Chevrolet strikers had gone to Detroit where copies of "Strike Truth" were circulated at the Chevrolet plant there, and the office building of General Motors was picketed until the group was arrested by Detroit police. Although the closure of the Toledo plant threatened shortly to stop production throughout the entire Chevrolet Corp. because of shortage of transmissions, every effort was being made by General Motors and the press to keep news of the strike from reaching outside of Toledo. Francis Dillon had safely concealed and ignored for some time the vote of numerous auto union locals throughout the country in favor of strike action. The nation's auto workers, speeded up and exploited to the hilt, wanted action. Telegrams had been sent by the Illinois Workers Alliance to numerous other locals telling of the strike and urging them to take similar action.

Strike Spreads

Dillon moved north, following his first mass meeting in Toledo, to confer with the Detroit union officials. The strike committee and the Toledo union progressives went south, to Norwood, Ohio. They succeeded in persuading the workers in two General Motors plants there to strike, without benefit of Dillon. At the same time, plants in Cleveland and Atlanta, Ga., were shut down by company officials just prior to strike action. Other strikes threatened, involving important key plants. Each day reports of plant closures due to lack of parts were received. The next move of the progressives was to Flint.

While the representatives of Bill Green were moving in on the strike from the outside, there were numerous elements within the local union, particularly the executive board members and the business agent, Fred Schwake, who were opposing the progressives and attempting to undermine the influence of Jimmy Roland and the strike committee. Under the pressure of Dillon and T. N. Taylor, another of Bill Green's organizers, they began to obstruct progressive moves. They withheld funds from the strike committee and prevented the further publication of the strike bulletin. In the mass meetings and on the picket-lines they attempted to edge the strike committee out of the leadership. A red-scare was started by Schwake who induced a small group of the more backward strikers to chase individuals distributing literature of other working-class organizations. Representatives of the Communist Party received the brunt of this attack, due in large measure to the stupidity and tactlessness of some of the statements contained in an initial leaflet.

Welcome W. P. Literature

Members of the W. P. reported these reactionary actions to the Joint Action Committee which immediately sent a strong protest to

the strike committee and the union executive board. The W. P. members continued to distribute leaflets in the name of our party which were widely accepted by the strikers and read with keen interest. The strikers shortly made a distinction between W. P. literature and that of other groups, and always welcomed the distinctive appearing leaflets of the W. P. which contained a positive program of action explained in clear terms and which fearlessly and factually exposed the policies and maneuvers of Dillon and his machine. Thousands of New Militants, containing uncompromising attacks upon Dillon, Taylor and Schwake, pointing out the correct tactics to be used, the role of the government, etc., were distributed on the picket lines and at the meetings. This literature of the W. P. had an incalculable effect in molding progressive sentiment and arming the progressives against the influence of the reactionaries.

During the second week of the strike, the company started to open its attack. It began the swift setting-up of a transmission plant to replace the Toledo one in Muncie, Ind., which the newspapers played up to frighten the Toledo workers back to work. A strike-breaking agency, hiding behind the spurious name of "Independent Workers Association," was organized by the company officials and foremen. Government "conciliators," including the Department of Labor's chief strike-breaker, Edward F. McGrady, were sent into Toledo.

The "Independent Workers Association" claimed to have sent a request to the G.M.C. officials, together with a petition containing the signatures of a majority of the Chevrolet employees, asking for a vote on the company's proposals under the supervision of the Department of Labor.

Dillon's First Trick

Dillon, persuaded by a superficial show of strength on the part of this strike-breaking outfit that a majority of the workers were in favor of returning to work, urged such a vote in hopes that the union forces would be outvoted and the strikers forced to capitulate in a manner which would not put the finger of betrayal upon him. After terrific pressure had been brought upon the strike committee, all but Roland and two others agreed to the vote. The following night, Sunday, Dillon went to the Buick local in Flint. This local had previously voted to

go on strike the next morning at a meeting held several days before when a delegation of Toledo union militants headed by Jimmy Roland had visited the Flint local. Dillon influenced the Flint workers to postpone strike action until after the vote by misleading statements regarding the courage and strength of the Toledo strikers. The progressives, once the vote had been called for, started a drive to defeat the company's proposals. A huge mass meeting of Toledo labor was held. Another issue of "Strike Truth" was published, under a different editor, somewhat weakened, but following the general form of the first one. When the vote was taken three days later, the union won hands down.

Turn Down Proposal

Dillon did not cease his stalling tactics. He came to an agreement with the G.M.C. representative, through the agency of McGrady, for another line of attack. The company agreed to meet with the representatives of the strikers for further negotiations. Dillon used the pretext of the negotiations to again restrain the Flint Buick local from striking until after the negotiations. During the negotiations all but one member of the strike committee refused to accept the company's second proposal, which included only some minor concessions and no guarantee of union recognition or seniority rights. The one member of the committee who fought on the side of Dillon, McGrady and the G.M.C., was Ben Bonner. This is the same Ben Bonner whom the Daily Worker described on May 13, the day of the betrayal, as a leading "militant" and "progressive."

The progressives began to organize the strike militants in preparation for the meeting on May 13, when the question of the company's second proposal was to be presented. Dillon, breaking an agreement made with the strike committee, issued a widely featured statement to the press telling the strikers to accept the company's proposals and, by indirection, denouncing the loyal members of the strike committee as "reds." The newspapers put on an extra heavy barrage urging the strikers to follow Dillon's advice. On May 12, A. J. Muste addressed an open meeting on the strike, in which he vigorously scored Dillon, Schwake and the other reactionaries, and urged the strikers not accept the company's terms. Many of the leading strikers and picket captains attended the meeting.

The Showdown

So strong had the sentiment be-

Stalinists Disrupters Routed In Ill. Meeting on Hunger March

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Contrary to the reports in the Daily Worker under date of May 18 to May 25, the Communist Party and the Unemployment Councils had nothing to do with the hunger marches recently held in Springfield, Ill. The marches were led by the Illinois Workers Alliance and to deny this is going W. R. Hearst one better.

The Stalinists, who faltered so badly in their conspiracy to "capture" the hunger marches, have resorted to the old tactics of united fronting from below. Monday, May 27, Stalinists from several parts of Illinois converged at the meeting of branch 128, Illinois Workers Alliance, of Springfield. They came there boldly with a resolution proposing to censure Gerry Allard and Kempton Williams and the whole leadership of the Illinois Workers Alliance for rejecting a treacherous united front offer.

Stalinist Scalping Party
The Stalinists tried their best to provoke physical combat as one of their number was reported to have possessed a pistol for that purpose. The riot squad of the police department appeared at the meeting when some unknown person turned in an alarm. The police left shortly. Not having sufficient forces in Springfield or any other one spot of southern Illinois the Stalinists came in from Thayer, Chicago, Franklin county and other parts. Few of them were I.W.A. members. They were given the floor anyway to start their offensive of getting Gerry Allard's scalp.

The Stalinist offensive was soon turned into a defensive because the rank and file voted overwhelmingly to reject the resolution. A counter motion to condemn the C. P. and their defunct Unemployment Councils for disruptive tactics was unanimously carried when Stalinists left the hall completely routed, both in the logic of arguments and in voting strength.

Solid Support

Tuesday, May 28, the Auburn, Ill., branch of the I.W.A. met and voted unanimously to endorse the policies outlined by the Alliance at the demonstration. Allard and Kempton Williams were given unanimous votes of confidence. The branch has 420 members.

The role of the Stalinists in the Illinois relief crisis practically ended that group among the Illinois unemployed. Where they previous-

ly connived to gain the favor of the Workers Alliance by glib phrases their treachery was exposed at a time when sincere deeds were necessary. Desperation seems to have suddenly gripped the Stalinists in these parts. They pussyfooted for a couple of months only to break themselves to pieces because it remains an evident fact that they continuously follow the tail of the kite in the enormous struggles that are taking place in strategic southern Illinois.

CORRECTION

An unfortunate typographical error slipped into the reproduction of comrade Muste's address over the radio in the last issue of the New Militant. Instead of reading "I am setting forth the historic Communist position . . . which constitutes the program of the Workers Party of the United States."

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come against Dillon, that at the May 13 meeting the strikers first voted to refuse the floor for discussion on the company's proposal to anyone but the strikers and members of the strike committee. Dillon went into a tantrum and stormed from the hall, loudly declaring that he would withdraw the union charter. The subsequent developments of the meeting, with its disquieting results for the strikers, can be attributed solely to the inexperience of the strikers and the inarticulate-ness of the members of the strike committee.

The executive members of the union local, fearful that Dillon had power to carry out his threat and still largely under conservative influences, induced Roland and the other committeemen, from the standpoint of union loyalty, "fair play," "free speech," etc., to secure a vote permitting Dillon to speak. Dillon spoke, using every device of cajolery, alarm and threat to induce the strikers to accept the company's terms. He was roundly booed during the entire course of his speech, and it is generally admitted that his remarks carried insufficient weight to capture the strikers. But when Fred Schwake, whom the strikers considered one of their own and whom a great number still had confidence in because of his public appearance of militancy, spoke in favor of acceptance while the voting was going on, a great number of the strikers, who shortly thereafter bitterly condemned their own capitulation, became discouraged and confused and voted, against their own desires, for acceptance. The vote resulted in favor of acceptance and the strikers returned to work the next day.

Role of Parties

One of the important and significant phases of this strike was the role of the various working-class political parties. The Socialist Party was conspicuous by its complete absence from the strike. As Tim McCormack, one of the local S. P. leaders, exclaimed on the day of the settlement to the organizer of the Toledo W. P. branch, "Jesus Christ! The S. P. hasn't done a goddam thing during this strike."

The same can be equally said of the Communist Party. Aside from the usual passing out of leaflets which were largely illiterate and illegible and usually making suggestions on policy three days after the progressives of the union had already taken steps to put them to effect, the C. P. had neither direct nor indirect influence on the strike. Officials of the S. P. and C. P. came to representatives of the W. P. on the afternoon of the settlement and for two hours begged and pleaded with the W. P. for a "united front." When the W. P. pointed out that this was a rather belated step in view of the imminent crisis and that these other groups were in disrepute with the strikers and the W. P. was not, the representatives of these groups agreed that such a "united front" would act to hurt the progressives rather than help them.

The final consideration of the effectiveness of the organization of the progressives has come since the strike. The night following the settlement the Chevrolet union members again met in full force. There was no demoralization. Dillon and his machine were denounced by the entire body. Representatives of the Central Labor Union spoke at this meeting and likewise denounced Dillon.

Progressives to Meet Soon

Today the union is stronger than ever in the Chevrolet plant. The progressives in the entire local are more influential and organizing more strongly than ever. A conference of auto union progressives from all sections of the country will be held definitely in the near future. Local 18384 passed a resolution last week, which all the locals in the country will be asked to adopt, demanding that Dillon be fired as an A. F. of L. organizer. Schwake's star has dimmed and he will undoubtedly be deposed from his position in the union very shortly. The Chevrolet workers have conducted several inside strikes since their return to work, all of them completely successful.

The Chevrolet strike must be regarded as merely the preliminary skirmish of a greater battle to come. The progressive program, which the W. P. has been advocating, the militant policies, are becoming more strongly ingrained in the union. From the standpoint of the immediate gains secured in the strike, the strikers suffered a partial defeat. From the standpoint of the development of the progressive forces, the strengthening of the union, the splendid fight that is being made against the union reactionaries, the Chevrolet strike must be regarded as a magnificent victory.

At the end of 18 years of glorious fascism in Italy under the direction of that greater leader of men, Benito Mussolini, the Italian Debt had increased 32,000,000,000 lire.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

Progressives Map Plans for Strike in Silk

Ed. Note: Below is the substance of a resolution to be presented by progressive workers in the Paterson local of the American Federation of Silk Workers. The importance of the set of proposals contained therein cannot be understated. They merit careful and deliberate study on the part of every member of the union in view of the coming strike which promises to be a long battle. Victory can only be won if the union pursues correct and militant policies. The resolution follows:

Fellow-workers:

The Supreme Court ruling that found the NRA unconstitutional is bound to have tremendous repercussions in our industry. It is now necessary for the union to appraise the situation and prepare to act.

It is our opinion that, taking the cue from what they consider to be a tremendous victory, the manufacturers throughout the silk industry and especially in Paterson are going to launch a concerted drive, in order to increase the hours of work, lower our wage standards, shatter and destroy the power of our union. Already the first signs are here, and the first attempts are being made to feel our strength before launching the campaign against us.

In such a situation the union can only take one of two possible stands. Either wait for the offensive of the manufacturers to get in full swing, thus reducing ourselves to a position of defense; or else courageously assume the leadership and the offensive ourselves, keep one jump ahead of the manufacturers, and force them into a defensive position.

Assume Offensive

There is no doubt in our mind as to which stand the union must take. The defensive is at best a losing game, and we should not consider even for a moment the possibility of playing it. We must assume the offensive.

We must, on the other hand, analyze the situation so as to know what we are going to do before-hand, and in order to have a clear perspective of the situation in the coming months.

This is manifestly a slack season in our industry. The number of employed union members is falling steadily, while many of those still working are only working part time. We must therefore not delude ourselves with any thought of a swift strike and of an early settlement. We must prepare ourselves for a long siege, and for a real test of strength.

It is obvious that the manufacturers are going to make of the coming struggle a well organized attempt to get rid of the union once and for all time. We must make of the coming strike a well organized struggle to establish and entrench the union firmly and solidly. Actual, not only nominal, recognition of the union must be our basic slogan.

But if we are to have an even chance of success, we must organize for it. The struggle that we foresee cannot be local in scope.

Immediate organizational steps must be taken immediately to mobilize the workers throughout the industry. We therefore recommend that our local request the national office:

Proposals

1. To call a series of mass meetings and membership meetings with a view to organize the sentiment of the workers;
2. To secure the support of all organized labor for our coming struggle;
3. To launch a vast organizational campaign in the unorganized districts, to take place immediately;
4. The establishment of local, regional and national strike committees elected directly from the membership and acting in conjunction with local, regional and national officials;
5. Preparation for the issuance of a daily strike bulletin, to offset the influence of the boss-controlled press;
6. Immediate steps for the raising of a war chest of \$500,000.

As for demands, we propose to stand by the demands already submitted to and adopted by the membership: union recognition locally and nationally, the 30-hour week, the \$25 average wage for weavers, with other wages graduated accordingly.

In view of the extremely changing and shifting situation in Paterson we advocate as a measure for keeping tabs on the situation as well as to keep high the morale of the workers the calling of shop-chairmen's meetings every week. We must in the meantime enforce the prevailing standards and resist all attempts on the part of the bosses while we prepare for the national strike.

U. S. Steel Guards Data on Executive's Salaries—headline. Because they were so low?

Stalin Has Signed the Death Certificate of the Third International

Open Letter

To the World Proletariat

Ed. Note.—Turbulent conditions in France occasioned by the fall of the cabinet, new aggressions by Italy against Abyssinia, generally the growing tension in the world, daily driving humanity nearer to the new imperialist holocaust, make it imperative that the working class be armed with a revolutionary policy before its outbreak. The following appeal of the International Secretariat of the International Communist League with which the Workers Party has established fraternal relations is in basic agreement with the statement of the National Committee of the W. P. on the Franco-Soviet Alliance printed in the last issue of the New Militant, and sheds valuable light upon many of the questions being asked by the workers in connection with these epoch-making events.

Stalin together with the renegade Laval has signed the death certificate of the Third International. Today, there is not a single worker, even the most politically backward who is unaware that the Soviet bureaucrats have just publicly, decisively betrayed the international proletariat. For the first time Stalin has openly said what is, i.e., in full view of the entire world he has repudiated revolutionary internationalism and passed over to the platform of social patriotism. He has informed his lackeys in France of his open betrayal through the medium of a bourgeois minister, who is himself a traitor to the working class in his own country. The hired bureaucrats of French Stalinism have immediately drawn from it all the necessary conclusions, and Vaillant-Couturier (an editor of l'Humanite, organ of the French C.P.—Ed.) in his article adds ignominy to betrayal.

While the proletarian masses mobilize themselves on the revolutionary road, while the peasant strata are seething and are vigorously intervening in the political struggle, while the petty bourgeoisie, directly hit by the economic crisis which is steadily deepening, is becoming radicalized as a whole, this bureaucracy has the audacity to write that there is no longer any room for the independent activity of the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle against its own bourgeoisie, that all efforts are to be averted and that to stave off the invasion of the U.S.S.R. nothing remains except to place faith in French imperialism. Crawling on his belly he consummates the betrayal of his master.

In the eyes of everyone the Third International has become the diplomatic agent of Stalinism loaded down with blunders and crimes, which has just openly taken the decisive step on the road to civil peace.

Let us review the facts.

Brest-Litovsk and the Franco-Russian Pact

The Stalin-Laval pact rests on the same plane as the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Soviet government enters into a military alliance with an imperialist government not at its own whim, but in order not to be annihilated. In any case, that is its only justification. The Brest-Litovsk peace was a defeat; while the Franco-Russian pact has been proclaimed for all those who care to listen a great victory for the U.S.S.R. It is unnecessary to attempt a comparison between the relation of forces in 1918 and at the present time. The facts speak for themselves. Whatever the differences in the world situation and in the relationship of forces, the Franco-Soviet treaty from the standpoint of principles and politics rests entirely upon the same plane as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Should, then, the Communists and Socialists vote in parliament for the ratification of the Franco-Soviet agreement? And this too regardless of the question of whether or no Soviet diplomacy was really forced to sign this treaty?

Let us recall the historic example of Brest-Litovsk. The German Social Democrats voted in the Reichstag for ratifying it, claiming that since the Bolsheviks had accepted it there was no reason whatever for their opposing it. The Bolsheviks replied to them, "You swine. We are objectively compelled to negotiate in order not to be annihilated, but as for you—you are politically free to vote for or against, and your vote influences whether or not you place confidence in your own bourgeoisie."

If we allowed that the Soviet Government is really compelled to conclude a military alliance with French imperialism, the proletariat of the latter country does not at all have to do so. By their votes in parliament the Socialist and Communist deputies are not called upon to express themselves upon the reason and motives for the action of the Soviet government but solely upon the reasons and motives of the Stalin-Laval government. If they vote confidence in it, they are the same swine as

the German social democrats of 1918.

Only yesterday, Thorez and Co. (leader of French C.P.—Ed.) swore that "We love our country, but we cannot countenance national defense under the capitalist regime." If this formula has any meaning it implies that we cannot confide to the hands of our bourgeoisie the task of defending "our country" (which besides is not "ours"). Today we are told, "with throbbing hearts we shall make common cause with our bourgeoisie in the defense of the U.S.S.R." We want to know, "how is it that the French bourgeoisie which is not good enough to defend 'our deeply loved country,' proves itself good enough for the defense of the U.S.S.R.?" This is the nub of the question. There can be no middle-of-the-road. The very same people will be obliged to proclaim, "with throbbing hearts we shall make common cause with our bourgeoisie to defend our people against the barbarism of Hitler, because the French people has the right to call for the same sacrifices on the part of its heroes as the Russian people."

There is nothing new in the new position of the Communist Party. It is social-patriotism.

Has the War Danger a National Address?

"But the immediate danger comes from German fascism," it will be said, "so it is necessary to make a bloc against it." Such an argument suffices for this or that diplomatic combination of the Moscow government. But this conception has nothing in common with Marxism. We have always maintained that the danger of war is the inevitable product of world imperialist antagonisms. German fascism as well as the dangers of war are the products of the colossal productive forces of German capitalism that seek for outlets, and that must seek for outlets, whatever the political regime of the country. The most progressive capitalist regimes of Europe are stifling within the framework of the national state. France is marching hand in hand with fascist Italy and with quasi-democratic England against fascist Germany.

Have we forgotten that the revolutionary activity during the last war consisted precisely in denouncing the propaganda of the allies who spoke in the name of democracy against the Prussian junkers and the Hohenzollerns? The old catchwords are being refurbished to camouflage imperialist antagonisms by means of sham conflicts between political systems.

On this road one quickly arrives at the idealization of French democracy as such counterposed to Hitler Germany.

Here again, there is no middle-of-the-road. We repeat: "It is the policy of social patriotism."

The conception of the "aggressor" is very handy for the mendacious work of diplomacy, but it is fatal for the orientation of the proletariat. To checkmate the alleged aggressor France protects Mussolini, allowing him a free field for action in Abyssinia, and also as regards Austria. And it is precisely the tightening grip of Italy on Austria which may fan to white heat German nationalism and lead to the outbreak of the war. Involved here are the permanent antagonisms which are deepening and sharpening. On the other hand their inevitable explosion and the preventive measures of the capitalist states can and must cause the catastrophe.

Social Patriotism Is Driving the U.S.S.R. to Ruin

We will be told in answer, "All this may perhaps be true, but isn't it necessary all the same to save ourselves from the most immediate danger which is the very same Hitler Germany?" Let us observe first of all that only yesterday the Comintern advanced in Germany the slogan of "national liberation" which is impossible without a war. Today the Communist International wants to defend the Versailles status quo in order to escape war. He is lost who abandons the position of the class struggle and of the international revolution and who begins to seek safety outside of the revolutionary struggle against one's own government in one's own country. Today the betrayal will be covered by the plea of the need to "save peace," tomorrow when war breaks out nevertheless, the betrayal will be perpetuated in order to save democracy or to save the U.S.S.R. But neither peace nor democracy nor the U.S.S.R. can be saved by the surrender of the French proletariat.

If after Germany has been annihilated for the second time, France, Italy and England turn against their temporary ally, does anyone believe that it will be possible on the spur of the moment to sever at a single stroke the proletariat from the bourgeoisie which, with the aid of the working class parties will have succeeded in raising itself as the master of the nation, and that has gagged and demoralized the

Announcement of Betrayal!

"And now I answer a question that has been put to me: 'In case of such a war launched by Hitler against the U.S. S. R., would you apply your slogan: transformation of the Imperialist war into the civil war?'"

"Well, no! because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union."

Extract from a speech by Maurice Thorez, leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, delivered in Paris on May 17, 1935, and reproduced in the party's official organ, l'Humanite of May 24, 1935.

working class through civil peace?

To fritter away the only capital we possess, the revolutionary independence of the proletariat, in return for precarious, equivocal, and unstable diplomatic combinations would be tantamount to walling up the avenue to the revolutionary future. The basic crime of reformism lies precisely in the fact that chasing after the shadows of reforms, it castrated the proletariat by class collaboration. This policy is ten times, one hundred times, a thousand times more criminal at a time when it is a question not of a peaceful period of parliamentary combinations but of a war which concentrates all the instruments of oppression and destruction in the hands of the bourgeoisie and leaves the proletariat only its sole and only weapon: its political independence, its hatred of the bourgeoisie, its revolutionary will.

Moreover, who has the right to declare that the docile submissiveness of the French proletariat to its own bourgeoisie must inevitably frighten German fascism and force it to retreat? Not only would this be a gratuitous assertion but just the contrary would prove the case in the long run.

Hitler has not yet morally crushed the German proletariat. In order to succeed in this, his propaganda revolves around the weighty argument, "we are encircled, we are hated, they seek our destruction." It is a question of the race struggle. Already the fact that the workers' state was compelled to fraternize with the French bourgeoisie against Germany has strengthened the position of the Nazis against the German working class. Should the French proletariat deliberately participate in this alliance by surrendering its class independence the theory of the race struggle will make great headway in Germany to the detriment of the theory of the class struggle. Driven by the irresistible national spirit which he has himself incited, Hitler may be compelled to unleash the war.

On the other hand the open, irrefutable, thunderous opposition of the French proletariat to its own imperialism will be a disavowal of racism and will give a powerful impetus to the German revolution.

The Betrayal of Stalin And the Crises in the U.S.S.R.

The U.S.S.R. participated actively at Geneva in the elaboration of measures against terrorism and terrorists. The assassination of the King of Yugoslavia was the reason for this incident. We, Marxists, have always been the opponents of individual terrorism, but we have also assumed the defense of national terrorists against imperialist oppression. This elementary tradition has now been abandoned, the U.S.S.R. has taken its place in the sphere of national struggles as the pillar of the established order and of the status quo.

In the light of the Stalin-Laval communique, the international working class is beginning to gain a better understanding of why Stalin undertook a new persecution of the Bolshevik-Leninists and of the Zinoviev group. Before finally delivering the Kremlin to the bourgeoisie he found it necessary to overwhelm and exterminate all those who might raise their voices in protest.

Stalinism to the Rescue Of Social Pacifism

The enemy is Stalinism! But the point in question is not to forget or overlook reformism. The treacherous policy of the Stalinists provides them with tremendous support. From now on Blum and Paul Faure (leaders of French S. P.—Ed.) openly spread the idea of the defense of the "national soil" because these philistines themselves, likewise, do not approve of "unconditional" defense. This stupidity of wishing to "condition" the defense of the national bourgeoisie or of the proletarian state is clear to everyone. If our country as it is, is worthy of being defended, it must be defended no matter what the origin of the war may

be: it would be absurd to punish "our country" for the idiocy of Laval and his colleagues. To us, it is the class character that is decisive and not the policy of the government. We are committed to oppose the war budgets of the most democratic governments of the bourgeois states, and we are pledged to defend the U.S.S.R. despite and against Stalin and his infamy.

But the absurdity of the "conditional" defense of the bourgeois state, bears, nevertheless, a grave political meaning. Were Blum to render to the bourgeoisie all that the latter demands, he would be unable to differentiate himself from Herriot, or even Louis Marin. He would lose the confidence of the working class, and become a cipher. By resorting to pacifism right up to the outbreak of the war he retains the possibility of rendering a double service to the bourgeoisie during the war: a large section of the working class will say to itself: "If this tried and true pacifist now joins the ranks of 'civil peace,' it is because the war has been foisted upon us, it is because the defense is just." In order to be able to achieve this mission Blum must reject as invalid the orders of Stalin. This perfidious game is enormously facilitated by the social patriotic turn of the Stalinists.

The League of Nations And Blum's Faith

Leon Blum and Co. lament that the communists do not sufficiently conform to the statutes of the League. Yet the C.A.P. (National Committee of the French Socialist Party—Ed.) as early as January elaborated its famous program which proclaims the necessity of destroying the bourgeois state and of opposing to it the interests of the working people including the interests of the country. What is the League of Nations? It is also the mechanism of the bourgeois state, or of several bourgeois states, acting jointly, and at the same time antagonistic to one another. If the mechanism of the bourgeois state deserves only to be destroyed how can anyone stake the hopes for a better future upon the League of Nations which is the by-product of this very same mechanism?

It is the doctrine of Jauresism that democracy or the democratic state ("the bourgeois mechanism") envisages constant improvement of its fate and advances slowly but surely toward socialism. Viewed in this perspective the League of Nations must naturally have its place to regulate the international relations of the democrats.

Today not only Pivert and Zyromsky (prominent "lefts" in the S. P.—Ed.) but also Blum and Paul Faure are obliged to recognize the necessity to overthrow and destroy the mechanism of the bourgeois state. Under these conditions how can they maintain their faith in the League of Nations?

The same question presents itself on the subject of disarmament. Zyromsky expresses his regrets at the sight of his newly acquired friend Litvinov abandoning the slogans of disarmament in favor of collective security. The very same Zyromsky refuted in his last article, "social pacifism" in domestic politics, i.e., the hope of settling the social question amicably. Zyromsky is unable to understand that external social pacifism is the reverse side of the coin of internal social pacifism. If the bourgeoisie allows itself to be disarmed in order to secure peace it will be at the same time disarmed in the struggle against the proletariat. We find here the same contradiction as in the question concerning the League of Nations.

We have at least the verbal recognition of the need for the proletariat to arm itself and to gain powerful strongholds in the bourgeois army in order to lead to the victory of the internal class struggle. At the time one busies oneself with securities under the capitalist regime through general disarmament. Why then make a revolution against a humanitarian bourgeoisie which will be disarmed through a covenant of the League of Nations?

The solution of this enigma is quite simple. These people haven't the slightest confidence either in a

revolution or in the destruction of the mechanism of the bourgeois army. Moreover they demonstrate this by reiterating the slogan "disarm the fascist leagues." Zyromsky is unaware that this famous revolutionary demand is the most stupid incarnation of social pacifism.

Must We Support Alliances Useful to the Workers Gov't?

In refutation it will be said, "Yet you Bolshevik-Leninists yourselves recognize the right of the Soviet government to conclude alliances with imperialist states for its immediate safety. Is it then not our duty as the French workers to support these alliances insofar as they are useful to the workers' government?"

No, never! We have already pointed out why the German socialists were duty-bound to fight against the Brest-Litovsk peace although it was absolutely necessary for the continued existence of the Soviets at the given moment.

Let us take this very same question more concretely and more practically. Revolutionary defeatism doesn't at all imply the sabotage of the sham national defense by an active minority. It would be absurd to attribute to revolutionary workers the idea of blowing up bridges and railroads, etc. etc. in case of war. The revolutionary workers, insofar as they are the minority, participate in the war as the slaves of imperialism who are conscious of their enslavement. At the same time they prepare through agitation the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war.

Should the U.S.S.R. succeed in securing the military assistance of the French bourgeoisie in the event of aggression on the part of German imperialism (which is by the way by no means certain) this assistance supplied by the bourgeoisie in power will in no way be hindered by the fact that the revolutionary minority will continue to fulfill its duty in incessantly preparing for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, whatever may be the military assistance of the imperialist general staff (and it will always be precarious, equivocal and perfidious).

The revolutionary repercussions which will be engendered in Germany by the revolutionary movement in France will provide another sort of effective assistance for the salvation of the U.S.S.R. as well as for the development of the world revolution.

Should the revolutionary movement in France, in the event of

war, gain such force as to directly threaten the military machine of the bourgeoisie and imperil its alliance with the U.S.S.R., it would imply that the French proletariat is capable of seizing power at the height of the struggle. Should they perhaps be restrained in such a situation? Let them say it. Will we run the risk of defeat? Obviously. Revolution, like war, carries risk with it since danger is the essential element in it. But only wretched element in it. But only wretched from an international situation which is bristling with mortal dangers without incurring any risks whatever.

Thus revolutionary defeatism does not prevent the Soviet government on its own responsibility from profiting by such and such a pact or this and that imperialist military assistance. But these fleeting transactions cannot and must not in any way commit the French and the world proletariat whose task is, above all during the time of war, to prepare for the liquidation of imperialism through the victorious revolution.

The Pact is the Consequence of the Defeats Of the World Proletariat

The pact indicates weakness and not strength on the part of the U.S.S.R. This new treaty is the product of the defeat in China, in Germany, in Austria and Spain.

Since the world revolutionary factor has been weakened, the government of the U.S.S.R. found itself forced to adapt itself to the imperialist factor. That is the only correct formula for the Franco-Soviet treaty.

The Kremlin bureaucrats, who see only the strengthening of the U.S.S.R., thereby posit the independence of the workers' state from the world working class movement: the more defeats the latter suffers the stronger becomes the international position of the U.S.S.R. These are the statements of charlatans—they must be nailed to the pillory.

But if because of annihilation of the proletariat in a number of countries the Soviet government is compelled to fraternize temporarily with the oppressors of the French working class—this cannot be the ground for further weakening the latter by demoralizing it and thus still further worsening the international situation, of forcing the revolution to retreat and consequently placing the U.S.S.R. directly in danger.

Safety Lies in the Revolutionary Policy of the Proletariat

When events of world-wide importance are at stake, the revolutionary party has no right to permit itself to be motivated by secondary, episodic, conjunctural and always problematic considerations. It is necessary to be far-sighted, persevering and accumulating the revolutionary strength of the class; it is in this manner that one can also best exert influence on all secondary questions: revolutionary policy is always the most practical. The enemy is Stalinism! It weakened the U.S.S.R. because it delivered the Chinese workers and peasants to the bureaucracy of the Kuomintang, the English workers to the bureaucracy of the trade unions, etc. etc. Frightened by the consequences it sought to play the card of adventurism, "third period." The results proved themselves even more fatal. Today Stalin and Co. have lost all confidence in the revolutionary forces. They resort to

pure diplomacy, that is to say, to the filthiest sort. They refuse to see anything except combinations with this or that imperialism against some other. They are above all afraid lest the French workers compromise their combinations. Thorez and Co. subscribe to this disgraceful attitude. They also deem the revolutionary movement to be an obstacle to the safety of the U.S.S.R. They accept the order to penalize and hamstring the revolution.

They openly become the Stalinist police over the French proletariat, and what is more, the Stalinist police become at the same time the police of French imperialism.

Socialism in one Country Ends in Civil Peace

When we, the Bolshevik-Leninists, began our struggle against the theory of socialism in one country it may have seemed that only an academic question was under discussion. Today the historical function of this formula may be clearly seen: it has for its task to cover the fate of the U.S.S.R. from the fate of the world proletariat. It has created a national base for the Soviet bureaucracy which allowed it to concentrate all the power in its own hands. The new law which extends capital punishment to children 12 years old reveals with fearful eloquence not only that the U.S.S.R. is still at a considerable remove from socialism but that under the domination of the omnipotent bureaucracy the social decomposition of wide strata of workers and peasants has attained formidable proportions despite all the technological conquests bought so dearly by the workers and peasants. And it is precisely at the moment when the war danger threatens the state founded by the October Revolution that the Government of the U.S.S.R. draws the final conclusions from the theory of socialism in one country, prostituting the A B C of Marxism and degrading the Comintern to the role played by Scheide-mann, Noske, Renauld, Vander-velde and Co.

The Third International Is Dead! Long Live The Fourth International!

When after the capitulation of the Communist International before Hitler, we proclaimed: it is the "August 4th" of the Third International, we met with not a few protests. "August 4th" we were told was a conscious betrayal while the capitulation before Hitler was the inevitable consequence of false policy. Today we see how superficial are such purely psychological evaluations. The capitulation was the expression of the internal degeneration, a consequence of accumulated blunders and crimes. This degeneration implied in its turn the capitulation to imperialism war and a prelude to the capitulation before the imperialist bourgeoisie which is preparing for war. That is why the "August 4th" of the Third International was already lodged in the capitulation to Hitler. It is the great merit of the Bolshevik-Leninists that they stated this in time.

Leninism is betrayed and vilified by Stalinism.

The urgent task of the hour is to reconstitute the ranks of the vanguard of the international proletariat. For this a banner and a program are necessary, and they can only be the banner and the program of the Fourth International.

The Third International is dead. Love live the Fourth International! —International Secretariat of the International Communist League.

Pickets Slugged in Brutal Police Sally

(Continued from Page 1)

Party and Ohio U.L. were among those on the strike committee and a written agreement was signed between the union locals and the League. The morale of the strikers rose; evidences of militancy broke out despite the pacific attitude of the Columbus Federation of Labor.

Bosses Understand

If the tremendous importance of the strike was not apparent to the labor leaders of Columbus, it was certainly clear to the Chamber of Commerce. They realized that if the strike could be broken, union labor in Franklin County would be smashed. Therefore, every resource of the police force was placed at the disposal of the plant.

The fighting spirit of the strikers mounted to a furious pitch that forced recognition from the union leaders of the demand for action. It was decided to stop all trucks and scab cars on Thursday night. Over 200 cops and plain clothesmen were massed to meet the pickets. However, the 150 workers, Unemployed Leaguers, and sympathetic students who were on the picket line managed to stop and smash every scab car that tried to enter. Arthur Wedemeyer led the picket line all through the night.

When it seemed that the plant would be effectively throttled, the hired thugs, masquerading under

the name of police, decided to step in. A police cruiser bore down upon the strikers, knocking a picket down. Instantly, the police charged from all sides. Clubbing and black-jacking indiscriminately, the police slowly forced the strikers back. Many women were dragged to the ground; strikers were badly beaten. No resistance could be offered by the unarmed and unprepared workers. The workers of the Columbus Packing Co. learned from the end of a club what is the role of the police. They learned that the police, the entire city administration were tools of the Chamber of Commerce who were trying to crush

Mayor Whitewashes Police

A march to the City Hall was organized and a delegation visited the Mayor and Safety Director Pealer. Mayor Worley, former member of the Socialist Party, who still carries a union card, stated, "As far as I am concerned, the strikers have forfeited their right to picket. From now on, only 12 pickets will be permitted at the plant." Mayor Pealer "impartially" exonerated the police and lauded the remarkable "restraint and good judgment" they employed.

What must be done by the militants of the Columbus Packing Co. now? The lessons of Toledo must be followed. A strike bulletin must be issued immediately; street corner meetings must be organized to acquaint the workers of Columbus with the true facts of the strike; pressure must be brought to bear upon the Columbus Federation of

Toledo Power Strike Ended by Pressure

(Continued from Page 1)

have strong progressive and militant tendencies, it is felt that his long association with the old-line A. F. of L. officialdom may influence him to agree to suspension of the strike under this terrific pressure.

The strike was called following lengthy negotiations with the Toledo Edison management, when union requests for a 20 percent wage-increase were flatly turned down. The Toledo Edison Co. is one of Henry L. Doughterty's holdings. It has been making enormous profits and has been exacting terrifically high rates from the consumers.

Failure of the strikers' representatives to issue statements or a strike-bulletin or leaflets to offset the unrestrained lies and frenzied distortions of the press has been a distinct weakness of the strike tactics so far.

Labor to actively support the strike; mass picketing of an effective character must be resumed; the power of the Chamber of Commerce and its hired strike-breakers, the police, must be smashed.

Sunday, June 9—Hike to Painesville, Broadway line to Dyckman St. Meet at Dyckman St. Ferry, 11 A.M. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

NEW MILITANT

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The Sacramento Appeal

Six weeks ago our comrade, Norman Mini, refusing to accept the mercy of the court, was sentenced to San Quentin for the crime of organizing workers into a union. Along with seven members of the Communist Party, he has been imprisoned for one to fourteen years. The Judge refused to set bail pending appeal, and Mini is now prisoner 57606 in San Quentin. His conviction was the result of an illegal horse-trade in the jury room, forced upon jurors who wanted to acquit him and other defendants, but who succumbed to the pressure of reactionary propaganda and reactionary fellow-jurors. The conviction is not simply "illegal" in a technical sense: it is a crime against labor's right to organize and defend its economic interests, and against the democratic rights of the people at large.

Reactionary elements are delighted with the verdict. William Randolph Hearst sees it as an example for other regions to follow, and is advocating the adoption by every state of laws which will make it possible to imprison union organizers just as Mini and his fellow-workers were imprisoned. Labor should show no less consciousness of the meaning of this verdict than do the anti-labor forces: *reaction has won a victory and a fight must be made to regain the lost ground.*

Through the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which handled his trial fight, Norman Mini is going to appeal his conviction. An able attorney, armed with the affidavit given to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense by Juror McIntire and revealing the illegality of the verdict, can make a powerful argument for a reversal. If he makes his argument against the sounding board of a great mass movement of protest, the appeals court of California will think twice and three times before it sustains the railroad-verdict of the Sacramento court.

At this time there comes news both good and bad about developments in the appeal struggle. The trial fight was carried on almost entirely as a California issue. For a long time the Communist Party and its instrument, the I.L.D., had sole control of the defense. During that time, *the prisoners were kept in the county jail although bail was readily available*, and publicity about the case was sabotaged. All this because a number of the prisoners were guilty of disputing the authority of Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the C. P., and one of them, Mini, even challenged the authority of the Communist International.

Not until the N.P.L.D. entered the case, hiring a lawyer for Mini and providing bail

for Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, did the Sacramento case become known outside California to any wide extent. When the *New Militant* began to print a series of articles about it, the Daily Worker was compelled to give the case some publicity.

The N.P.L.D. held Sacramento defense meetings in New York, Chicago and Boston and won trade union backing for the defense in a number of cities. Nevertheless, the struggle was largely confined to California.

It is heartening, therefore, to learn, as is reported in our news columns, that the N.P.L.D. plans to make the Sacramento appeal a national issue. It properly should be: Hearst has proclaimed it to be one and nobody can deny that the imprisonment of workers for organizing and holding certain political beliefs is an action which calls for nationwide resistance of all workers and honest democratic elements. The fact that the N.P.L.D. has called a conference of national organizations will be good news to all real friends of the Sacramento prisoners. The Workers Party, of course, will support the struggle on a national scale. The fact that the Socialist Party, through its National Labor Secretary, has appointed delegates to the forthcoming conference is additional reason for hoping that a really broad and powerful defense fight can be developed.

On the other hand, the attitude of the I.L.D. while no surprise to anyone acquainted with C.P. policies at this stage is far from being good news. These wreckers apparently are not through with their sabotage of the Sacramento struggle. They have studiously ignored invitations to the forthcoming conference, and give every reason to suspect that in the appeal fight they will follow the same splitting tactics which they introduced into the trial fight. True, the West Coast Stalinists, who for months denounced Norman Mini as a stool-pigeon, now have been forced to back-water to the point where they characterize him as "an honest, misguided class prisoner." But these vandals kept class prisoners who were in their own party in the county jail for six months, and they certainly will not hesitate to wreck the whole appeal struggle if it suits them to do so.

The record of the I.L.D. in the Sacramento case is thus far one of the most shameful in all labor defense history. Its splitting of the united front in California hamstringing the statewide campaign, as has been testified by the Northern California Civil Liberties Union, the California Socialist Party and other elements which aided the defense. Its treachery to Mini called forth the earnest protests of Jack Warnick, union leader and acquitted defendant who has now been expelled from the Stalinist swamp for the crime of "Trotskyism," i.e., for refusing to knife in the back a fellow-worker and fellow-defendant.

If the I.L.D. wrecks the possibility of building a nation-wide, multi-partisan, aggressive defense movement on behalf of the eight Sacramento defendants, it will bear the responsibility for whatever disasters may follow. The Workers Party pledges itself to fight to the finish for a unified movement and a militant struggle for liberation of the eight victims of the California plunderbund. We call upon all party members to publicize the Sacramento case in their localities and to stand by for directives for concrete work to build the defense movement.

Letters to the Editor

When Gold Turns to Mud or a Letter
The Daily Worker Failed to Print

Editor New Militant:

The other day Mike Gold wrote a whole column in the Daily Worker telling all about the letters he receives, there is one he didn't mention. Maybe the New Militant can use it.

—G. A.

March 9, 1935

Mr. Mike Gold

c/o Daily Worker

50 East 13th Street

New York, N. Y.

Dear Mike Gold:

Your series of articles in current issues of the Daily Worker in re Trotsky prompts me to write these lines.

I have been following your stuff for several years, both in the Communist press and books. Politically I've always thought you were a second grader. Since I read your articles in the Daily Worker in answer to a "young Philadelphia worker," I know you are politically haywire.

What are you trying to do? Make good for the "mistake" you made in stating that the Communist Party had little to do with the San Francisco general strike? Does the spanking you received from the Daily Worker editorial board compel you to make good by becoming the foremost literary assassin of Trotsky and Trotskyism?

Broken Bone Stuff
You're swell when it comes to writing about broken bones, blood, heroic breasts and thunder, but when you enter the field of polemics you sound like George Bungle explaining Einstein's theory of relativity.

Your recent faux pas in regards to Scott Nearing only goes to prove that you are very glib. There you had to eat 46,000 copies of your column. Perhaps it is not too improbable to predict that you will one day retract a lot of the things you are saying about the analysis and program of the Left Opposition.

What you said about the San Francisco general strike and the G. P. is true. The same admission can be found in the June 1934 issue of the "Communist," in an article by Sam Darcy. You who pretend to be so courageous, silently accepted the falsity of the Editorial Board's statement. To date you have failed to state whether the

Board is correct or not. The Communist Party did not have one single member on the water front, stated Sam Darcy. This is just prior to the general strike. Not that it makes any difference, but I still believe that Lenin was right when he said: "Less bourgeois sophistication, more proletarian honesty."

Mike's Union Sq. Miners

When I started out as a kid in the coal mines of Illinois some Jugoslavians Communist presented me with a copy of "The Damn Agitator and Other Stories." The Agitator story was good, but the "Breaker Boy" was a pile of junk and rot.

At that time you insinuated that adult miners were a bunch of morons who tried to seduce a young miner by having him spend his first pay on booze and whores while his mother wept at home. I've lived in a coal mine and near one all my life. I know the cultural backwardness of the mining folks. But I've never seen the morals of coal miners descend so low as the spectacle I've observed at New Masses balls and other bohemian revelries. Probably when it comes to morals and plain decency coal miners handle young people with more decency than your type.

A case in point: I was going home the other night accompanied by the president of my local and his 16 year old son. We stopped to get a glass of beer. While we went in the boy refused to enter. His father stated that he should not enter the saloon. We came out five minutes later, the father had a nickel bar of candy for the kid. This proves that coal miners in their primitive ways don't want their kids to go into saloons any sooner than they have to.

Learn a Few Things, Gold

Now on this Trotsky business and "A young Philadelphia worker." You write as if he were the only young man in the United States who has guts enough to doubt the correctness of Stalin's role. In the Illinois coal country you can go into scores of towns and meet young coal diggers who probably know more about Stalin's socialism in one country, the Chinese experience of 1927, etc., than you do, despite the fact that you have all the facilities

to research at your disposal.

We have seen the policies of Stalin and his American counterparts work out in the field of struggle. We tried for years through countless methods to get rid of Lewis and his cohorts. We tried to build a clean union. Many times we were on the verge of doing the job only to be stifled by the bureaucracy of the C. P. in New York and Moscow. Countless numbers of us who were members of the C. P. were expelled without trials or the permission to issue a statement. We were expelled with the same dirty work a la Lewis.

Just Not Recognized

Since then we've gone out and kept up the struggle. We've seen several of our fellows shot down like dogs. Six of them, all young men, are now in prisons of Illinois serving life. The Daily Worker has never mentioned one line about this. Anything that is connected with Trotskyism is condemned irrespective of how great the struggle is.

In the Illinois coal fields, Minneapolis, Toledo, etc., the bosses called us sons of bitches. The Communist Party seconded the motion all the way through.

You are on the wrong road, Mike Gold. Your devotion to the cause is not questioned. But you are doing the work of retarding progressive revolutionary action.

Something Fishy Here

While you're at it you might as well feel sorry for about five hundred young Illinois coal diggers who feel the same or perhaps are more enlightened than the Philadelphia comrade. The tide is going to turn. The switch of the C. P. over night, from trade union isolation to "build the A. F. of L.," and the policy from "a labor party is counter-revolutionary," to "a labor party will expedite the road to revolution," is fishy. It proves more than anything else that the C. P. membership today is new and inexperienced and that the remaining old guard are nothing but a bunch of goose steppers. This is rightly proven by the fact that the repercussions within the C. P. over such a crazy policy has been null and void. Were it a real Communist Party built on and living up to the Leninist tradition there would be plenty hell within the C. P. over such a shift.

When labor fakers juggle the hell out of funds and public responsibilities, when the trade union movement refuses to join the C. P. in a L.P. venture, all you'll have left is a mess of pottage.

Yours in disgust,
GERRY ALLARD.

Leaders Split
Canton Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

of the strike. This development came after a week of militant struggle by the workers whose heroism was unexcelled by that of any strike group since the inception of the NRA.

When the first strike was called at the Berger Manufacturing Co., a subsidiary of the Republic Steel, 350 out of 400 workers answered and formed picket lines which company thugs and armored trucks tried to smash, sending 40 workers to hospitals last Monday. Grimly determined to win, the strikers reformed their lines as soon as the tear gas cleared away.

Five plants walked out in sympathy strikes during the next two days of last week as indignation arose over the continued company attacks. The workers came out under the slogan of "Avenge the Massacres." So strong was sympathy with the strikers following the outrages, that city police arrested four thugs one morning and fired at a company car when the strike breakers began the fifth assault on the workers.

Then city authorities proclaimed a virtual martial law on the strike scenes and declared they would hold a vote for the strikers to see if they wanted to continue. Meanwhile influence of the rank-and-file was isolated to two "outlaw" lodges of the A. A. under Clarence Irwin's control and while they boycotted the vote, other unionists went to the polls with tacit permission of the leaders who criticized the strike as a "wildcat" since official A. A. approval hadn't been asked or given.

In this manner was labor's forces split since today found more than half the workers going back into the plants while others who maintained a picket line were herded about by heavily armed police. Attempts of local union leaders to set up a general strike committee had been foiled by the bureaucrats and this marked the beginning of the split. The division of the "leadership" on boycotting the vote, further widened the breach and now the return of many strikers to work has apparently broken the back of the strike.

FRANKFORT, Ky. (FP).—The seven Harlan miners, framed for the murder of mine guards in 1931, are still in prison although Gov. Ruby Laffoon has paroled several hundred men in the past few months on the recommendation of the department of public welfare. Among the pardoned men were some convicted of murder, manslaughter and robbery, but Kentucky's governor seems to think that striking is the greatest crime.

'THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE YOUTH'

With the above slogan as its watchword the Spartacus Youth League has launched a movement which is rapidly spreading from Coast to Coast. Since the National Convention of the S.Y.L. in December, 1934, the membership of our organization has more than doubled! New branches are cropping up everywhere; others are gaining steadily.

The task before us is indeed colossal. No less is involved than the dangers of war and fascism. How can they be coped with except by a revolutionary youth organization which will vacillate the youth of the nation against this virus of capitalism? This is the goal of Spartacus whose revolutionary clarity stands out against the bankruptcy of the other working class youth organizations.

Most vital of the needs of the S.Y.L. in this regard is a newspaper which appears regularly. Shortage of funds has prevented the regular issuance of "Young Spartacus," the 8-page monthly of the S. Y. L. Every month missed and every issue skipped, let us remind our friends, is another opportunity lost.

We appeal to the readers of the *New Militant* to transform their certain moral support into actual contributions for "Young Spartacus."

We are confident that you will respond to the call of our growing movement. Friends, don't delay.

Send all donations to
Business Manager,
Young Spartacus,
55 East 11th St., N.Y.C.

ILLINOIS WAGES SAG IN APRIL

CHICAGO (FP).—Jobs in Illinois went up 1.3 percent in number during April but total wages went up only 0.1 percent, making a net loss in wages, according to the Illinois department of labor's monthly report. Women's wages actually dropped 1.3 percent.

Weekly earnings averaged \$22.67 for men and women. In manufacturing the average was only \$21.94 a week, of which men got \$24.03 and women \$14.42.

Illinois has been operating under both a state and federal NRA but wages in some industries remain very low. The average in men's shirts and furnishings was \$13.96 in April. In fruit and vegetable canning it was \$13.45 a week.

In coal mining employment was 44.7 percent of normal, compared with 72.3 percent in April 1934. Wages were at 17.9 percent of normal, compared with 17.6 percent in 1934, figuring total payrolls in each case.

Progressives
To Meet in N.Y.
Needle Trades

NEW YORK.—A conference of progressive groups in the needle trades is called on June 8 for the purpose of organizing a progressive center. Such a conference that could lay down the main lines to be followed by the various progressive groups, and a center that would coordinate the work of the progressives, are long past due.

Situation in the Industry

What we have now in the needle trades is an offensive of the bosses. This offensive has been developing gradually. The appetites of the bosses have been whetted by the almost unbroken chain of defeats suffered by labor throughout the country as a result of the cowardly and treacherous conduct of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. With the revocation of the NRA the bosses have gained enormous self-confidence. The best illustration is the attitude of the cloak bosses. They demand a revision of the agreement negotiated in 1933 in face of the rising cost of living and unabated unemployment.

They challenge the workers openly and, shaking a finger, they say: "This is not 1933, my boy."

Situation in the Unions

The big gains in 1933 not only transformed the unions and made them what they are today but also rehabilitated the old leadership which had been discredited by its expulsion and splitting policies. Their glory is now waning. In face of the stubborn opposition of the bosses they will not be able to hide their impotence.

Confronted with the offensive of the bosses what do these worthies do? They go back on their memories. "In 1933 we used to call NRA meetings. Everything was rosy then. So let us call an NRA meeting in 1935. Maybe the good old days will come back!" They call a meeting for a bigger and better NRA. They enact a cheap show. They threaten, plead; they fool themselves and fool the workers. Dubinsky, the president of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, who is introduced as a man with Napoleonic traits, said "we won collective bargaining through a strike. Must the workers continue to strike or should the community take the responsibility? We say the community should take the responsibility," etc.

Six days later the news comes that the NRA is dead. The situation in the industry making the failure of class-collaboration policies more obvious from day to day, calls for a new leadership.

Progressive Leadership

The progressive group can be this leadership if they develop an uncompromising struggle against the bureaucracy. The Stalinist "left wing" groups are discredited and isolated. The progressives should steer in a clear independent course. They must organize and develop the struggle against the class-collaborationist leadership. The consolidation of the progressive movement is on the order of the day. —B.F.

A Holy Father

His tongue is starched with silver, his hands adorned with gold; an iron cross leans on his navel, his Holiness is bought and sold.

The air—a spiritual accessory navigates his elocution; the Catholic gentlemen—including the Ministry invest in Retribution.

The radio—its humble soul licks at his chatter and chaffs; while used to promulgate a sterner role it's virtues include some laughs.

The Corporations bewitch with Ad's the working folk and unemployed; gaining with prizes the fervent lads who shoots the guns and save their joys.

The men of god—go their way filling the shamers with a little more sin, shrewdly appraising for a turbulent day when martial needs begin.

They preach from pulpits to the flock assembling death—when war begins; protesting verily, 'indeed it's a shock' 'the earth's not freed from sins.'

Holler than thou' is the Corporation—paying his Holiness—the divdend; sanctimonious prelates of all persuasion, who kill with the Christ their chest suspends.

Christ is love and their souls are money, their heavens blend with usury; brethren of the word that is filled honey the workman is his enemy.

His tongue is starched with silver, his hands adorned with gold; an iron cross leans on his navel, his Holiness is bought and sold.

—ANON.

S. Y. L. Takes Leap Forward
Mid-West Conference Shows

CHICAGO, Ill., May 14.—Inaugurating a Spartacus Youth League district in the middle west, 22 delegates, representing 125 members in four Spartacus branches and one nucleus, convened in Chicago on May 11 and 12.

The main task before the conference was the setting up of a district apparatus in the form of a Regional Committee and a Chicago Resident Committee. The Resident Committee elected at the mid-west conference is composed of Irving Bern, Al Garber, Yetta Barshefsky, Sid Scott, Karl Kaspi, Nathan Brown, Sam Shapiro, Dave Graham and Ben Goldberg. The out-of-town members of the Regional Committee are Jim Cross from Gillespie, Hermann Beck from Detroit and Herbert Passin from Champaign. Alternates to the committee are Dan Golden, Marion Landau and Ily Stone from Chicago and Baxter from Gillespie.

That the Spartacus Youth League is rapidly transforming itself into a mass organization was clearly pointed out by the delegates to the conference. Chicago was represented with 17 delegates, Gillespie with two delegates, Detroit with one delegate, Champaign with two delegates, and the Indiana Harbor nucleus with one delegate. Minneapolis and Waukegan with Spartacus nuclei were absent.

Grows in Outlying Territory

In the report on the district Irving Bern stated that the Chicago organization gained over 35 members since the first of the year; added another club to the Chicago branch, which now has six clubs in the city; and was directly responsible for the creation of the branch at Champaign as well as the Indiana Harbor group. The discussion showed that 103 mem-

bers are enrolled in Chicago, 6 in Champaign, 8 in Gillespie, and 8 in Detroit. Three months before no branches existed in Champaign, Gillespie, or Detroit.

The opening report was delivered by Nathan Gould, National Secretary, who recorded similar growth of the Spartacus nationally. Comrade Gould pointed out that the S.Y.L. has had a 144 percent increase in membership since January 1 and that an active National Committee, which issued bulletins and circular letters, now exists. The delegates greeted with enthusiasm the information that the National Committee initiated a call for an international youth conference of youth organizations moving toward a new youth international which is to be held in December in Paris.

Table R.O.T.C. Motion

On the most important political point confronting the conference, the endorsing of the National Committee slogan "Abolish the R.O.T.C.," the delegates decided to table the question until they would be in a position to commit themselves on the point. The majority of the representatives felt that there was inadequate information and inadequate discussion on the question. Instead the conference recommended that the National Committee set up a commission to do some research on the R.O.T.C. and that a wide-spread discussion follow in the Spartacus.

Joe Giganti, the Workers Party representative to the SYL, made the report on the relation of the Party to the youth. After an inspirational report on the situation confronting the youth internationally, Comrade Giganti pointed out that the Party must pay particular attention to the youth. In the Chi-

cago local of the W.P., he stated, the Party has correctly reacted to the necessity of building and assisting the Spartacus Youth League.

Report from Gillespie

Jim Cross, a member of the National Committee who has built a union of the youth working on relief jobs in Gillespie, reported on the unemployment situation. Tremendous possibilities for the Spartacus open themselves in the Illinois Workers Alliance. A limitation of time, however, prevented any discussion on the point which was turned over to the incoming regional committee.

To the tune of the "International" the conference ended.

Aside from the regional conference the Spartacus Youth League recorded the most active week-end of activity in its history. On the evening of May 11 an affair was held to welcome Comrade Gould back to his home town and to provide sufficient funds so that he would be able to continue his tour across the country. Over seventy-five people attended the affair at the West side headquarters where twenty dollars was raised. Fifteen dollars was given to Comrade Gould and the remainder was used to pay the expenses and to feed and house the out-of-town delegates.

Gould Speaks at "Y"

The following evening, after the adjournment of the conference, Comrade Gould spoke at a mass meeting in the Central Y.W.C.A. on the "Future of the American Youth." The meeting was the largest in the history of the Chicago S.Y.L.; over one hundred twenty-five attending.

raised, Gould receiving \$27.50. Arrangements are being made for another affair when Nathan Gould returns in the middle of June.

Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins got \$10 a minute for a talk near Chicago. He will pay unskilled workers near Birmingham

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

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Left Groupings Confer in N. Y. Needle Trades

Lovestonites Dampen and Dominate Conference

Decisions to set up a "Council of Needle Trades Progressive Groups," publish a paper and engage in a drive to set up and strengthen progressive groups in all locals was made at a conference called by the "Progressive Group" of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and held at Manhattan Opera House, last Saturday afternoon.

Representatives from eight progressive groups in the I.L.G.W.U. and one group in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers were seated as delegates. Representatives from a number of groups were not seated on the grounds that they were not known to the sponsors of the conference. They were however allowed to remain as fraternal delegates. A large number of individual members from locals of the A.C.W., I.L.G.W. and Millinery Workers Union were present as observers taking no part in the proceedings. Two local unions were represented by two sets of delegates each. In local 1 the group controlling the administration as well as a smaller opposition group had delegates seated. Cutters Welfare League, a progressive group of local 10 were seated. Delegates from a Socialist group in the same local were present as observers.

Max Bluestein, a business agent of local 22 and representative of the progressive group of that local was elected chairman. Chas. Zimmerman, manager of the same local, made the keynote speech. He strongly condemned the class collaboration policies of the Hillman administration of the A.C.W., contrasting with it the "record" of the I.L.G.W.

J. Brandon of the Progressive Unionists, present by invitation, told of the great need of a city and nation-wide organization of progressives. He congratulated the delegates for the step they were taking and pledged the support of himself and his organization for progressive action. His speech was well received.

The report of the Credentials Committee caused a bit of debate, a number of delegates protesting against their non-seating. In reply Zimmerman and others argued that since these representatives were not known to them they could not be seated as regular delegates. It was stated, however, that if the groups represented by these delegates were properly introduced to the officials and found kasher they will be accepted as part of the center.

A complete program was presented to the conference by Murray Gross, office manager of local 22, in the name of the progressive group of that local. This report which had not previously been presented to any of the groups, not even that of local 22, was accepted in total with only one slight addition. One amendment was proposed and ruled out of order by the chairman on the grounds that he knew that Zimmerman also supported the view expressed in the amendment and therefore there was no need to accept it in the constitution. One addition was made. Will Herberg, of the Lovestone group, who is educational director

(Continued on Page 4)

Green Acts to Stall New Rubber Union

AKRON, Ohio.—Despite requests from major local rubber workers unions, William Green, A. F. of L. president, has delayed calling a convention to organize an international until July.

His rubber organizer, Coleman C. Claherty, explained that Green was sending questionnaires to all locals to determine their attitude. Then a convention will be called. Since all the unions have voted for the International, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is simply trying to postpone the progressive move.

The question of whether the International will actually be an industrial union, including all employees, or whether the craft workers will maintain their seven international is the focal point of dispute in arguments on forming the international.

Last year when the United Rubberworkers council was formed Claherty, aided by the crafts, obtained control. Of course, he will fight to keep them separate and continue the council, if possible.

Progressives Unite to Fight Expulsion in Teachers Union

Split Threatens as Right Wing Socialist Administration Moves to Comply with Green's Demand for Red Hunt

The Teachers Union of New York City, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, is now facing the most serious crisis in its history, with the panic-stricken right wing Socialist leadership driving full speed ahead for the expulsion of a large, growing left wing movement.

Two weeks ago, by a vote of 14 to 9 in the Executive Board the Administration put through a motion calling upon the Executive Council of the national organization to investigate the local. The investigating committee, consisting of the president, the secretary-treasurer and the legislative representative of the national body, conducted its hearings in New York on June 8 and 9.

Second Expulsion Attempt
This is the second attempt in recent years on the part of the Administration to answer the challenge of the left wing, which for years has been fighting its backward policies and bureaucratic practices, by expulsion.

In 1932 it appointed a Grievance Committee headed by Professor John Dewey to consider expulsion charges against five left wing leaders. The proposal of the Committee to expel was defeated; so was a subsequent proposal to suspend. The Administration then "compromised." It pushed through a constitutional amendment abolishing substitutional meetings with the power to decide policy. A Delegate Assembly, roughly corresponding to a shop chairman's body, was instituted to replace the membership meetings.

The opposition forces, adapting themselves to the new situation, made steady progress. At recent Delegate Assembly meetings it defeated the Administration on a number of crucial questions. In the elections just held for members of the Executive Board and for officers, it gained over 40 percent of the total vote.

New Frame-up
The investigation is a clear

frame-up of the left wing. The administration is climaxing a series of flagrant abuses of democratic practice by attempting to pin a red label on the opposition and kicking it out. Rallying against this policy of split, the left wing groups formed a united front, the first since the 1932 expulsion drive. A mass meeting to protest the investigation, attended by nearly one thousand union members, was held on June 7. At the last Delegate Assembly meeting on June 12, the vote on the question of the investigation was demanded as 80 for 17 against. The demand for a recount was ignored by the chairman, and the meeting was hastily adjourned.

The situation at this writing is extremely tense. The investigating committee, having completed its hearings, will make its recommendations in August, after the national convention. In the meanwhile, the united front is continuing its fight, the success of which depends upon its ability to solidify a program extending further than the mere plank against expulsion.

SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION EXPANDS

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (FP).—Reaching out into Texas and Oklahoma, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which has been the target of the lawless violence of Arkansas planters, is increasing its influence and power. The executive council at its June 3 meeting in Memphis received charter applications for locals with over 11,000 members.

Most of these are already organized locally but want the benefit of the strength and experience of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. In southeastern Oklahoma and northeastern Texas the American Farmers and Farm Laborers Union with headquarters in Madill, Okla., 19,000 strong, applied for membership. The American Agricultural Workers Union with headquarters in Bonham, Tex., 2,000 strong, also applied.

Furriers Unite In One Union Police Destroy American Flag

'Red' Union Dissolved Joins A. F. of L. International

After years of fighting, of mutual scabbery, the two unions in the New York fur market, the Joint Council of the International and the Fur Workers Industrial Union have merged, the latter joining the International on terms which made possible a genuine unity.

This unification on the basis of reinstatement of all members without discrimination, elections within forty days, with all members eligible for office, etc. is a victory for those who fought for unity on a progressive basis. Progressive forces within the International, particularly in Toronto, plus the about turn in Stalinist trade union policy made the merger possible. The rise of a progressive group in the Fur Workers Industrial Union, fighting against the bureaucratic excesses of its leadership, helped to push the latter to accept, after a lot of bluff and blustering, the terms offered by the International.

The final terms of settlement are virtually identical with those voted at the International Convention held in Toronto last May. The entry of the industrial members of the International into the affairs of the International previous to the election and the election itself, will be under the jurisdiction of the committee of seven elected by the International Convention. So far this committee has fulfilled its tasks with admirable skill.

A meeting of about 2,500 furriers called by the F.W.I.U., recently renamed the Independent International Fur Workers Industrial Union, held in Cooper Union last Wednesday, voted unanimously to accept the terms offered by the International Convention through the Committee of Seven. Already at this meeting the line to be followed by the Stalinists after entry into the International, was indicated. An attack was launched against the progressives, the Fur Workers Unity Group while right wing members of the International were praised and applauded.

The tasks of the progressives are

(Continued on Page 5)

Assault Mass Picket Line for Hallett Reinstatement

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Pickets from the Unemployed League and trade unions of Allentown were attacked by police as they attempted to picket Cedar Crest College, a girls school near Allentown, in protest to the recent dismissal of Prof. Winslow N. Hallett for his activity in the Unemployed League and American Federation of Teachers.

City police and state troopers guarding public streets leading to the college brutally attacked the pickets as they attempted to march. The American flag at the head of the line was torn to shreds by the police and thrown into the shrubbery at the side of the street. Wayne Morton, leader of the line, was arrested on charges of "disorderly conduct."

Later in the day, General F. D. Beary, Commissioner of Police, realizing the public indignation aroused by the act on the part of the police, permitted the pickets to march peacefully on streets near the college. This was in direct violation of a proclamation issued during the 1934 textile strike by Mayor Fred Lewis limiting picket lines to 10 persons.

Pickets in Cap and Gown
After the commencement exercises, which were in progress during the picketing, Professor Hallett, in cap and gown, joined the line. Also on the line was Rev. Paul Cotton, recently ousted from the pastorate of the Bethlehem Presbyterian Church because of his activity in the Unemployed League.

When Dr. Cotton presented a petition signed by the picket line to Dr. William F. Curtis, President of the College, he was ordered off the college grounds. "Get out and stay out," said Dr. Curtis, losing his academic dignity.

The following organizations were represented on the picket line: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local 119; the American Federation of Silk Workers, Local 10; the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 111; the Shirtworkers Union, Local 128, all of Allentown.

NPLD Pushes Campaign for Mini Freedom

Copening Will Be Banquet in N. Y. On June 26

NEW YORK CITY.—The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, leader of the fight for Norman Mini against the labor-baiters of California who are now keeping him in San Quentin Prison, will open a campaign for his liberation with a cold-plate dinner in this city on June 26. As in the trial, the N.P.L.D. will make its fight for Mini a fight on behalf of the eight Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants and against the criminal syndicalism law used to railroad them to prison.

Among the speakers at the dinner will be A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party; Herbert Solow, who spent four months in Sacramento directing the N.P.L.D.'s work during the trial; Murray Baron, leading Socialist and trade-unionist of New York; Carlo Tresca, well-known anti-Fascist; and Louis Berg of the Executive of the N.P.L.D. Sidney Hook, Professor of Philosophy at New York University, will preside.

The dinner will be held at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, at 7 P.M. Tickets costing 50 cents each are being sold by members of the N.P.L.D. They are also available at the following places: New Militant office, 55 East 11th St.; Socialist Call office, 21 East 17th St.; Il Martello office, 94 Fifth Ave.; League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St. Admission at the door will be 75 cents. Proceeds will be used for the Mini defense fund.

N.P.L.D. for Unified Defense
In response to the call of the N.P.L.D., delegates from the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, defense arm of the S. P., and the N.P.L.D. held a preliminary conference Monday at which the possibilities of building an aggressive unified defense were discussed. It was decided to postpone activities a week, in view of the absence of delegates from the I.L.D., which represents Mini's seven co-defendants, and from the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.). Since the meeting, the N.P.L.D. has announced, the G.D.C. has appointed an observer. An observer attended from the A.C.L.U. also.

A new invitation has been sent to the I.L.D. and the conference will be rescheduled in a few days to take practical steps toward expanding itself, and beginning the appeal fight, both through an attorney for Mini and a mass protest campaign against all the Sacramento convictions.

Opinions of a number of lawyers consulted recently by the N.P.L.D. are that the affidavit given by a juror to Herbert Solow and Jack

(Continued on Page 2)

Bakers Strike Ends After Fierce Battle

After three weeks of militant picketing, marked by violent clashes with company thugs and arrests of pickets, the Gottfried Baking Company's strike is over.

An agreement carrying a substantial increase in wages and partial recognition of the union has been reached.

On Wednesday, the strikers voted by a majority in favor of the terms and later in the day the agreement was signed by Jack Chick, president, Herman Gund, secretary, and Theodore Wharton, organizer, for local 50 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union, and by R. Gottfried, vice-president for the company.

The agreement provides for the firing of strike breakers hired during the strike; immediate reinstatement of strikers; sharing of work during slack seasons and arbitration of disputes during the life of the agreement. Though full union rates were not secured, wage increases were from 20 to 50 percent. Gained. Wages will now range from 41 cents and hour for women helpers to 90 cents an hour for oven men.

Interviewed in his office, Herman Gund, secretary of local 50, declared that he did not consider the settlement a victory as it did not provide for full union wages and a closed shop. Considering the situation in which a good section of the inside workers remained at work, and the lack of finances, they were the best must," said Gund, "be considered as the first step in our fight for complete unionization, not only of the Gottfried plants, but for all baker factories in the city.

Unemployed Leagues Hold Mass Conventions

Shoulders to the Wheel—Everybody Behind the Eight Page New Militant

We all want it!!

The Workers Party needs it!!

We're going to get it!—The eight-page NEW MILITANT.

On August 1 the first enlarged paper is due to appear.

The increase in size will mean far more than a 100 percent increase in the efficiency of our party organ and organizer. The big job we have to do demands a bigger and a better paper.

Are we going to get it? Will we be able to forge a really effective weapon against war and fascism? It depends on every party member, every sympathizer, every worker who realizes the need for reaching the American masses with the clear voice of the Workers Party.

We have plans.

We have a print shop, comrades to work, comrades to write news and articles.

WE NEED CASH!!! And we need it right away.

The Workers Party is due for another big step ahead. The establishment on a firm basis of the eight-page NEW MILITANT will be such an advance.

Send in your contribution. Begin sub-gathering. Put your shoulders to the wheel. The enlarged NEW MILITANT is the most important job before the party at the present time.

131 Delegates Participate in W. Va. Jobless Convention

Class Struggle Measures Accepted; Fighting Executive Elected

HUNTINGTON, W. Va., June 8.—

In an inspiring two day session the state convention of the West Virginia Unemployed League marshaled the lessons of the recent past before it and cast an eye on its prospects for the future.

131 delegates were in attendance, taking an active part in all the proceedings and viewing with a critical eye all measures proposed for the development of the organization.

A real organization patriotism was manifest throughout all the sessions. The unemployed workers, having many sad experiences with their officials, were clearly resolved to see to it that only those of the highest integrity and representing the rank and file should be their new leaders.

The principal speaker at the convention was Arnold Johnson, secretary of the N.U.L. In his address he pointed out that the workers must cease relying on Greek gifts such as they had been presented by Hoover and Roosevelt, and begin applying their own power as the only effective means to rescue them from the slave conditions imposed by capitalism. Such a struggle alone, he declared, could bring freedom and victory.

"War Only for Freedom"

The high point of his address dealt with the approaching war in which, "workers in one country are called on to kill their fellow workers of another capitalist country only for the profit of the bankers and profiteers. Now is the time to take a firm stand against imperialist war and to use the weapons of war only for the freedom of workers."

Then followed the regular business of the convention, with President Biddle the leading reporter. Reviewing the progress of the League during his short tenure of office, he reported that nine old branches had been revived and 11 new ones organized. In one case he had trekked twenty-six miles through snow and mud to get to a League meeting.

Brant Scott, chairman of the Executive Board, followed with a brief history of the West Virginia Unemployed League since its foundation on May 7, 1933. He took the League through the various presidents who have come and gone. "But the League is still on the march," he declared. "It has gone through many tough disappointments, but nobody can sell out the League. The W. Va. U.L. will keep going when all other organizations fold up. And the thing that will keep us going is the militant action of the rank and file."

Other officers supplemented his report with graphic descriptions of the actions of the League in strikes, demonstrations and action at relief offices.

Resolutions Adopted

Resolutions were passed calling for a regular rank and file conference every three months, demonstrations against the Roosevelt relief scale, against fascism, against imperialist war, for the Workers

Security Bill proposed by the N.U.L., for the freedom of class war prisoners, Tom Mooney, the Harlan miners, the Scottsboro boys, etc. A resolution of greeting to the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, in session simultaneously, was also passed.

The convention adjourned with the election of officers and an executive board. Brant Scott, militant, veteran miner was elected president. L. C. Dean, another ex-miner and staunch fellow-worker of Mother Jones, was elected first vice-president. George Harris, Negro militant, was voted in as second vice-president. Joe Blankenship was re-elected secretary-treasurer. A new executive board of 15 tested militants was voted in.

News Men's Guild To Join A.F. of L.

By JACK WILSON

CLEVELAND, Ohio, June 10.—After a bitter five day fight, progressives in the American Newspaper Guild, having 7,000 members, swung the Guild in action as another progressive force in the American labor movement during the second annual convention held here.

The 120 delegates fought for hours over the question of A. F. of L. affiliation. Three definite forces presented points of view for adoption.

A "right wing" clique fought against affiliation because it would make reporters trade unionists. Another group insisted that affiliation to the A. F. of L. would mean approval to the reactionary betrayal of Green, Lewis, Dubinsky and other labor misleaders.

Affiliate Industrially

The correct position of affiliating as an industrial international but dissociating themselves from the bureaucrats was advanced by the New York delegation and certain middle-western groups aided by a few scattered guilds.

The third group gained a 72 to 57 majority to have a resolution with its policy succeed in passing as a recommendation to the general membership for a referendum vote on the question.

A "for A. F. of L. affiliation" slate of candidates was elected as progressives took command of the convention. Heywood Brown was re-elected president; Jonathan Eddy, national secretary and Carlard Ashcraft, treasurer.

On the question of labor legislation, the convention voted by 80 to 40 to support the Wagner Labor Bill, despite sharp attack of it and the advocacy of a class struggle policy by militants.

An attack of the now extinct New Deal and of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were other high points of the convention which saw the complete submergence of "professionalism" to the attitude of trade unionism.

A favorable referendum by the membership on the affiliation question seems assured as previous surveys indicated a preponderant majority for it.

Whether the A. F. of L. will give an international charter to the guild is another question, on which opinion is divided.

P.U.L. MEETS

Militant Stand Is Adopted on Burning Issues

Labor Party Rejected; Favor Revolutionary Action

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 10.—Three hundred and fifty delegates, representing more than 25,000 organized unemployed, met here Saturday and Sunday, June 7 and 8, at the convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League.

The delegates, representatives of unemployed organizations in more than a dozen counties of the state, heard reports of increased activities and continual growth in the course of the last year. Their unmistakable seriousness and their business-like procedure gave evidence to the fact that the majority of them were seasoned labor spokesmen, trained organization men with wide trade union experience.

Plan Against Relief Rates

After the opening address by President Larry Heimbach and the report of Secretary Lester Heckman, the convention settled down to the task of laying plans for organized action against the scandalous \$19-\$24-a-month work relief program of the Roosevelt government; for prevailing wage rates on relief jobs; for an increase of 50 per cent in present direct relief allowances; for the representation of the unemployed on project complaint boards as well as other urgent needs of the jobless.

Organizationally, the convention marked progress in deciding on the establishment of district offices in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, to extend the scope of the P.U.L., and in setting up an Organizational Department, whose task it will be to penetrate into every corner of the state with regular organizers working according to a systematic plan, under centralized direction. The convention also set up an Educational Department, instructing it to form a series of circuit schools by means of which to train active league workers for the maximum effective action in the struggle of the unemployed.

Reports from the county organizations indicated a steady growth in membership since the last convention as well as tremendous opportunities for advancement in new fields. A large sum was pledged by the delegates present, to carry on organizational work.

Reject Phony Unity

The convention went on record in favor of the Workers Security Bill introduced in Congress by the National Unemployed League calling for a 30-hour \$30 week on relief work; for cooperation with the trades unions on the work relief projects; for the active support of Mass Action, the official organ of the National Unemployed League.

A resolution presented by Communist Party delegates for "united front action" with the sectarian Unemployed Councils was emphatically rejected by an overwhelming majority. Speaker after speaker pointed to the sad experiences made by the Leagues with the Unemployed Councils in the past. They recalled that the C. P. controlled Unemployed Councils had time and again broken faith in the course of united front action, that they had continually striven to disrupt the Unemployed Leagues, that they had thereby proven themselves unworthy of confidence. It was further pointed out that the Councils had dwindled down to an insignificant number while the Pennsylvania Unemployed League had established itself as the bona fide organization of the unemployed in the state, in spite of their disruptive tactics.

The convention, while voting down the fake unity proposal of the Stalinists, went on record endorsing the unity negotiations of the National Committee of the N.U.L. carried on with bona fide unemployed organizations on a national scale, calling for a rank and file merger convention based on a militant, class struggle program.

Labor Party Resolution

Another resolution introduced by the C. P., which had managed to

(Continued on Page 2)

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

The World Do Move...

A convention of the unemployed, numerous mass meetings (one, of women organizing to stop the rapid rise in the cost of living), and a picket line for the cause of academic freedom—these are some of the events that have prevented the usual sly items from Oshkosh, Timbuctoo and Tulaheese. Instead of recounting the inane drive of captains of industry, bank presidents and ward heelers risen to high position, the entire column this week is devoted to episodes from lives of workers.

Two years ago at the convention of the National Unemployed League a riot almost ensued when the organization's loyalty to the American flag was brought into question. Last week at the Pennsylvania U. L. convention the audience cheered such statements: "The National Unemployed League stands for the complete destruction of capitalism and we know this can't be done except by revolutionary action of the workers under the inspiration and leadership of a revolutionary political party!"

The cops ordered 70 year old Mother Kimmel to stop distributing leaflets announcing a workers' meeting. "I've picketed the White House in Washington. Hundreds of police tried to stop me. Why should I be afraid of you?" she remarked as she continued to pass out the bills. She was not arrested. What a movement we would have if the young folks were as active as Mother Kimmel! She never misses a picketline, eviction, demonstration or committee meeting. At the P.U.L. convention an intense quiet fell over the hall as she told in simple but dignified language of her faith in the power of the workers.

Who Respects the Flag?

PREACHER PICKETS—PROFESSOR HEADS PICKET LINE—COPS DESTROY AMERICAN FLAG—WORKERS UNITE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM... I'm referring to events in the case of Dr. Winslow Hallett, recently dismissed from his position at Cedar Crest College because of his activities in behalf of labor.

Labor unions, professional men and the organized unemployed united on the picket line in his defense. Headed by the Stars and Stripes, the flag of the Christian Church, various union insignias and the rat-tat-tat flag of colonial days (now the banner of the Unemployed League) the picketline began to wend its way in protest to the dictatorial control of education by bank presidents and businessmen.

State troopers, county sheriffs and deputies, and city police were present to defend the status quo. They attempted to stop the procession. "Why can't we walk peacefully on a public highway?" asked the crowd. Angered that their authority should be questioned, the cops charged the line, seized the American flag and tore it partially from its pole. An angry roar arose from the enraged pickets and a general melee resulted for several seconds. "You tell us to respect the flag but you tear it up and toss it aside," cried the workers to the cops.

The flag of the Christian Church is white with a red cross set in a blue field in the upper right hand corner. It was carried by Rev. Paul Cotton, recently ousted from his church because he cast his lot with the working class rather than with the barons of Bethlehem Steel. Rev. Cotton received a new insight into the meaning of academic dignity when he presented a petition for Dr. Hallett's reinstatement to Dr. Wm. F. Curtis, President of the school. Dr. Curtis, thinking Dr. Cotton a commencement guest, greeted him cordially. When he recognized the contents of the petition, however, he asked like a madman, ordered Dr. Cotton from the building and pushed him out when he did not move fast enough.

"Don't Worry Your Little Heads"

A cheer arose as Dr. Hallett came from the commencement exercises and joined the pickets. He carried a large placard: TEACH THE TRUTH TO AMERICAN YOUTH. Workers rallied around him. Earlier in the morning one of his faculty colleagues refused to walk in the commencement procession with him.

Charm School: "You poor little kittens, worrying about problems that bigger minds than yours cannot solve!" remarked Miss Esther Engle, teacher at the college, to girls sympathetic to Dr. Hallett.

At a student meeting called to counteract a petition being circulated among the students for the reinstatement of Dr. Hallett, one of the teachers said: "During the eight years I've been at Cedar Crest, ten teachers have come and gone. All have done so with dignity. Had Dr. Hallett done likewise, new and beautiful pastures would have opened before him."

P. U. L. Convention Marks Great Stride Forward

(Continued from Page 1)

get representation from one or two leagues, called for the creation of an "Anti-Capitalist Labor Party." Conferences to establish such a labor party on a state scale were to be held within a month!

Delegate Slinger, 8th Ward, Allentown, speaking for this resolution, stated in effect: "I am a Communist. I am for a Labor Party because such a party will vote us workers into office (1). Against the parties of the bosses the workers need a party of their own, a Labor Party."

Delegate Ed. Moser, speaking against the resolution, said: "I am a member of the Workers Party. My experiences in the Unemployed Leagues have convinced me that against the bosses and their parties the workers can be effective only by revolutionary mass action, not by the false hope of voting capitalism out. I do not at this time call upon the P.U.L. to join with the Workers Party but I wish to take this opportunity to express my views just as members of other political parties have the right to express theirs. The previous speaker is a member of another party which claims to speak for the working class. Now, he proposes that we should form a new party, aside from his own—a labor party. That party is supposed to be for the rest of us, a party for second class citizens, so to speak. What sort of sense does that make? We have seen Labor Parties in action before. In Minneapolis last year, during the truck drivers' strike, the Labor Party governor sent out the troops to shoot down the strikers. That sort of party the workers have no use for. We need a party that will not act as a strike-breaker, a party that will act to overthrow capitalism."

For Revolutionary Action

Delegate Spencer, of Easton, also took up the cudgels for the Labor Party. In his opinion, a Labor

Party was needed to "abolish the miseries of capitalism." Ernest R. McKinney, vice-president of the N.U.L., replying to this speaker, pointed out in the course of a brief but pungent address, that the N.U.L. itself, in its constitution rejected the idea of abolishing the "miseries of capitalism."

"The constitution of the National Unemployed League," McKinney stressed, "stands for the complete destruction of capitalism. We know this can't be done except by revolutionary action of the workers under the inspiration and leadership of a revolutionary political party."

He urged that the reformist Labor Party resolution of the C. P. be voted down. It was. Instead, the convention went on record reaffirming the stand of the P.U.L. for independent political working class action, based on the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles.

This bid for support of their reformist venture netted the Stalinists a lesson in revolutionary conduct. The Unemployed Leagues proved themselves too well tempered in the class struggle to fall for the bogus Labor Party campaign of the bankrupt C. P.

New Officers Elected

The convention concluded its sessions with the election of officers and of a state committee. Those elected for the coming year are: Walter Weldon, President; Andrew Budhas, First Vice-President and Organizational Director; Mike Demchak, Second Vice-President; Louis Breier, Third Vice-President; Edwin Zeller, Fourth Vice-President; Lester Heckman, Secretary; Ralph Weaver, Treasurer; Bill Reich, Educational Director.

A stirring speech of excellent revolutionary and educational value, made by the National President of the Unemployed Leagues, Anthony Ramaglia, brought the program to a close.

NPLD Pushes Drive for Mini

(Continued from Page 1)

Warwick, one of the acquitted prisoners who has since been expelled from the Communist Party for defending Mini against C.P. charges that he was a "stool pigeon" should have great force in the appeal. In a statement issued yesterday, Felix Morrow, temporary secretary of the N.P.L.D., said:

"With all the legal ammunition at our disposal, we need only a powder charge of sufficient force to blow down the prison walls and get these innocent workers out of San Quentin. The charge must come in the form of a great protest movement. Such a movement can be built, and the N.P.L.D. is beginning to build it.

"The failure of the I.L.D. to attend the first conference is far from encouraging. They will tend to paralyze the mass movement if they persist in splitting it by branding as a stool-pigeon a worker whose only crimes are that he helped organize a union, and that he disagrees with the C.P. The fact that the C. P. organ, the Western Worker, brazenly drops Mini's name from the list of applicants in this case, indicates the probable attitude of the I.L.D. That organization disgraced itself during the trial and if it persists in its present attitude, it will do so again."

C. P. Opposes Unity

During the trial, the N.P.L.D.'s Sacramento fight had the endorsement and backing of the N.E.C. of the Socialist Party; the California Socialist Party; the Joint Boards of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York, San Francisco and Boston; the United Hebrew Trades of New York and many other labor organizations. It provided Mini with an attorney. It rescued the Sacramento issue from the obscurity to which the I.L.D., annoyed with the anti-bureaucratic tendencies of some of the prisoners, had consigned it. It forced the I.L.D. and C.P. into a united front defense committee. The C.P. smashed this front within a few days, and thereby did untold damage to the defense movement, driving away all elements except those in political agreement with the C. P.

After pretending for some time that the smashing of the united front was the "fault" of the Workers Party and the Socialist Party, the Communist Party has at last let the cat out of the bag. A current issue of the Western Worker contains a long screed denouncing Charles Gordon, San Francisco I.L.D. organizer, for "opportunism."

One of the chief instances of such opportunism cited is that Gordon signed a united front pact for the defense of all the Sacramento prisoners along with the N.P.L.D., the W. P. and what the Western Worker calls "certain other organizations" (S.P., American Civil Liberties Union, Shipyard Workers Industrial Union, etc.). Thus the C. P., which is simultaneously begging the S.P. for a united front, admits a principled objection to such a

united front in defense of class war prisoners!

According to Herbert Solow, who has corresponded with Mini on the matter, the I.L.D.'s refusal to consider the possibility of joint action even to the extent of having a single, joint legal staff, would compel the N.P.L.D. to undertake an entirely separate appeal for Mini. The N.P.L.D. opposes leaving the entire matter in the I.L.D.'s hands, a suggestion made to Mini by Leo Gallagher, I.L.D. lawyer.

Mini Rejects I.L.D.

"Our opinion is that an appeal subject to the sole control of the I.L.D. might very well turn out to be worthless. The manner in which the I.L.D. conducted its trial fight, the often disastrous tactics of Leo Gallagher, the I.L.D.'s isolation from the organized labor movement, give no grounds for hope for such an appeal.

"In the interests of all the defendants, we must fight to force the I.L.D. into a joint appeal if that is possible. If not, we must go on independently. This is not simply our view. Norman Mini writes us as follows:

"After my experiences with I. L.D. 'honors' and with their legal and political abilities, I'd have imagined that no one would think me naive enough to turn my fate over to the I.L.D. unconditionally."

"In view of the situation, we call on all friends of the labor movement to support the Mini Appeal Dinner and our future activities."

Mini's requests to the N.P.L.D. for literature have been filled in part. He is now receiving the New York Times every day, and The Nation every week. He has been sent "Manhattan Transfer" by John Dos Passos. His request for the New Internationalist was filled also, but the prison authorities confiscated the theoretical organ of Mini's party. A protest against this action is being organized by the N.P.L.D.

Fur Workers Unite In One Organization

(Continued from Page 1)

clear. Those already in the International and the Unity Group must merge their forces and carry on the fight to make the Union a democratic, militant one, and to banish from its ranks any recourse to the "splitting squads" and other questionable methods of the Gold leadership as well as the autocratic and class-collaboration policies of the reactionaries.

With the unification of the fur workers, a campaign of organization in preparation for a struggle to bring union conditions into the fur industry of New York is on the order of the day.

COPPER MINERS STRIKE AT PHELPS-DODGE

LOWELL, Ariz. (FP).—Firing of eight copper miners for union activity by the notoriously anti-labor Phelps-Dodge Corp. has led to a strike of the Bisbee Miners Union. The strike was about 75 percent effective at the start.

Dunne Blasts C.P. in Debate

After Complete Rout Stalinists Apologize For Disruption

MINNEAPOLIS. Minn.—Representatives from the C. P. and the Workers Party met on the platform of the Labor Lyceum on May 29 and debated the municipal election policy of the two parties. V. R. Dunne of the Workers Party upheld the position of the W.P. and Harry Mayville spoke for the C.P. The debate was sponsored by the District Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, with Ruben Latz of that group acting as chairman.

Tiala Ducks Out

Alfred Tiala, district organizer for the C.P., was scheduled to speak for the negative, but failed to appear. As a matter of fact the Stalinists arrived in a body, with a noisy clique all organized, and obviously had no intention of going through with the debate, though it had been widely advertised on the North Side for some days in advance. Their plans called for branding the whole affair a fake and then taking over the meeting and disbanding it. But Harry Mayville, a leading Stalinist here, insisted on going through with the debate as scheduled and agreed to speak for the C.P.'s position on the municipal elections.

V. R. Dunne led off by posing the tasks of the revolutionary party, giving the history of the Workers Party of the United States, and then proceeded to evaluate the relative importance of the municipal election. He was careful to point out that the Farmer-Laborites in office are not to be trusted; that such a reformist party could never make any lasting gains for the workers. He showed that by supporting the Farmer-Labor ticket in the coming election, the W. P. was simply showing its readiness to go with the workers who want to deal a blow to the bloody Citizens Alliance regime which had ordered the shooting of workers in the Truck Drivers Strike last year. With the issue so clearly drawn it would be a mistake for the revolutionary party to risk the defection of enough votes to permit the Citizens Alliance candidates to win.

Mayville then took the floor and expounded the Stalinist position, exhibiting all the weaknesses and flaws in their distorted "theory." He urged the workers not to support the Farmer-Laborites as they had voted machine guns, pay for the deputies, etc., in the city council. Yet in the next breath he would insist that "the Farmer-Labor Party can be transformed into a class struggle party." Instead of one Olson, the Stalinists would give us a thousand.

Dunne on Stalinism

In his second speech, V. R. Dunne went into the disasters of Stalinism on an international scale—the British General Strike, and the infamous bloc with Purcell and Hicks; the complete subordination of the Chinese C. P. to the petty bourgeois Kou Min Tang, with the subsequent blood-letting of the revolution; the C. P.'s tragic behavior in Germany; its non-appearance in Austria and Spain; its milk and water position in France. "The Communist Party today is no more the party of Lenin than is the Republican Party the party of Lincoln," stated Dunne.

Mayville's tongue was covered with hair when it came to answering our charges. Social fascism, the united front from below, the C. P.'s recent stand against a labor party, the participation of Russia in the League of Nations—not a word about this monstrous bouquet from Mayville. "You still read about the bandit armies in China," he said. "I guess that looks like the Chinese revolution is sunk eh?"

It should be stressed that Mayville's pitiful theoretical armor is certainly no exception among the Stalinists—rather is he better prepared than his other comrades. Yet he either does not know the facts of international politics or he does not know Lenin. For him, for instance, the Chinese revolution can come about without the leadership of the city workers. For him the Chinese revolution can come about even though the revolutionary parties lie crushed and bleeding from a thousand wounds, or as yet weak and impotent. And so on, down through the list.

Old Slanders Answered
All the old charges were brought up against us during the question period. We "Trotskyites" had urged the truck strikers to beat up the Stalinists; we had not gone on the picket lines; six years ago V. R. Dunne had hit this Stalinist and sent him to the hospital; had broken that man's jaw on Bridge Square; Grant Dunne had voted in the Central Labor Union to offer Governor Olson a vote of thanks for his use of the militia in the truck strike; we had called Mayville and the rest of the Stalinist "United Front" candidates "tools of the Citizens Alliance"; we had not exposed Olson in the Organizer, the daily strike bulletin; Trotsky was kicked out of the Soviet Union because he called for production of consumers goods

Letters to the Editor

From Comrade To "Disrupter", C.P. Style

WACO, Texas.—How the Communist Party "protects" class-war prisoners is shown by its final betrayal of Dr. John Greenberg. Dr. Greenberg, who is being deported to Roumania for activities in behalf of the Communist Party, has been denied a visa to the Soviet Union—upon recommendation of the Communist Party.

Three years ago, Greenberg, a local dentist, began to organize the workers and farmers in this vicinity. Although many lynchings have occurred in this plantation area, Greenberg preached inter-racial equality and unity from the public square. To the Communist Party at that time, the Jewish dentist was "Comrade Greenberg." But when he was seized by the Immigration Department, he immediately became a "disrupter."

This was a most convenient method to free the organization from its elementary obligation of defending a man who had risked his life for its principles. Greenberg was arrested three years ago. The International Labor Defense has never issued a mass appeal for a struggle in his behalf. The Daily Worker has barely mentioned the incident. Instead of arousing sup-

port for a man whose theoretical knowledge is very valuable, the members of the Communist Party in this state engaged in a whispering campaign.

While the charges were still pending against Greenberg, the International Labor Defense and Communist Party withdrew entirely from the case. The district organization of the C.P. served notice that Greenberg was no longer to be recognized as a comrade. The dentist had offended the Party by criticizing the inadequacy of his defense. Greenberg was in no danger, anyhow, so the district organization said.

Suddenly and without warning, the Department of Labor issued a warrant of deportation for the dentist. In desperation, Greenberg applied for a passport to the Soviet Union. The district organizer of the Communist Party came here several weeks ago, made inquiries, looked wise, and said nothing. That his report upon the matter was unfavorable is obvious. John Greenberg goes to Roumania and the gallows. The fascist government of King Carol may congratulate itself upon possessing such sincere and uncompromising revolutionary allies.

—Worker Correspondent.

The Manager's Corner

The campaign for the eight-page New Militant is on. August first is the time for its appearance.

All preparations are now on the rush order list. In the office steps are being taken to build up a staff of capable writers and to work out the general character and the type of contents for the enlarged issues. Our readers may rest assured that there will be a good many new and valuable features added. Detailed announcements of this phase of our efforts will be made as we go along with the campaign.

The next step we now leave up to the New Militant supporters. That should be expressed concretely. In last week's issue various ways of realizing the funds necessary were proposed. At this time suffice it to emphasize only the fact that the first response should be a direct cash contribution. Such matters as obtaining pledges for the security fund, soliciting advance subscriptions and sending in greetings to the next eight-page issue should follow next. But as a whole the various means proposed can be made use of.

We shall forward the necessary material to follow up in the campaign to all Workers Party branches and to all supporters of our press. Meanwhile there should be no delay in taking the first step and forward the cash contributions.

Let it be clearly understood that we have essentially one subject in view by the proposed enlargement of the New Militant: namely to build up a much more effective party spokesman, educator and organizer; to afford a much more effective champion of the cause of the working class now faced with momentous struggles. This is the objective. This is how we propose to face the working class problems of the future. It is for this

rather than capital goods; etc., etc. These lies and slanders were each one, branded for what they were by our representative. We have answered them a hundred times before, yet they will undoubtedly be hurled at us a hundred times in the future. It is only in this way that Stalin and his bureaucrats can retain their "monolith."

Complete Rout of C. P.

Unquestionably, many of their representatives were astonished to hear from a Workers Party spokesman what the Workers Party really stands for, what our stand is towards the Soviet Union, etc. When the debate was clearly turning into a complete rout for them, the C. P. leaders and their sympathizers resorted to disruptive tactics. They took the floor for speeches instead of questions, they refused to sit down. They refused to permit our questioners to get at Mayville. Several times the meeting threatened to end up in a free-for-all. At the hint of violence the more timid Farmer-Laborites quickly left the hall. The chairman finally established order and the meeting came to a close.

It is interesting to note that a couple of days later, a committee from the Stalinists called on Latz, the chairman, and apologized for their behavior during the debate. "But after all, how did you expect us to sit there and hear our Party criticized so?" A Baptist deacon hearing a few facts about God feels much the same way.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

Rubber Barons Begin Offensive

New Line Is Pretext for Firing Active Progressives

By GEORGE PAPCUN

AKRON, Ohio.—The NRA Castigation by the United States Supreme Court had its immediate repercussions in Akron rubber plants. The rubber barons wasted but little time in calling the meeting of the board of directors of the rubber manufacturers association, which started its meeting in New York City on June 4.

The unions in their weakened position have not been combated openly by the rubber manufacturers, but rather through soft-soaping which disarmed them in the matter of grievances since their betrayal in April. And there is no doubt in any of the rubber workers' minds today in Akron that under the pretense of seasonal lay-offs in the rubber industry that the manufacturers, especially in tire, are taking steps to rid the plants of the militant trade union members within.

Second Offensive

This will be the second offensive of the rubber barons against the rubber workers since the betrayal. The first was when the India Rubber Co. was forced to lock out its workers until they agreed to an open shop in the entire country. This is no secret, as everyone in and around Akron was well aware of it. And after being out several weeks, picketing the plant 24 hours of the day, the open shop was put over with the help of Colman C. Claherty who shadow-boxed against the India Rubber Co. but took no measures to put up a real stand against the drive of the rubber manufacturers.

The dirtiest part of the whole fake fight of Claherty was that he refused to declare a strike, and got the workers to believing that they merely should try to show the public that it was the India Rubber Co.'s fault, without any real fighting measures to combat the company. This company, which is a small tire building concern, could have been combated even through the weak sabotage methods of asking the members of unions not to buy union made tires. In the main this is the way that the company's trade has been built up throughout the entire country. And once a bankrupt concern, it was able to build a big business and begin to show a profit on the basis of its trade among union members and the strength of its union label.

Lay-Off Begins

The same thing is happening in this present attack on the rubber workers, which the officers of the rubber manufacturers call a seasonal lay-off. It will be merely a means to get rid of the fighting trade union members, to starve them into submission, or to completely eliminate them. In this of course, the rubber barons are helped by the fact that they have huge stocks on hand remaining from the preparation for the strike last April. The leadership of the unions in public statements are refusing to attach any significance to the meeting in N. Y. where all of the leading officials of the Big Four Tire Companies will be present. This despite the fact that the Supreme Court decision on the NRA is expected to be discussed, and the semi-secrecy in which the meeting was called. It was only accidentally that it leaked out in the local press. In spite of the denials of the rubber company it is agreed by most people that the meeting will take up the question of hours and wages. This is especially important because even in view of the price war that has broken out among the tire companies.

Progressives Active

The NRA was used to prevent strikes in the rubber industry during the last 18 months when rubber workers could have gained something through a struggle which was prevented by the cooperation of the officials of the rubber workers' union and the government. And now the weakened condition of the unions no doubt encourages the rubber barons to get rid of the last vestige of unionism in the rubber plants.

The rubber barons, however, are not taking into account the reaction of the workers, who have had a lot of experience, and this may be the beginning of another attempt on the part of the workers to establish a real union in Akron. Workers are already talking about an International. Attempts are being made to mobilize a progressive group to combat Coleman C. Claherty and other enemies inside the organization. This is a slow and tedious process.

MINNEAPOLIS (FP).—Tom Latimer, lawyer long identified with Farmer-Labor and radical movements in Minnesota, was elected mayor of Minneapolis June 10. He was endorsed by the Farmer-Labor organization. The reactionary Mayor Bainbridge, who conducted a bloody attack on the teamster strikers last summer, was snowed under in the primaries.

What to Attend

CHICAGO PICNIC SUNDAY, JUNE 23 at Forest Glen (Forest Preserves)

Directions: Elston Car to end of line—transfer to bus and get off at Forest Glen Avenue.

Sunday, June 16—Hike to Hunters Island. Starting 10:30 A.M. Take Lexington Ave. Subway to Pelham Park and hike the rest of way. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Sunday, June 16.—Harlem Branch hike-plein to Palisades, across Dyckman's St. ferry. Meet at 29 West 120th St. no later than 9:30 sharp. Drawing of 3-prize raffle, games, eats.

Saturday, June 22, 8:30 p.m.—Dance & entertainment given by Branch 1 at branch headquarters, 420 E. 19th St.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Imperialist Objectives...

The Hearst yellow press expresses most openly and brazenly the aims and objectives of American imperialism. Ever since Roosevelt's recognition of Soviet Russia, dictated by the Japanese seizure of larger and larger slices of China and the futile attempt of American capitalism to call a halt to this process of political pressure, Hearst has been engaged in a vicious counter-propaganda to bring about the breaking off of this recognition. The recent decision of the boss class to push Japan into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, as manifested by the withdrawal of consuls and military aides from Russia and the serving of notice for all the imperialist world that America did not contemplate a military alliance with Russia against Japan, was hailed by the yellow press as a first step in the right direction. Such articles as those of Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts attempting to prove the "repeated breaking" of the Litzovitz pledge not to aid or foster any organization having as its aim the overthrow of American capitalism or the American government, were designed to press for still further reactionary steps against the Soviets. And now to climax the black wave of chauvinism set in motion by the imperialists, there appears the article by the American imperialist admiral, formerly commander of the Hawaii Naval Base, Yates Sterling. Every worker should read carefully this epitome of the major objectives of the American capitalist class in the coming war.

The Call for War...

In essence Sterling issues a call to arms to capitalism against the menace of Bolshevism and the proletarian revolution. This is the fundamental conflict of our epoch, the international outcome of the class struggle—the victory either of communism or of capitalism. In terms of this basic issue Sterling appeals to the nations of Europe—that is to the capitalist ruling class—to close the ranks, to present one united front against the Soviet Union. It would be a terrible blunder, he feels, for the capitalist nations to permit themselves to be divided into two camps by their relatively minor clashes of interests. "Soviet Russia remains an important, if not the most vital factor in any plan for the stabilization of Europe, yet the doctrine of Bolshevism ever remains a menace to all capitalistic nations." Will the rest of Europe divide against itself and give Russian propaganda an opportunity to drive a Red wedge between the divisions? The American admiral then indicates how capitalism may revive its waning strength at the

expense of Russia and China. Germany must convince the rest of Europe, in particular France, that her arming is solely for use against the Soviets.

"If Germany can make Europe believe that her rearming is against Russia, and that Russia is a great danger, might not the Little Entente fly asunder and realign itself with Germany against a common enemy—Communism? Where then will be the Franco-Russian pact? Where indeed? Stirling hopes fervently for the appearance of a leader (Hitler) with the driving power to unite capitalism under a single banner. "In the guise of such a great crusade, maybe yet inartunate in men's thoughts, cannot one see the outlines of a daring plan, not only forever (forever, Admiral!) laying the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe?" The Marxist could set forth no more clearly the way in which capitalist hopes to issue from its general world crisis—by the method of war and plunder, the subjugation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Asia. This is the only method known to imperialism in its desire to maintain the system of exploitation. The imperialists look with greedy eyes on the one-sixth of the globe under the banner of the Soviets, thereby cut off from capitalist exploitation and the making of profits. Stirling shows how the war will start the wheels of industry going—for the purposes of human and material destruction. The tens of millions of lives that will be sacrificed in this "crusade" will be counted well spent by the imperialists if they are shed for the preservation of a system rapidly decaying towards barbarism.

American Preparation

The United States is preparing just as feverishly as the other capitalist nations for the next world war. These preparations are not merely of a military technical nature. Stirling shows clearly the preliminary arrangements of capitalist objectives in the coming catastrophe. It is no accident that Stirling writes in this fashion at this time. The American ruling class is preparing internally also for the conflict that will determine its future in Asia, its life or death. The scrapping of all pretences that the government seeks the "betterment" of the masses, the casting aside of the shams of the NRA, the open and more and more brutal attack on the working class in this country, are all preparations also for the next war. The ruling class shows its mailed fist internally and externally to its greatest enemy, the world proletariat. And first and foremost to the American working class.

How the Stalinists Ruin The Morale of the Red Army

By ALPHA

In recent months, the Kremlin has set about—with enviable zeal!—to revise the history of the Red Army. The aim of this revision is to demonstrate, if not in form then in content, that Trotsky fought in the camp of the White Guards against the Soviets. We are not exaggerating. Trotsky, they aver, introduced "nests of white guards" into the Red Army at the Eastern Front, who would unfailingly have ruined the cause of the revolution if Stalin had not intervened in the nick of time and cleansed the army of Trotsky's agents. At the same time Trotsky shot communists, who fought courageously in the ranks of the Red Army, and the affairs would inevitably have ended in catastrophe if once again it had not been for the salutary intervention of Stalin, who personally prefers to shoot Communists in peace time.

These exceedingly interesting and in a manner of speaking, "sensational" revelations raise several questions.

Pertinent Questions

First: Why are these revelations so belated? Is it because the young soviet savants have dug up a number of unexpected discoveries from the archives or because a new generation has grown up which knows nothing of the past?

Secondly: What relation have these recent revelations with previous ones? At the close of 1923 they accused Trotsky of underestimating the peasantry and of favoring the "permanent revolution." Now, they declare that since 1917 Trotsky was in reality an agent of the Whites in the Red Army, which was created by Stalin. Then why have they dined into the ears of all humanity over a period of years about "under-estimation of the peasantry" and other trash of the same gender, if it concerned not a revolutionist but a counter-revolutionist?

Thirdly: Why did the Bolshevik Party for seven years (1918-1925) keep at the head of the Red Army a man who might have destroyed it and not nominate Stalin who created it? It is impossible to explain

that only by the well-known modesty of Stalin, for what was involved here was the life and death of the revolution. It is also impossible to speak of the sparsity of information in the party: Stalin knew what he was doing when he cleansed the Red Army of the counter-revolutionary nests introduced in it by Trotsky and when he stopped the execution of communists, which right he reserves exclusively for himself. And since Stalin could not have acted without the authority of the Political Bureau, this also means that the Political Bureau was informed of the affair.

What About Lenin? Certainly the Political Bureau of that time was composed in its majority of counter-revolutionists or of candidates for the counter-revolution (Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev). But Lenin? Let us grant that he was a bad judge of things and people (his "testament" allows us to come to such a conclusion). But Stalin himself? Why did he not pose before the Central Committee and before the Party the question of the insidious work of Trotsky in the Red Army at the time of civil war?

The Red Soldier who knows how to read and to reflect, in remarking the old pamphlets or magazines, must say to himself:

"For seven years Trotsky was at the head of the Red Army and the Red Fleet. They named him the leader of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic. Trotsky received the oath of the Red Soldiers. He has shown himself to be a traitor. His criminal acts caused hundreds of thousands of superfluous victims. Who has deceived us? The Political Bureau with Lenin at its head. That is to say, there sat in the Political Bureau traitors and men who shielded traitors. But perhaps they will deceive me again? They speak to me of the treachery of Trotsky only ten years after his retirement. And when will they speak to me of the treachery of Stalin and Voroshilov? Who can one believe? That is what the young reflective Red Soldier would say. The old

Behind The Rearmament Of Germany

(By ICL Press Service)

The re-establishment of compulsory military service in Germany, on March 16, 1935, marks an important stage on the road to the second imperialist world war. But of still greater importance is the fact that the other European and international powers have accepted this fact, almost without any resistance whatsoever on their part. This reaction characterizes perfectly the entire present situation: the contradictions of imperialism have already attained to so great a tension that every imperialist action can lead only to the outburst of a new war. War, however, bears with it dangers to the bourgeoisie itself: the German bourgeoisie, wracked by the fever of colossal crises, and with its imperialist wings considerably clipped by the defeat in the Great War, suffered particularly under the blows of the world economic crisis.

The internal tension in Germany continued to become aggravated up to the breaking point, and it posed the alternative: either the abolition of the capitalist system, or the installation of the Fascist dictatorship. And the latter implied that the German imperialism would actively, consistently and purposefully resume the struggle for its "place in the sun," that is to say, the tenacious political and military preparation for war.

"Drang Nach Osten"

This preparation had to occur in stages, of which the initial and most important stage is the destruction of the working class movement, and the enslavement of the entire German proletariat. A disarmed proletariat is not only the necessary prerequisite for intense exploitation, but it is also, at the same time, the necessary guarantee for the possibility of preparing war without being fettered internally, so that the outbreak of the war does not meet with any organized resistance on the part of the proletarian masses. After having hurdled this first stage, with more than adequate success, Fascism is actually proceeding to concentrate its attention upon the military and ideological preparation for war. Compulsory military service is the symbol of it.

Let us briefly review once again the European and international scene. We have already sketched in the background the instability and the force of the imperialist contradictions which do not allow any check to be exercised upon the aggressiveness of German imperialism. While the Fascist dictatorship in no way hides its "Drang Nach Osten" (the Drive Eastward), while it flaunts the obstacles on this road, such as the "Eastern Pact"—so many times discussed and so frequently modified—and while it openly refuses to conclude a "non-aggression pact" with Lithuania, the avenue for the invasion of the U.S.S.R., but poses instead as the "bulwark against the world danger of Bolshevism"—all the efforts of other imperialist powers (with the exception of Japan and Poland, the allies of Germany) are aimed towards maintaining the international and European status quo. This is not a solution, but merely the protraction of the solution. The only solution possible for the imperialist contradiction is, as always, war.

No Solution at All

All the efforts to maintain the European status quo, and all the results achieved on this path are only of a provisional and temporary nature.

When they accused Trotsky of "under-estimating the peasantry" I thought it might probably be true: the question was complex and difficult to figure out. But when they tell me that Trotsky introduced nests of white guards in the Red Army then I say squarely: the present leaders are lying! And if they lie so impudently on the civil war, then truly they also lie on the matter of the "under-estimation" of the peasantry.

The result of the new campaign of sensational revelations can only be the following: ruining confidence in the leadership. In the old and the new, in all leadership.

"Killed" Again

One has then to ask oneself: why then does the Stalinist clique find it necessary at the present time—1935—to embark on such double-edged revelations, which at least, are 50 percent self-revelations? Trotskyism was killed in 1925, then killed again in 1927, irrevocably killed in 1928 (deportation of Trotsky to Alma Ata) the "last remains" of the "miserable debris" were once again exterminated after Trotsky's expulsion from the country where he was conclusively "unmasked" as an agent of imperialism. It seems that it would be time to pass to the order of the day. But no, messieurs, the leaders cannot remain at peace; they find it necessary to wrack their brains: it would be possible to invent something else, stronger, more powerful, and truly kill this Trotskyism that has already been killed at least seven times.

Consequences of Hitler's Program for The International Working Class

any nature; they are based solely upon an agreement to do nothing except maintain the condition of stability. This situation received its classic illustration, just recently, at the Stresa Conference.

What is the important aspect in this situation as regards Fascist Germany? From the diplomatic standpoint, the leading role claimed by Germany in its campaign against the U.S.S.R. is not yet an accomplished fact—but with regard to political power, Germany is able to gain the time, the occasion and the possibility to deploy and strengthen its positions, and to prepare carefully for its invasion of the East, and at the same time to increase its importance as a leading or an allied factor.

Such is the situation as it actually shapes itself on the political horizon. The question of war is posed, and it stands; the question of "when, how and where?" does not bear a decisive importance. It may well be that the Archduke who will this time go travelling to Sarajevo has not packed his trunk yet. But there is indeed another, and a very burning question: it is the necessity for preparing the international working class for the coming military conflicts, and for forging all its forces into a solid front of international resistance against a new world slaughter.

In Germany Proper But how does this question pose itself in Germany, the pivot point of the drive towards the imperialist war?

The German working class still finds itself in an atomized and disoriented condition. The Fascist dictatorship has accomplished in a thoroughgoing manner the job of destroying the workingclass organizations, and even bourgeois and reactionary organizations which could become the centers of opposition. Only recently the "German Labor Front," a concoction of the Nazis, a concoction of the labor of frontist trade unions, underwent another transmutation, being "incorporated" with the capitalist exploiters and white-collar slaves. There is not a vestige left of a purely working class organization.

The militarization of daily life has proceeded still further, of recent days. The life of the entire population has been clamped within the military framework. The forms may differ, but the essence remains the same. Already the school children are compelled to receive military training, and in the train there follow military exercises, compulsory labor, extra-curricular mili-

tary sports, rounded out by forced labor for the unemployed. Work in the industrial enterprises has assumed more and more open military forms, particularly since the establishment of the so-called "Law of Labor," in accordance with which the boss is entitled "the chief" of the enterprise, and the workers the "followers." All these varieties of military forms are now crisscrossed with compulsory military service.

Labor Passive

This militarization of all the phases of national life cannot pass without consequences. The masses of the population are under the permanent press of Fascism. The absence of any serious possibilities for resistance must act to extend the feeling of submission to the Fascist hangmen, superimposed upon the realization of the grave defeat suffered in 1918. At present the outstanding characteristic of the masses of the population is passivity, and the widest strata are already plunged into complete apathy. To this must be added the fact that the youth, who are the prime material for militarization, lack political experience, and their manifestations of discontent are for the most part merely lost in the void. The revolutionary proletarian cadres are still too weak and few in Germany, and they are in no condition to intervene everywhere they should. Disintegrated in the past by the reformist and Stalinist schools they still lack today the political orientation, and by this very fact, likewise the possibility of applying the necessary and corresponding tactics.

According to reports coming from Germany, there prevails among the widest strata a spirit of fatalism as regards the war danger. The outbreak of the war, its inevitability, appear to them to be a certainty. This reveals not an enthusiasm for war, but rather fatalism and apathy. The compulsory military service implies the further strengthening of the Fascist dictatorship; it assuredly meets with the approbation of wide strata of the population, particularly among the petty-bourgeoisie who aspire to new posts, and who hope for a boom in their affairs, and it acts to strengthen the feeling of impotence among the rest: "Hitler can do whatever he pleases."

The Double-Edged Sword

Conscription has bound the German proletariat more firmly in its chains, and it poses new and colossal tasks before the revolutionary elements. Anti-militaristic work has

become the principal task ahead. Compulsory service opens up new anti-fascist and revolutionary possibilities but it also presents new and onerous duties. The fate of the impending Fascist war against the U.S.S.R. depends above all on the success of the anti-militarist work in Germany. Universal military service is a double-edged sword for the Fascist dictatorship, as well. Our task must consist in seeing to it that the weapons which are now in the hands of the German proletariat be turned in the last analysis against the Fascists themselves. This requires tenacious and systematic work.

It is impossible to conceive of genuine success in revolutionary and anti-militarist work in Germany except from the standpoint of the formation of a new communist party. But the starting point for the latter is not as yet very favorable. It is true that here and there revolutionary cadres obtain new possibilities to carry on work and at times even the opportunity to assume the leadership of isolated actions, above all in the enterprises, and in the forced labor camps; but these successes are very small indeed. They do not at all imply the transition of the working class to the offensive. The Stalinists continue to pursue their old methods of action at any price, without taking stock of the possible consequences. Up to now, this method, as has been amply demonstrated, does more harm than good. And it is precisely the work under new conditions that demands a complete break with these old methods. With the war drawing closer, the question of the new communist party assumes an ever increasing sharpness.

International Support Vital

But the question of raising the class conscious power of the German proletariat is, primarily, an international question. In Germany the best forces await the assistance of the international working class. An active struggle against the war danger in other countries would have a revivifying repercussion upon the German proletariat. On the other hand, the policy of "national unity" in countries outside of Germany could not fail to augment the disorganization and the disorientation of the German working class. Just as the question of the new communist party poses itself in Germany in all its sharpness, so the question of the Fourth International is posed before the international proletariat. A serious step forward taken in this direction would have important repercussions in Germany. Today, more than ever the German proletariat depends upon international solidarity and the international class struggle.

British I. L. P. Marks Time Report of Conference Shows

We reprint the following account and analysis of the conference of the British Independent Labor Party from the Vanguard, bi-weekly organ of the Workers Party of Canada.—Ed.

The 43rd Annual Conference of the British I.L.P. held at Derby during Easter week-end was looked forward to with keen interest by all sections of the revolutionary working class movement. The party's participation in the conferences of the independent revolutionary socialist parties, its united front activities with the C.P.G.B., its estimation of the international situation were expected to provide lively and interesting debate.

No decision however of a definite character regarding future policy was made, unless we are to consider an endorsement of the policy of the present leadership as such. But this was more an endorsement of a lack of policy than otherwise.

Compared with past conferences the debate brought out the fundamental tendencies reflected in the international movement more sharply and clearly than ever before, and indicated that despite the expressed desire of the National Committee, "to preserve an even keel among all the stormy currents" (Maxton) the I.L.P. membership is being forced by the pressure of international events to make up its mind in which direction it must travel.

Stalinists Bailed

One thing stands out from the proceedings—that the hope of the Stalinists to "capture" the I.L.P. or win it for affiliation to the Comintern is now a dead issue. This was clearly evidenced in the debates and in the waning support given to the spokesmen of this tendency. The decision on the Guild of Youth (I.L.P.) means the affiliation of the Guild to the Young Communist International is now definitely broken and although a small minority of the youth will probably go home to Stalinism, the main body are earnestly seeking a revolutionary orientation particularly internationally, which will lead them away from Stalinism onto the path of a New Youth International. In this respect they can render a great service to the I.L.P. in exposing and undermining the centrism against influence of the N.A.C.

While the United front with the C. P. remains on the books there was much denunciation of the "uselessness" of these activities. McGovern referred to the C. I. as a "bogus international," and when Stephen said in effect that there must be something far wrong with the C. I. when it continues to characterize one of the world's foremost revolutionists and thinkers, L. D. Trotsky, as a "counter-revolutionist," there took place one of the most demonstrative ovations of the whole conference.

Three Main Lines

Benjamin Brockway writes in the New Leader, that three main lines of thought or policy manifested themselves at the conference. To quote from his article:

"They may be described broadly as the 'Communist' line, the 'Trotsky' line, and the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line. The I.L.P. Conference proved that the vast majority of the I.L.P. accept the 'Revolutionary Socialist' line, and only fractions the 'Communist' and 'Trotsky' line."

He describes these "lines" as follows:

"The 'Communist' line would join the I.L.P. and the Communist Party together in a United Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International. The 'Trotsky' line would form a New International. The 'Revolutionary Socialist' line sees that the future revolutionary movement, both in this country and internationally must be something much bigger than a union of forces between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party or the Revolutionary Parties and the Communist International."

"It (the R. S. line) recognizes that revolutionary Socialism thought and spirit is growing in all sections of the working class. It is inevitable that under the present conditions in the world it should grow everywhere."

"The time must come when this common thought and spirit will leap over all organizational barriers and create the united revolutionary movement which alone will be equal to the task of winning workers' power and establishing socialism."

"To join the Communist International or to form a Fourth International under these circumstances is

to postpone the coming of revolutionary unity."

Brockway then offers his criticism which has no principled political or theoretical basis.

The Third International is "top heavy." It embraces millions of Russian workers and only thousands in other countries. "This unbalanced condition of the Communist International," he writes, "has resulted in mistake after mistake—dual unionism, the theory of social fascism, the Communist-Nazi alliance on the German referendum, the over-riding of majorities in Communist Parties and the imposition from above of new leaderships. These mistakes have had such a disastrous effect upon other sections of the working class that there is no hope of the growing revolutionary movement outside the Communist International going into it to redress the balance."

"The United Revolutionary International of the future," he continues, "will not grow out of the present Communist International, will be a coming together of all the revolutionary forces within the present Internationals and outside them. This is the Revolutionary Socialist line."

So there is the "line" which Brockway is pleased to term the Revolutionary Socialist line. A typical centrism opportunist line; a line which declares that the Second International "can be of no effective service to the working class"; a line which rejects affiliation to the Third International; a line which records the growing revolutionary thought and spirit outside the Internationals, but which refuses to openly proclaim the need for a New International, but endeavors to steer an even keel in the stormy international waters.

As the I.L.P. leadership with Ramsay MacDonald at the helm, in the days when true revolutionary parties had to decide their attitude towards the New (third) International after the ignominious collapse of the Second steered and maneuvered for some harbor in between—a two-and-a-half International, so the present leadership is looking for some three-and-a-half International. It vaguely talks about eventual unity of all revolutionary forces.

The Present Need But the working class makes its own history. Furthermore the question here is not of merely forming, in some narrow mechanical manner, a New Fourth International, but

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Would it be best in the U.S.A. if production were so carried on that only "simple reproduction" took place?

Answer: Under capitalism "simple reproduction" could take place only if the capitalists personally consumed all the surplus value which they extract from the workers, so that no accumulation takes place. In general this is an impossibility under capitalism, and while space does not permit us here to go into a detailed analysis demonstrating this, suffice it to point to the fact that "simple reproduction" would require today the scrapping of most of heavy industry, since it is the latter which produces the means of production by which the greatest portion of capitalist accumulation takes place.

The question of reverting to "simple reproduction" is of course only a pure abstraction. Who is there to accomplish this? The capitalists? It is precisely they, whether they like it or not, who are forced by the laws of motion of the capitalist society to accumulate. The government? Whose government is controlled by the capitalists and will protect the interests of the latter, who require that accumulation continues.

If the government is that of the workers, i.e. if the proletariat seizes the power, expropriates the capitalists and organizes production along socialist lines, there is no need of curbing accumulation. To do so would be reactionary, since the problems of humanity can be solved only by expanding its MATERIAL means even higher than was accomplished under capitalism. Under capitalism the misery of the masses grows with the increase in wealth of the ruling class, whereas, under the rule of the workers, and further, under socialism, the greater the increase of the social wealth, the more will society, as a whole, benefit.

H. B. NEW YORK

Question: Does not the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union constitute a ruling class?

Answer: "... THE CLASS has an exceptionally important and more scientific restricted meaning to a Marxist. A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political TECHNIQUE of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes EVERY class regime. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with the ruling economic class, feeding itself upon the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it. ...

"A bureaucracy devours no small portion of surplus value. It might not compute what portion of the national income is devoured by the Fascist locusts in Italy or Germany! But this fact, of no small importance by itself, is entirely insufficient to transform the Fascist bureaucracy into an INDEPENDENT ruling class. It is the lashing of the bourgeoisie. ...

"MUTATIS MUTANDIS (changing what should be changed), what has been said above can be applied to the Stalinist bureaucracy as well. It devours, wastes, and embellishes a considerable portion of the national income. Its management costs the proletariat very dearly. In the Soviet society, it occupies an extremely privileged position not only in the sense of having political and administrative prerogatives but also in the sense of possessing enormous material advantages. Still, the biggest apartness, the juiciest steaks, and even Rolls Royces are not enough to transform the bureaucracy into an independent ruling class. ...

"... the privileges of the bureaucracy by themselves do not change the bases of the Soviet society, because the bureaucracy derives its privileges not from any special property relations, peculiar to it as a 'class,' but from those property relations which have been created by the October Revolution, and which are fundamentally adequate for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

To put it plainly, insofar as the bureaucracy robs the people (and this is done in various ways by every bureaucracy), we have to deal not with CLASS EXPLOITATION, in the scientific sense of the word, but with SOCIAL PARASITISM, although on a very large scale. ...

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Corroboration Of Betrayal

"In the event that the Czechoslovakian army will fight consistently against German imperialism, the Czechoslovakian Communists will support this struggle and come out in favor of the army. We are for preserving the independence of the Czechoslovak nation which can be guaranteed by means of a strong army cleansed of Fascist elements and in which the workers enjoy all political liberties. We demand that the members of the army be granted the right of suffrage again... We will support the Socialist parties in the government in all the measures which are designed to combat fascism and to produce concrete benefits to the workers. In foreign policy we will advocate everything that is designed to support the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to beat back the war plans of Hitler Germany."

—From a speech by the C. P. deputy in the Czech parliament delivered at a mass meeting of the C.P. in Prague and reported in the "Prager Tagblatt". (Neue Front, May 24, 1935.)

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The Socialist Call and Social Patriotism

The Stalin-Laval Communique is arousing the widest interest among the politically organized workers and, following the attacks of the revolutionary Marxists on this shameful announcement of the social-patriotic betrayal of the Stalinists, has now brought important repercussions in the socialist ranks. The *Socialist Call*, organ of the S. P. "militants," devotes an article in the June 8 issue to this question and mimes no words in its denunciation of Stalin and his French lackeys who are transformed into lackeys of the French imperialist bourgeoisie.

The *Socialist Call* quotes the notorious statement: "In this respect Stalin fully understands and approves the policy of national defense undertaken by France of maintaining her armed forces at the level required for security," and the prompt response of *l'Humanite* to the effect that "We are resolved in case of war to carry out our obligation of revolutionary defense even if it coincides with so-called national defense. . . . Revolutionary defeatism demands that we should struggle for the defeat of the Hitlerian counter-revolution."

To this the *Call* quite properly replies:

"So 'revolutionary defense' is to be put at the service of French imperialism! And 'revolutionary defeatism' which always meant the defeat of your government is perverted to mean the defeat of the enemy of your government!"

"This is the most vulgar national chauvinism, no matter in what fine sounding terms it is clad."

So far so good. The expression of the *Socialist Call* is an indication that the Socialist "militants" are overcoming the false and dangerous illusion that Stalinism is something "left" and "revolutionary." It shows that the Socialists are already to a certain extent "vaccinated" against this disease. That is a prerequisite for their further development on the road of revolutionary Marxism, and is a sign that events have served to confirm the educa-

tional campaign which we have conducted for a long time now on this question. All the more significant is it that this enlightenment occurs on the question which determined the regroupment of the revolutionary forces once before and which will do so again—the question of war.

But something more fundamental is involved here. The question under consideration is social-patriotism, and the Stalinists, unfortunately, are not the sole exponents and practitioners of this treachery to the working class. The original, and present, carriers of the poison of social-patriotism in the labor movement are the *Social Democratic reformists*. We condemn the Stalinists, not because they have introduced something new but because they have sunk down to the old platform of Social Democracy! It is not enough for a *socialist paper* to confine its denunciation to the Stalinists. Such a limitation does not clarify but confuses the issue for the socialist workers. It is one-sided, and therefore false and deceptive. All the more so since the Social Democratic leaders stand today where they stood in 1914.

Leon Blum, the leader of the French Socialist Party, in a speech in the French Chamber of Deputies on March 15, announced:

"I am convinced, gentlemen, and I say it weighing my words, that in replying to aggression by Hitlerite Germany, all the workers of this country will rise to a man together with all other Frenchmen."

Why doesn't the *Socialist Call* speak about this when it deals with French affairs? Surely the speech of Blum is known to the editors. It was called to their attention in the May 11 issue of the *New Militant*.

Or, to come closer home, the *New Leader* often praises the policy of the right wing socialists in the bourgeois government of Europe, who stand frankly on a program of civil peace and national defense. This paper, in its issue of May 18, endorses the Franco-Soviet pact and espouses the "international fight on Hitlerism" in company with the bourgeois governments in the "democratic" countries.

Why doesn't the *Socialist Call* answer and denounce these expressions when it deals with the subject of social patriotism? To fail to do so is to fail to arm the socialist workers against social-patriotic betrayal in their own party and international. More correctly, it is to disarm them.

We advise the *Socialist Call* to continue its campaign against the "vulgar national chauvinism" of the Stalinists. And the next time they write the editors should remember the excellent watchword of Karl Liebknecht: "The main enemy is in our own country!" The socialist "militants" will never approach the great German revolutionist until they translate his words to read: The enemy is in our own party!

Question Box

(Continued from Page 3)

"Finally, we may add for the sake of complete clarity: if in the U.S.S.R. today, the Marxist party were in power, it would renovate the entire political regime: it would shuffle and cleanse the bureaucracy, and place it under the control of the masses; it would transform all of the administrative practices, and inaugurate a series of capital reforms in the management of economy; but in no case would it have to undertake an OVERTURN IN THE PROPERTY RELATIONS, i.e., A NEW SOCIAL REVOLUTION" (L. Trotsky, "The Soviet Union and the Fourth International," all emphasis in original.)

BREMERTON, Wash. (FP). — The Roosevelt administration's feverish naval preparations against Japan are giving Bremerton, seat of the Puget Sound U. S. navy yard, boom time prosperity. A \$4,500,000 naval drydock is already voted by congress, warships are being reconditioned and new building is expected.

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One Flight Up

Industrial Unionism and the A. F. of L.

By KARL LORE

Remorse of serious division in the leading circles of the American Federation of Labor run thick on the labor movement grapevine. Louis Stark, the cautious and well-informed labor correspondent of the New York Times has even written of the possibility that the United Mine Workers, the Metal Miners, clothing, brewery, and printing tradesmen might take the initiative in setting up another federation. Unlikely as it is that the near future will see any such development, there is no doubt that real differences exist and that they center around the historic and basic issue of industrial unionism.

The Federation executive is reaping the harvest for its unwillingness to take a stand on the issue. It has been straddling the fence ever since the organizing drive began in the basic industries. No policy had been worked out to meet the situation which arose when the workers in their thousands, flocked into the ranks. But these men and women newly organized into the Federal Labor Union wanted to know: Would they be allowed to retain an industrial structure or would a later division into crafts be forced upon them? The organizers had no answer. The A.F. of L. was handling dynamite and no one knew it better than the labor moguls of its executive council. An outright declaration against industrial unionism meant the loss of thousands of the new recruits. To grant such a structure on the other hand, meant to sweep the ground out from under the feet of some of the most powerful national units in the Federation.

In The Old Unions
Nor was the issue confined to the new unions. The Brewery Workers Union which had come back with a bang after prohibition repeal, was fighting the teamsters and engineers organizations who claimed jurisdiction over these labor categories in breweries. The Machinists Union and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were quarreling about machinists who worked in steel mills. The issue was there, it was inescapable and growing worse constantly. At the 1934 convention held in San Francisco, the Executive Council brought to meet this new situation the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation. This resolution, unanimously adopted, was almost universally regarded as an industrial union move. It was interpreted as the decisive straw which pointed the path of an industrial organization goal.

What has happened since the delegates went home? Have industrial unions been set up? Has the trend in the Federation been in that direction? Unfortunately, it has not. In fact, the trend has been all the other way. There is a very real danger that the present path of the A. F. of L. may wipe out all the organizational gains that the past few years have made. Let us look at the facts.

Warfare Against Brewery Union
A fierce fight is on against the Brewery Workers. Two successive conventions of the A. F. of L. ordered them to give up crafts claimed by other internationals. The brewers rejected the decision by a referendum vote of 24,161 to 170. The craft unions have begun a war to the death. In a number of cities they made deals with the

Basic Issue Stirs Conflict Between Bureaucrats and Ranks

brewery bosses to split the workers' ranks, in others they ousted the Brewery Workers from Central Labor Unions. A dispatch from Spokane, Washington (where union brewers are on strike or are locked out as a result of this fight) quotes Harry Dahl, district representative of the Teamsters, as saying: "We are organizing a new affiliated union called the Brewery Inside Workers to which all employees inside the local breweries must belong."

Truly an unprecedented situation! Dual unionism has always been considered a cardinal crime by Federation officials. Yet here, in its efforts to smash an industrially constructed Federation affiliate, another A. F. of L. organization goes to the length of organizing a dual union. No word of protest has come from Federation headquarters although these tactics are being used in a national fight to dismember one of its oldest bodies.

The "Campaign" in Steel
The last convention of the A. F. of L. voted with great enthusiasm for a widespread organization campaign in the steel industry. Plans were drawn up and presented to the Executive Council at its last session. But the drive never got under way. What happened is fairly well known. The old guard killed the campaign by insisting that it be conducted on a craft basis and that Wharton of the Machinists head the organizing committee. The whole idea was shelved. The industrial unionists on the Council knew that it would be a grizzly farce to approach the men of the mills on that basis.

At the same session the International Union of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers appealed against the action of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and its president, the astute John P. Frey, in dividing the workers in the Butte, Montana copper mines among a number of craft unions. Only the semi-skilled and unskilled had been left in the miners' organization. The appeal was rejected and the position of the Metal Trades Department—composed entirely of craft organizations—was approved.

The Oil Contract
The Metal Trades Department has just signed a joint agreement for twelve of its affiliated crafts with the Sinclair Oil Company, an agreement which runs out in March 1936. Last June a contract was signed by the Sinclair Company with the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which expires in June 1935. The boiler-makers have still another agreement. Certainly by now the unions should have learned the necessity of writing contracts expiring simultaneously for all divisions of the industry. The present situation in oil means that power to act, instead of being concentrated in one strong union, is divided in three directions. Contractual relations with the employer are not coordinated. Unified strike action will be very difficult if not impossible of achievement.

The Federation's real problem, however, lay in the newly organized industries. The Federal locals had been largely the work of rank and file elements and Federation organizers had little influence in them. The unions thus set up were completely industrial in structure and suggestions that crafts be split off met with stiff resistance. It

took all the skill of the practiced trade union politicians of the A. F. of L. to turn the trick but in one place after another the pressure has been too great and the splitting off process began.

Splitting the Federal Locals

Today every possible craft worker is being squeezed out of the Federal locals. In the rubber industry, for example, the locals are composed almost entirely of the production men. All others are in the craft locals and under the discipline of the craft internationals. The International Association of Machinists has recently taken the machinists and tool and die makers out of the mass unions of the Remington Rand Company. The A. F. of L. regards the crux of the problem of organizing the great electrical and radio equipment factories to be "the application of a general policy which would result in the organization of the many skilled mechanics in their respective craft organizations and a coordination of these organizations by plants. . . ." At its convention held some months ago in Buffalo the Radio and Allied Trades National Council which had been organized on an industrial basis voted to "reorganize upon a foundation to meet the requirements which will allow it to be chartered under the American Federation of Labor as an International Union. The aluminum workers have been obliged to give up craft workers. In automobiles and many others, a similar process is under way. When the Independent Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of Camden, N. J. applied for affiliation, it was denied a charter because of its refusal to sacrifice a unified structure.

No Change Envisaged

The picture that emerges is a far from happy one. The high hopes for real industrial unionism at the present time, have gone glimmering. Large slices have been cut out of the Federal locals. Instead of the united front against the bosses, labor must rely on forms of cooperation which all too often fail to work. In the great Toledo auto strike of 1934, for example, the machinists, organized in a separate local, failed to come out and lend their support in the fight.

The Federation can conceive of no change in its basic craft structure and orientation. It regards craft unionism based on the skilled worker as the backbone of its strength in the future as in the past. It realizes that such narrow lines are impossible for the semi-skilled and unskilled production workers in the basic industries. These elements according to this scheme of things, would be lumped together into national unions for their industries. A report on the "Field for Unionization" made to a conference of presidents of international unions early in 1934 shows quite clearly the A. F. of L. conception of the role that the new unions were to play. It estimated that of 30,000,000 organizable workers in the United States, over 17,000,000 or about 58 percent were eligible to membership in the existing internationals. Three chief categories make up the remainder as follows: "the clerks and kindred workers where there are nearly 5,000,000 organizable but not eligible to existing internationals; the semi-skilled workers with a corresponding figure of over 3,000,000; and the unskilled workers with

nearly 4,000,000—a grand total of more than 12,000,000 organizable but with no place in the existing international union structure."

Separating Unskilled Workers

It is a great advance of course, that the less skilled elements have been organized in greater numbers than ever before. There can be no doubt that their presence within the organized labor movement will make a profound impression. But to separate them organizationally from the vitally important skilled workers who are so often the key to victorious strike movements is extremely dangerous. The joint councils which are being set up in most industries to provide for some measure of united action are at best a shoddy substitute for a genuine industrial structure. Only the future can tell whether such makeshift construction will withstand the attack of industry.

The leaders of the great craft unions have been traditionally scornful of the mass of the unskilled. This attitude cropped out at the 1934 convention when Dan Tobin of the Teamsters referred to the "rabble" that had recently come into the trade union movement. His remark was notable for its frankness but it only expressed what too many other labor chiefs, who see in the avalanche of new members a force which may eventually sweep them from their high places, are thinking. Constant and unpredictable strike waves are not to their liking. They fear the new and aggressive elements who, rising from the mills and factories of America, are challenging their policies, their lack of militancy and their right to leadership.

Issue For Progressives

This raises a serious question in regard to the new mass unions of semi and unskilled workers. They are not yet firmly established. The membership and leadership is, by and large, untrained. They have no adequate treasuries to sustain them in their fight. For some time to come they will require a good deal of help from the Federation and from its affiliated organizations. Will they get it? It is tragically significant that in the great textile strike, the most widespread labor battle in the history of America, not one red cent was donated by the craft union cohorts. It is entirely possible that those die-hards, once they have blasted loose and absorbed the craft workers from the Federal Unions, will lose interest in the problems of the masses in the basic industries. The craft moguls are fighting for their lives. They know that the trend of the times is against them and that the ground they stand on is shifting under their feet. But they control the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and, in the cause of self-preservation, they seem prepared to leave the less skilled masses whom they despise and fear, holding the bag.

It is unfortunate that there has been as yet, no consolidation of the progressives in the trade union movement to take the initiative against these tendencies. Certainly without such a crystallization no effective opposition may be expected. The fight for genuine industrial unionism has just begun and is by no means a hopeless one. The rank and file has come through the fire and the blaze of the industrial conflict hardened and more sure of itself, its desire for labor organization which can face up to the job heightened manifold. A united progressive movement can carry forward the banner of organization on the great industrial battlefield of America.

Left Groups Meet in N.Y.

(Continued from Page 1)
of local 22, noting that no clause on race discrimination was included in the program, corrected the oversight.

Shelve Industrial Unionism
On the question of industrial unionism and amalgamation, delegate Schiff, moved that a committee be authorized to draw up a resolution covering the steps to be taken in reaching our objective of one industrial union of all needle workers. This proposal was ruled out as "impractical" on the grounds that the committee could not report back to the conference. Zimmerman spoke to this effect. An addition proposed by the Levy (member of local 1) group opposed "mechanical party control of unions." Zimmerman moved to refer this clause to the incoming executive committee.

Two points in the program were subject to debate: the labor party and dual unionism.
Bill Green's Position
The clause on dual unionism reads in part: "For any union to stand outside the A. F. of L. means to stand outside the labor movement. . . . In the interests of unity we firmly oppose dual unionism of all brands and varieties. Dual unionism destroys solidarity and breeds demoralization and conflicts among the workers, leading to strikebreaking and scabbery, to paralysis and disintegration. . . ." As no reference was made in this clause to the progressive attitude

in cases where unions were expelled on account of militant leadership or where workers were compelled to organize outside the A. F. of L. due to the refusal of officials to allow strikes, etc., some delegates thought an addition on this was in place. The chairman ruled this amendment out and a barrage of attack was launched against its sponsors as "dual unionists."

Sleight-of-Hand

Charles Zimmerman endeavored to back the label "dual unionists" upon the Workers Party by reading a leaflet which advertised a meeting of the W. P. on the question: "Is an Independent Federation of Labor on the Order of the Day?" That the answer given to this question by the W. P. is a decisive "No" was well known to Zimmerman. But that made no difference. The energy which was not displayed by an attack on Dubinsky and Co. was utilized for a typical Lovestoneste slur on the Workers Party. In this he was seconded by other well known Lovestoneste who were present in abundance.

While some delegates from Progressive groups were seated only as fraternal delegates and had their amendments ruled out of order, Will Herberg of the Lovestoneste group who was neither delegate nor needle trades worker, wrote out an addition to the program, handed it up to the reporter Murray Gross, and had it accepted by the latter with the readiness of one long used to accepting suggestions.

The constitution provides for an executive committee of 15, three from local 1, four from local 22, and three from knit goods local—all of these being locals where the progressives are the administration.

I.L.P. Confab Marks Time

(Continued from Page 3)

proclaiming before all the imperative necessity for such working towards and for its consummation. At the Paris Conference of Independent Socialist Parties held in February of this year, which is briefly reported elsewhere in this paper, the British I.L.P. played a leading and important role. This influence has undoubtedly been exerted to prevent a clear declaration for a New International. Delegate C. A. Smith, a prominent worker and writer in the I.L.P., drew attention at the Derby conference to the fact that within the Left Parties group, the I.L.P. has been responsible for the prevention of steps towards the formation of a Fourth International.

The perspective of a New International in the dim and distant future must be energetically rejected. Such an attitude in this deep crisis of capitalism, with rapidly approaching war, with the alarming growth of fascism and fascist tendencies.

The "poor relations"—progressive groups in opposition in the balance of the I.L.G.W., the military workers and the A.C.A.—are to divide four delegates between them. There will be one representative from the Furriers union.

A delegate who pointed out the discrepancy of representation between administration groups and groups in opposition, was pounced on by Zimmerman, Gross and others.

ences in all countries, with the open rejection of all vestiges of revolutionary working class internationalism by the C. I. is little short of a betrayal of basic interests of the international working class.

The British I.L.P. has within its ranks some of the best elements of the British working class. Compared with it the C.P.G.B. is a moribund and decrepit outfit. The I.L.P. is called upon to give a fearless, honest, open revolutionary lead to the British workers. On its decision depends whether as an organization it will flourish and grow in revolutionary strength and activity or miserably disintegrate in the centrist morass of indecision and vacillation. The conference for the first time posed the question openly before the organization and the British workers. Let us hope that the lead given by certain delegates and the obvious desire of many others to meet the problem openly and honestly will spell a speedy end to the past policy of tacking and veering in the stormy currents and that a course will be set for a Fourth International capable of leading the international working class to victory and to Socialism.

MEXICAN RAILWAY, MINE WORKERS FORMING PACT

MEXICO CITY (FP).—A pact of solidarity is being discussed between two of the strongest and largest unions in Mexico—the Railway Workers Union and the Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union. The pact involves close to 100,000 men and will probably be signed before July 1.

The action is of marked importance since it is the first case of such united action by industrial unions in Mexico.

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S. P. Congress Meets Amid French Crisis

Blum Speaks; He Hails Social Patriotism of The Stalinists

Leninists Alone Hold Aloft Banner of Revolution

By Special Correspondent

PARIS, June 15.—On the evening of June 12 the 32nd national congress of the French Socialist party finished its work. Let us review its actions and draw up a balance.

Has any new word emerged from this Congress, any word truly capable of mobilizing the masses, of pointing out to them a concrete goal, precise and clear in the present crisis of French society and of the Third Republic? One will search in vain the decisions of the Mulhouse Congress for an answer to this question. To understand this Congress we must review the days preceding the latest ministerial crisis brought on by the fall of the Flaminio government.

Why Was Flaminio Defeated?

Following the results of the recent municipal elections which showed important gains for the so-called "peoples front" (bloc of the Communist party and Socialist party including the Radicals) there was a fight of gold from the reserves of the Bank of France. The franc was endangered by speculation. Thus the capitalist class decided to create a panic in the country which would enable it to put over a "strong government," following the classical maneuvers formerly successful, from Poincare to Doumergue. This time, however, the maneuver did not yield the results they counted on. Flaminio received only a minority of votes when he demanded extraordinary powers from the Chamber of Deputies. The ex-socialist, Blum, president of the Chamber, met with the same fate. Despite the promise the latter received from the Radicals that they would give him a vote of confidence, the ministry of National Union, formed by Blumson with the participation of renegade socialists (Frossard, Lafont), fell on the critical question of extraordinary powers, a large fraction of the Radicals (70-80) voting against.

Stalinist Parliamentarians

A new situation arose. It appeared that the Radicals, captives of the National Union since February 6, 1934, wished to retrieve their liberty. The Stalinists in the "Humanite" shouted about the victory of the "Peoples Front" which had overthrown two ministries in the course of 24 hours. They even took the initiative in calling together the "left" parliamentarians in order to explore the possibility of re-establishing a "radical" government as a solution of the ministerial crisis. It would be interesting to expand on the maneuvers of the Stalinists among the workers and the Radicals. Let it suffice for the moment to emphasize that the new element of this crisis was the conversion of the Communist Party to the policy of "parliamentary support" offered to the Radicals. From social-patriotism to parliamentary collaboration: such is the latest chapter of Stalinism in France. The Communists (Stalinists) were less "contrary" than the Socialists themselves. The Communists said they favored a government which extended as far to the right as the Neo-Socialists (expelled from the S.P. for reactionary views!) and the moderate liberal Bonnevay. How far removed from the tactic of "social-fascism!"

The Radicals Capitulate

The new Communist policy of parliamentary collaboration was very embarrassing to the Socialists, who were playing at intransigence. A "choice morsel" of this latest ministerial crisis was purveyed by Leon Blum in Le Populaire, June 11, in which he informs us of the proposals made by several Radical "friends": "Observe, Socialist delegates, how prudent and politically-minded your Communist comrades are. They limit themselves to voluntary agreements, to suggesting leaders, and enunciating general formulas. They refrain from presenting a detailed program and of elaborating any positive proposals precisely over which the voluntary (Continued on Page 4)

Eight-Page New Militant First Step to Daily Paper

By A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary of the W. P.

Two kinds of complaints about the New Militant come into the national office. Some comrades write to this effect: "The New Militant does not carry enough news about strikes and organizing campaigns. There are too few articles analyzing these practical class struggle activities and illustrating effective tactics which can be used in similar situations. We also need articles in simple language presenting the Marxist point of view on the Roosevelt program and contrasting it with our revolutionary solution of the problems confronting the American workers." Such comrades go on to say that both in the new unions and in the old, young militant workers are coming to the front who will constitute an important part of the developing revolutionary movement, although they still know very little about Marxist theory. Unless the New Militant contains plenty of material directly tied in with the experiences of these workers and adapted to their stage of development, it cannot be sold and is not read.

Other comrades write: "The New Militant does not contain enough theoretical material. Many important international developments occur and there is no comment or analysis, sometimes not even a passing reference to them. There is too little news and interpretation of events in the rival parties, no criticism of the false positions they are taking."

These comrades point out that the revolutionary party cannot be built simply out of new and as yet unpolitical elements, that we have to win to the W. P. the advanced workers who are already members or under the influence of other parties and that this can be done only if we are constantly demonstrating in our organ the superiority of our party's theoretical position. They argue likewise that unless we impart a solid education to our own members and give them directives and long range perspectives in their work they cannot carry on their practical work effectively either.

Interestingly enough, similar complaints come from sympathizers of the party. Some of them are interested in the W. P. primarily because they believe that it is based upon a correct Marxian program, because they have been convinced by our analysis of developments in the Soviet Union and in the international revolutionary movement. They look to us to provide them regularly with full information on these subjects. Other sympathizers have been attracted by the practical effectiveness of the party in great struggles such as have occurred in Toledo and Minneapolis and in the development of imposing mass organizations such as the National Unemployed League. They desire to get information about these matters and feel that they can "sell" the New Militant to their friends mainly on this basis.

Unlike some complaints, these complaints all have a substantial (Continued on Page 4)

Perkins Hunts Troops Smash Reds in Akron

Government "Survey" Trick to Avert New Strike

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio.—New and delicate problems confront the Workers Party and all class conscious elements in the rubber industry here as the department of justice began a secret investigation of "subversive" activities under orders of Francis Perkins, secretary of labor. This announcement aided conservatives in the General Tire Co. local of 1,000 to avert strike sentiment which had led the workers to vote by a 75 percent majority to walk out if the company didn't agree to negotiate on seniority.

The prime purpose of the federal investigation is to answer the question, "Is there a radical element in control of the A. F. of L. in Akron and Ohio which is acting independently of the national officers and the executive council," Miss Perkins admitted.

This latest move completes the offensive of the rubber barons to smash all progressive elements among the workers and enforce an open shop policy through terrorization.

The Government "Survey"

The government intimidation of the workers was first revealed in veiled hints by Hugh Friel, federal conciliator, when he spoke before the General workers, and he succeeded in temporarily frightening the union leaders.

Of course, when pressed for further explanation Friel attempted to add that a government survey of profits etc. was also part of the probe but this didn't fool anyone.

The fact remains, clearly and openly, that the federal government is taking overt steps to crush the growing influence of the revolutionary elements among the increasingly class-conscious workers.

Unfortunately, many rubber workers do not yet realize the insidious attack can seriously cripple the recovery of the betrayed unions through the possible damage to the only hope of the workers, the party and the progressives.

It scarcely needs to be added that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats will join hands with the government in this dangerous attack.

Troops Smash Illinois Strike

Captain Honors "Forgotten" Men by Tear Gassing Them

By LEIGHTON RIGBY

DIXON, Ill., June 18.—Aided by Henry Horner, smooth-tongued governor of Illinois, officials of the Stover Manufacturing and Engine company, of Freeport, Illinois, were able last Sunday to smash the strike which had kept the plant idle since May 7. Four companies of National Guardsmen, called to the Illinois city after rioting broke out last Friday, broke camp soon after the conference.

Although the 400 members of the International Molders and International Machinists unions had demanded restoration of two 10 percent pay cuts and the right to bargain collectively, picket lines have been withdrawn and 750 employees are back to work after gaining only a 5 percent wage boost. The unions waived their demand for a closed shop. The agreement on wages will be in effect until Sept. 1.

Following the conference, union officials jammed the agreement through to approval by the strikers at a meeting presided over by Chester Sample, vice-president of the International Molders Union. The workers, weary of pleading with grocers for credit during the six weeks without income, accepted the agreement half-heartedly.

Troops were dispatched to Freeport by Acting-Governor Thomas Donovan in response to a telephone call from Sheriff Aurand who stated his inability to control the situation. 200 guardsmen swooped down on the Stover plant.

Tricked Again

On at least two occasions during the strike, company officials announced their immediate intention to meet the strikers' demands. Pickets were disbanded only to find that they had been tricked into allowing scabs to ship out goods, unobserved by members of the unions. Last Friday, Sheriff Aurand and a band of deputized strike breakers attempted to enter the plant. They were blocked by 200 strikers and sympathizers. The sheriff himself fired the first tear gas projectile, aimed directly at the head of Charles Reedy, a union worker. A (Continued on Page 4)

500 in New York Pledge Support To C.S. Victims

Bitter Attacks of I.L.D. Fail to Shake Mini

Almost 500 workers and enemies of reaction attended the Mini Appeal Dinner held in New York City Wednesday night. A message to the Sacramento appellants pledging an unending fight for reversal of their sentences was unanimously adopted. The speakers of the evening included Murray Baron of the Socialist Party; A. J. Muste, Secretary of the Workers Party; Arnold Johnson of the National Unemployed League; John Chamberlain, literary critic of the New York Times; and Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello. Professor Sidney Hook of New York University presided. Announcement was made by Herbert Solow of the N.P.L.D. of progress made in the formation of a united defense committee, which now includes the W. P., S. P., N.P.L.D., N.U.L. League for Industrial Democracy and several other organizations. Words of greeting from labor organizations in various cities were hailed with cheers, as was a message from Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 of San Quentin.

Steps have been taken here and in Chicago to launch a nationwide, broad, militant defense movement which can rescue the Sacramento case from oblivion and fight the infamous anti-labor verdicts. The I. L. D., which represents Mini's seven co-defendants, has deliberately failed to answer invitations to confer with the N.P.L.D. and the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party on these steps. This week's Socialist Call will carry an interview with Murray Baron, one of the S. P. delegation to the temporary Sacramento appeal committee, in which he says that "the provocation offered by the I.L.D. in ignoring repeated appeals for a united defense will not be accepted; we will stay in this fight until the infamous horse-trade verdict of Sacramento has been set aside."

According to an announcement by Herbert Solow, who spent four months in Sacramento directing the N.P.L.D.'s work there, and who is acting secretary of the temporary national Sacramento appeal committee, a call for cooperation signed by the N.P.L.D., the Socialist Party (through its National Labor Committee representative), the W. P. and the League for Industrial Democracy (which aided the N.P.L.D.'s trial fight), has been sent to the Workers Circle, National Unemployed League, Workers Alliance (Continued on Page 4)

Woll Opens Drive on AFL Progressives

NEW YORK (FP).—The American Federation of Labor will expel local unions that admit Communists, according to an announcement in New York City by Matthew Woll, third vice-president of the A. F. of L., speaking for President William Green.

Local unions and even international ones that admit Communists may have their charters withdrawn, Woll stated. The statement was made in connection with the situation in the fur industry, where a movement is under way for amalgamation of the International Fur Workers Union, A. F. of L., and the left-wing independent Fur Workers Industrial Union. In this industry, the independent union, which has followed aggressive policies, controls the New York market. The A. F. of L. group was faced either with being a negligible factor in the New York market—the largest and most important in the industry—or of accepting the left-wing union's offer for a merger and controlling the industry. The recent Toronto convention of the I.F.W.U. authorized the amalgamation.

The statement's indication of similar action against all A. F. of L. affiliated bodies, however, was seen as the answer to the restlessness pervading the entire federation. The rapid growth of the A. F. of L. in the last few years has brought a new aggressiveness and a swift growth of rank and file sentiment which has expressed dissatisfaction with the leadership's policies, particularly in the steel, auto and rubber industries. It has been estimated that the coming A. F. of L. convention will have from 100 to 200 of such aggressive, left-wing delegates as compared with 15 in the last convention.

Sergei Trotsky Jailed By Stalin Bureaucrats

Students at Edinburgh Offer Trotsky Rectorship

June 7, 1935.
To the Students of Edinburgh University

Dear Sirs,
I am indebted to you for your so unexpected and flattering proposal: to put me up as a candidate for the rectorate of your university. The freedom from any nationalist considerations which you show is a great tribute to the spirit of the students of Edinburgh.

I appreciate your confidence all the more since you, as you yourselves say, are uninfluenced by the refusal of the British Government to grant me a visa. Nevertheless I do not feel that I have the right to accept your proposal. The elections to the rectorate, you write, are conducted on a NON-POLITICAL basis and your letter itself is signed by representatives of every political tendency. But I myself occupy too definite a political position; all my activity has been and remains devoted to the revolutionary liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of capital. I have no other right to responsible posts. I would therefore consider it a crime toward the working class and a disloyalty toward you to appear on no matter what public tribune not under the Bolshevik banner. You will find, I have no doubt, a candidate much more in conformity with the traditions of your University.

I wish you with all my heart the greatest success in your work.

Sincerely yours,
—L. TROTSKY.

Deploy Militia in Omaha Strike

Fire at Pickets and Public but Morale Holds Strong

By PAT MURPHY

DAVENPORT, Iowa, June 21.—The militia took over Omaha Sunday, June 18. The state's entire military forces converged on the city fully equipped to intimidate the strikers of the Omaha and Council Bluffs Railway Company who walked out on April 20 when their demands for higher wages, shorter hours and full recognition of their union was refused. The troops are under the command of General Paul who is an old hand at beating down the workers. He boasts that in 1922 he helped beat down the strikers in Nebraska City, Nebraska when the packing house workers were on strike.

June 15 the police department turned their riot guns on a crowd of strikers and sympathizers at 24th and L streets. Rioters fell at each blast. One was killed and 50 wounded. Among the injured were several women. A check of the injured disclosed that 30 were suffering from gunshot wounds and the remainder hurt when clubbed by police. Later Saturday night the police opened fire on another crowd at 35th and K Streets. During the rioting six cars were burned and several overturned. Several hundred spectators, gathered at a tram company depot on the outskirts of South Omaha, were dispersed by police and guardsmen.

The strikers and the company were ordered, by Governor Cochran of Nebraska, to arbitrate. The strikers are willing, and appeared at the designated hour with their arbitrators. But the company refused. In Council Bluffs no cars have left the barn since the strike was called. The strikers in Omaha and Council Bluffs have the sympathy and support of the citizens. Little patronage has fallen to street cars since the strike began.

The morale of the strikers is holding strong. They are determined to win their rights to organize.

WHY WE SKIPPED THE LAST ISSUE

The press of work and the consequent lack of forces occasioned by the recent plenary session of the National Committee of the W. P. compelled us to skip the last issue of the New Militant. The primary cause, however, was the sudden illness of the editor.

AN ACT OF VENGEANCE

Mother Asks for Investigation of Latest Series of Persecutions

By NATHALIE I. TROTSKY

Recently rumors have circulated widely among comrades to the effect that this time Stalin has chosen our youngest son Sergei as the object of his vengeance.

Friends keep asking us: is this really true? Yes, it is true: Sergei was arrested at the very beginning of this year.

If at first one could hope that the arrest was accidental, that in a day or two he would be freed, it is clear now that the jailers have far more serious designs. Since many of the comrades are deeply concerned by the new blow struck at our family it would possibly be best if I stated the entire case in a letter intended for general information.

Never in Politics

Sergei was born in 1908. At the outbreak of the October revolution he was a nine year old boy. He grew up in the Kromlin. In families whose elder members are absorbed by politics the younger ones are often repelled thereby. Such was also our case. Sergei never occupied himself with political questions; he was not even a member of the Communist Youth (Komsomol).

In his schooldays he was absorbed in sport, the circus, and he became an accomplished athlete. In the university he concentrated on mathematics and mechanics. As an engineer he received a professorship in one of the higher technical schools and in the last couple of years he carried on there an extensive pedagogical activity. With two other colleagues he published recently a special work entitled: "Light Gas Generators of Automobile-Tractor Type." The book published by the Scientific Automobile Tractor Institute was warmly received by the most outstanding specialists in the field.

During the last week the mill owners have mobilized an army of strikebreakers, thugs, police and National Guard in an attempt to open the mills at any cost.

In Tacoma, Wash. six mills were reopened on Monday after militia had dispersed large crowds of strikers and sympathizers, as many as two thousand at one time, at the point of bayonets. The same methods are planned in Portland, Ore., where seven mills are to be opened on Wednesday.

The strike is led by a committee as a subsidiary section of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. So far the men have resisted all attempts to put over empty "arbitration" settlements and to break the backbone of the strike by settling one plant at a time.

What Will the Army Do?
Tuesday the more or less barefaced declaration of the governors and the employers of the three states provoked the union leaders into demanding the intervention of federal troops.

While federal mercenary troops might be better behaved than the inexperienced militia, they will just as decidedly take the cause of the employers. The history of federal interventions, beginning with the great railroad strike in the last century is a sad one for labor. The appeal for federal intervention shows a decided weakness in the leaders.

The strikers demand a thirty-hour week, seventy-five cents an hour and union recognition.

The magnificent traditions of the lumber workers, who engaged in many stubborn labor battles in the days of the old I.W.W. point the way to the lumber workers in their struggle today.

Don't depend on troops, fight it out on the picket line.

TWO KILLED IN SOUTH CAROLINA MILL STRIKE

UNION, S. C. (FP).—Supt. T. M. McNeil of the Monarch textile mill in Union has been charged with being an accessory before the fact in the killing of two men during a strike at the plant. Witnesses disagree on who murdered the men—one a constable, the other a foreman—but a special mill police officer and the son of the slain foreman have been arrested.

The trouble occurred during the first day of strike at the mill, after members of the United Textile Workers of America had objected to the hiring of a non-union worker. Gov. Johnston of South Carolina has come to Union to attempt to work out a settlement.

ALBANY, N. Y. (FP).—Fatal industrial accidents reported to the New York state department of labor during May totaled 127. This is six more than in April and 27 than in May, 1934.

Is it possible to conceive that under the influence of events my son became involved recently in opposition activity? I would be happy for his sake if I could think so because then Sergei could bear up much easier under the blow that has been dealt him. But such a supposition must be considered absolutely out of the question. From various sources we knew that Sergei was just as much removed from politics in recent years as before. I personally had no need even of these testimonials as I know only too well his psychological make-up (Continued on Page 2)

Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

Death of Blue Eagle...

Besides declaring the NRA unconstitutional, the Supreme Court in the past 25 years has had to decide on the following momentous issues: the regulation of Chinese laundries, the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine, unripe lemons, kosher meat and boric acid; the size of a loaf of bread in Chicago; chain store profits, regulation of chiropractors, junk dealers, New Orleans prostitutes, Greek letter fraternities, ticket scalping in New York and oyster planting and bird-shooting by aliens. . . . "It breaks my heart to see what has been done to the NRA," sobbed General Hugh Johnson. . . . Garment workers at the Hupp Brothers factory at Macon, Ga., must pay back in small installments the wage increase granted under the NRA. . . . When the NRA became operative in 1933 the following conditions prevailed on the basis of a score of 100 per cent in 1926: factory production 84, employment 78, wages 89. When the NRA stopped the following conditions prevailed: factory production 84, employment 81 and wages 68. Practically all the increase was due to the spending of government relief money. . . . Delivering what he termed "the greatest speech in history" and which lasted 15 hours, Huey Long failed to prevent the passage of the new NRA bill. Among the topics discussed were: cheese dressing for head lettuce, himself, grave robbing, cheaper coffins, share-the-wealth, pot-luker, James A. Farley, mixing drinks and how to fry oysters. . . .

Advice to Graduates...

"I am one who does not believe that some soft-handed fatted down in Washington can run my husband's business," roared Mrs. George B. Simmons, wife of a Missouri farmer, at the "grass root" conference of the G.O.P. No substitute platform was adopted because all farmers present were drawing AAA benefits. . . . A recent study by the Brookings Institute states: "Neither results nor promise of the AAA program justify indefinite continuation of the experiment." The study further states that wheat prices increased because of the drought, the influence of the tariff and to some extent by dollar depreciation. . . .

Cops...

In the recent strike disorders in Omaha, General J. J. Paul substituted "stinking gas" and "knock-out gas" for tear gas which he termed "ineffective." A man was killed and several women injured when "knockout gas" was hurled into a group of bystanders. . . . Passaic, N. J. police must attend church every Sunday and take a Monday quiz on the service. . . . Twenty persons were injured by shotgun slugs, schoolchildren were gassed, as cops and company thugs charged a picketline at the Canton, Ohio, Tin Plate Co. . . . "The government attempts to meddle too much with business. I'll make a million cars next year if they just let the police run the country. And I don't mean the Federal police, I mean the local police," says Henry Ford as the 2,000,000th V8 is run off the assembly line. . . .

Agricultural Adjustment

Herbert Hoover at the Stanford commencement tells about bosses: "Both in the stalls of manual labor and professional work, I missed the discovery that I was a wage slave. I at least had the feeling that it was my option that if I did not like a particular profit taker I could find another one somewhere. I found then a cheery and helpful lot of folk who took an enormous interest in helping young people get a start. And you will find that is the case today." . . . Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia explains the class struggle: "The perfectly baseless notion that society is organized into fixed, definite and mutually antagonistic classes, each of which should be intent upon putting barriers and limitations upon others is in large responsible for the prevailing immorality and unreasonableness which, unless quickly conquered and rejected, will end by destroying all incentive to human effort to reach the highest type of accomplishment and service." . . . President S. Jarrett of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, from which Granville Hicks was recently discharged because of his radical ideas, clarifies the meaning of academic freedom: "We have recently been attacked on the ground that we have stifled academic freedom and abridged free speech. You all know the charge is false. We adhere to an unwritten regulation of long standing that there shall be excluded from all classrooms all controversial discussion about politics, sociology, etc. We cannot permit the excessive academic freedom which must be stigmatized as academic license." . . .

Letters to the Editor

Furrier Hails Unity Achieved in Union;
Tells of Progressive's Role

Editor, New Militant:

After many attempts and after ten years of suffering we have finally succeeded in creating one Furriers' union and in putting a stop to the seemingly interminable inner struggle which has had no equal in the history of the New York trade unions.

After many preliminary meetings the question of one union in the furriers' trade was discussed at the Cooper Union meeting of June 12. This meeting will undoubtedly remain, and will be referred to, as one of the most outstanding events in the history of inner labor troubles. Thousands of furriers, members of both unions, filled the hall to capacity. After a long discussion on the floor, in which many members as well as the leaders of the Industrial Union actively participated, the proposals for creating one strong union, made by the "Committee of Seven" which was elected at the last convention of the Furriers' International, was unanimously adopted and acclaimed with great enthusiasm.

The long inner struggle of the furriers should be of great interest to all organized labor, especially to the workers in the needle trades. Almost all the energy of the workers was exhausted in the needless struggle to fight one another. Due to the false tactics of the furriers' leaders, the bosses had a good chance to undermine conditions in the trade, bringing them down to the lowest possible level.

Conditions Degraded

It has long been clear to every class-conscious furrier that the only solution and remedy for his troubles is one strong union. During the time when the two unions existed, conditions in the trade went from bad to worse. The workers, having lost confidence in their leaders, lost one position after another. Big shops were subdivided into smaller units with the result that the workers suffered the consequences of lower wages and long hours. Contracting was at its height. As a result of their practice of giving out work to the contractors, the workers in many instances lost their jobs altogether. Over time work was established in practically all shops and all agreements as to the scale of wages were universally violated. In fact, there was no scale of wages.

At this moment, at the threshold of unity, it is worth while referring to the inhuman conditions of the past so that we may correct our wrongs and learn our lesson from past experience, and so that the miserable conditions under which we have labored may never see the light again.

There is no doubt that the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. were greatly responsible for the inhuman conditions that prevailed in the trade. They ruled with an

iron fist. Every leading member who was honestly and sincerely interested in helping to build one strong union for the interests of the workers, and who dared to speak his mind, and criticize the leadership with its false tactics and methods, was immediately expelled from the union, ruthlessly persecuted and deprived of all means of earning a livelihood.

The Role of the Stalinists

On the other side of the picture, the official leaders of the left wing (Stalinists) and their contradictory and inconsistent tactics brought about by their desire to create at all costs and under all circumstances "revolutionary" unions, were no less responsible for the split of the workers. Is it not a known fact that any union which was not a part of the "Red Trade Union International" was considered a fascist organization? Who cannot recall the so-called "third period" when the aim was to split the membership of the A. F. of L. Thus the topsy-turvy politics of the Stalinists accelerated the split of organized labor and helped the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. to rid it of the most militant elements in their unions. Indeed, the purpose of such policies was more to serve the bureaucratic interests of the Stalin group than to serve the interests of the workers in their trades. However, the change of the C. P. line, in regard to trade unionism, to disband its red revolutionary unions and to join the A. F. of L., which became on a moment's notice, the law of the Communist Party, changed the attitude of the furriers' "left" leaders and truly revealed the character of the C. P.

It is a known fact that the "left opposition" (Trotskyists) and later the "Workers Party of U.S.," which has been advocating unity on the basis of democratic rights in the A. F. of L., long before the Stalinists changed their policy to dissolve the "T.U.U.L." was regarded as counter-revolutionist and as treacherous to the working class. Progressive elements in the furriers, took a similar position as that of the W. P. despite the torrent of abuse hurled at them by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Struggle of Progressives

Thus, the Industrial Union which came into existence because of its opposition to the bureaucratic methods of the A. F. of L. later on resorted to the same bureaucratic tactics and ruthlessly persecuted every worker whose opinion was out of line with the policies of the leadership of the Industrial Union. Fortunately, however, a group of rank and file workers of the Industrial Union, which came to life in opposition to the bureaucratic methods of their leaders who ruled in disguise under the name of Communism, pushed a fight for democratic rights in the union, and for

unity. Now, when one union has become a reality, we must not forget that credit must be given to the progressive members of the International, especially those from the Toronto local whose honest leadership truthfully served the interests of the workers, by fighting out at their last convention in Toronto the principle which paved the way and laid the basis for unity.

It is high time now that we discard the old and familiar methods and arrive at the convention that the way for American workers to free themselves from exploitation is not to follow the past footprints of the official leadership—right and "left"—the result of which was to split the ranks of the workers, but to march forward, all united in one great union.

—J. KAMINITSKY.

Sacramento Case and Agricultural Union

The Editors have received a copy of the following letter, which The Nation has not yet seen fit to print. We give it space because of our comrade Norman Mini's inability to deal properly with such questions from inside prison walls.

April 30, 1935.

To the Editors of The Nation: In recent issues of your magazine, Norman Mini and Caroline Decker, former active leaders of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, expressed differing views as to the responsibility for the collapse of the Union. Mini attributed the collapse to the policies of the Communist Party which led the Union; Decker, in answer to Mini's article and in defense of the Communist Party, tried to show that the workers have not suffered a defeat, and this last in the face of the fact that the Union has been wrecked, which she does not deny.

Being that Mini, as well as Decker, is now in San Quentin serving a term for "criminal syndicalism" and cannot lay his hands on a document which casts a glaring light upon Decker's defense of the Communist Party, I take it upon myself to defend him against the impeachment of some of his statements.

On December 18 Caroline Decker wrote: "I'm not prepared to say that the criminal neglect of the Union by the D. C. was 'oppositional.'" She, like all the other active unionists, knew that the District Committee of the Communist Party had wrecked the Union. . . . the only problem being, was it by neglect, opposition, disruption, wrong trade union policies, or whatnot.

Not long ago I published a poem in the New Masses dedicated to Caroline Decker. I am not without hope that some day the courage I praised in that poem will return to her and she will say openly what she still believes: that the policies of the Communist Party wrecked the Union and all helped to build, and that it bears no small share of the responsibility for the fact that she, Mini and six others are now in state prisons.

Sincerely,
PAUL COURTNEY.

Criticizes Article on Franco-Soviet Pact

To the Editor:

The "Open Letter To The World Proletariat," featured in the June 8 issue of the "New Militant," furnishes the reader with ample evidence that Lenin has not lived in vain. The letter carries in the opening paragraph a statement, however, that must be termed an irresponsible assertion, to say the least. The second sentence reads: "Today there is not a single worker, even the most politically backward, who is unaware that the Soviet bureaucrats have just publicly, decisively betrayed the international proletariat." This statement is so entirely out of harmony with the letter as a whole that the reader has just reason to think it originated with an ambitious but ill-advised translator.

If this statement were true, the Stalinist parties would immediately lose all of its members save possibly those put there by Stalin himself. The facts are that the spokesmen for the Soviet bureaucracy hail the Stalin-Laval pact as a great victory for the Soviet Union directly, and indirectly a victory for the international proletariat. And accepting the creed of "Stalin Infallibility" the members and sympathizers of the Stalinist parties, in true Catholic fashion, embrace as valid everything that Moscow has put its stamp of approval upon. And yet, members of the C. P., be they American or French, are not "the most politically backward," for they are at least convinced of the fact that society is divided into classes and that a struggle is raging between these classes. If these workers were not class conscious, their revolutionary illiteracy notwithstanding, they would not be members of the C. P. or any other party having for its aim the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Now, let us proceed one step further: if hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers fail to see in the latest Stalin maneuver a betrayal of the international proletariat, how are we to look upon this statement as applied to the non-class-conscious workers numbering millions? How many workers are there in these supposedly enlightened United States who have never as much as heard of the Stalin-Laval pact? How many more are there whose knowledge of this infamous betrayal is limited to a vague memory of having seen something about it in the headlines of an ordinary capitalist newspaper? Their numbers are great!

Our tactics in the class struggle vary to suit a given condition. A false evaluation of conditions as they really are leads to incorrect tactics. If we were to take the statement referred to above seriously, we would at the same time be compelled to take measures that in idiosyncrasy would outstrip the worst brainstorms of the Stalinists during the so-called "third period."

The Open Letter, as a whole, is a masterly analysis of the Stalinist degeneracy, and it would be better still if the statement in question were stricken out altogether.

E. EVERETT.

The Manager's Corner

Full Steam Ahead Now in Drive for
Eight-Page New Militant!

Our campaign for the eight-page weekly New Militant suffered a serious delay due to the plenary meeting of the party National Committee which was held in New York last week. This was unfortunate but it was unavoidable. More regrettable yet is the fact that because of the same reasons we were compelled to skip last week's issue. However, skipping on such occasions is the rare exception, not the rule, and insofar as the campaign is concerned we suggest that it be taken up with redoubled energy and with redoubled speed.

During this intervening fortnight we have received the following contributions toward the eight-page weekly:

L. Berg, New York City	3.00
A. Konikow, Boston	25.00
S. Harrison, N. Y. C.	5.00
H. Gund, N. Y. C.	1.00
W. J. R. California	2.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.	13.00
Katherine Smith, N.Y.C.	5.00
Total	\$54.00

This is a very small beginning but with the interference accounted for it is understandable. There was a certain delay in forwarding the material necessary to go ahead with the work. Now this is in the hands of all the party branches and similar material will be forwarded to our numerous friendly contacts. Nobody will be left out of consideration. Everybody is invited to help put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top before August first.

Previously we suggested the various ways in which help can be given. First of all is the matter of a cash contribution. Secondly, a new subscription to the eight-page weekly will be similarly appreciated and incidentally it will help to extend our circulation. If the method of club subscription cards at the three months reduced rate is preferred \$1.50 forwarded will secure four such cards. Thirdly, where subscriptions prove too difficult to obtain solicit greetings at 25c per name to the first eight-page issue. Fourthly, those who are ready to pledge a certain monthly contribution to maintain the security fund please forward their name and address with the monthly amount indicated.

The delay that already occurred imposes the necessity of more speed in the carrying on of the campaign. Let us have your response right away. Watch next week's issue for rules of contests and prizes in this campaign!

The club card system has been made effective use of by the New Militant builders during the last two weeks. The Minneapolis branch topped the list with 20 club subscriptions. Rose Cassano from Chicago secured 8. J. Gregory, Chicago, secured 4; Cyrus Rigby, Utica, N. Y., 4; Larry Cohen, New York, 4; Freda Charles, New York, 4; Leon Goodman, Philadelphia, 4; and Davenport Branch, 4. This makes a total of 52 club subscriptions.

Force Yipsels Resign Posts

Alex Retskin, City Organizer, and Ruth Oxman, City Secretary, of the New York Y.P.S.L. have resigned their posts under pressure for signing a Left wing statement. No sooner had the four-page mimeographed statement been distributed than the fourteen signatories, all leading Yipsels, were taken to task by Norman Thomas. In both the New Leader and the Socialist Call the young comrades were condemned as "romantic insurrectionists."

The ostensible reason for issuing the Left declaration is to present the views of revolutionary socialism to the Yipsels in preparation for their national convention to be held next month. The signers who it appears, have not worked as an organized group, either for any time before the appearance of the statement or since, call for the building of the Y.P.S.L. "into a revolutionary organization based on revolutionary principles."

The Proposed Program

They propose a program of revolutionary socialism. These principles are a statement of the general Communist position on the state, dictatorship of the proletariat, workers' councils, armed insurrection, reformism and the vanguard party. The declaration is therefore extremely abstract, leaving aside the question of an attitude toward the factions in the Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L., a position towards the Internationals, a position on the Soviet Union, attitude towards other workers' parties, war, fascism and the immediate problems of the working class. Likewise the specific role of the Y.P.S.L. is glossed over.

These omissions can be explained on two grounds: first the desire to "begin with the fundamentals" and second, and in all likelihood the more important, there is no agreement among the signatories on these questions. Most of them are associated with the New York "Militants." Others have been members of the Revolutionary Policy Committee.

"Militants" Embarrassed

The statement has embarrassed the leaders of the "Militants." Issued without consultation with the caucus it puts clearly before the leaders the task of accepting a clear position on the problem of the road to power. Nothing is more distasteful to the "Militant" leaders than the adoption of an unambiguous position on this question since it would lead to further separation both from the left or the right.

The task of the young Socialists who accept the "principles of revolutionary socialism" is to further clarify their position regarding the concrete application of revolutionary principles in the present epoch and involve the membership in the discussion. Clarity on all the fundamental questions of the revolution is the indispensable prerequisite for revolutionary action.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

K.C. Battery Workers Strike

KANSAS CITY, June 18.—Two weeks after union organization began in the plant of the National Battery plant here the summary firing of 11 of the most active union men forced the issue of a strike. About half the plant including the major part of the production staff walked out at the call of the A. F. of L. United Auto Workers Union. The spirit of the strikers was high and the men remaining in the plant were sympathetic.

An injunction was issued against the pickets on a trumped up "dynamiting threat" charge. Martens, President of the local, backed down, failed to support the strike, called off the pickets with a statement that he was "acting like a gentleman."

His "gentlemanly" tactics rapidly discredited Martens with the strikers, who are determined to stay out and eager to fight the issue on the picket line. A progressive group is getting under way, planning to put pressure on Martens, contact other organizations in the city, and set up a mass picket line. If the proper steps are taken the strike runs a good chance, as the busy season begins in July.

The National Battery Co. has plants all over the U. S., the largest in St. Paul, Chicago Heights, and New York. Attempts will be made to contact the workers in the other plants. A protest to the government, one of the largest customers of the company, is contemplated.

What to Attend

New York City
Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—Mass Meeting—Protest Persecution of Bolshevik Revolutionists in Soviet Russia. Speaker: A. J. Muste. At 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Sunday, July 7.—Minneapolis: Joint Picnic of Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League at Minnehaha Park, picnic grounds No. 4 (in the glen). Starts at noon. Diamond-ball, races, refreshments and prizes.

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Sergei Trotsky Imprisoned By Stalinist Bureaucrats

(Continued from Page 1)
and his intellectual bent.

An Act of Vengeance

Why, even the authorities, from Stalin down, were well aware of it: Sergei, I repeat, grew up in the Kremlin, Stalin's son was a frequent visitor in the boy's room; the G.P.U. and the university authorities kept a redoubled watch over him first as a student, secondly as a young professor. He was arrested not for any sort of opposition activity (which did not exist and under all circumstances could not exist) but exclusively as the son of L. D. with the aim of wreaking vengeance upon the family. This is the only explanation possible.

All comrades remember the at-

tempt of the G.P.U. to link up the name of L. D. with the Kiroff assassination: the Latvian consul who gave money for the terrorist act offered at the same time to the terrorists to transmit a letter from them to Trotsky. This whole scheme, however, fell through and served only to compromise the organizers of the trial.

A New Amalgam

But precisely because of it we repeated frequently in our family circle after the trial: "They will not stop at this, they will have to prepare some new case to cover up the failure of the amalgam with the consul." The same thought was also expressed by L. D. in his articles in the Russian Bulletin.

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The only thing that we did not know was the method the G.P.U. will choose this time. But now there can not be even a shadow of a doubt. By arresting the absolutely innocent Sergei and by keeping him in jail for months Stalin clearly and indubitably pursues the aim of creating a new "amalgam."

For this purpose he must force from Sergei some sort of suitable confession, even if only a "renunciation" of his father. I will not speak of the methods by which Stalin obtains the confessions he requires. I have no information on this score. But all the circumstances speak for themselves. . . .

An International Committee

It would be very simple to verify the facts stated in this letter. It would be sufficient, for instance, to establish an international committee consisting of authoritative and sincere individuals, of course, well-established friends of the U.S.S.R. Such a committee would have to examine into all repressions in connection with the Kirov assassination, among other things it would throw the necessary light also on the case of our son Sergei.

This suggestion has nothing exceptional or unacceptable. When the Social Revolutionaries, the organizers of attempts on the lives of Lenin and Trotsky were being tried in 1922, the Central Committee under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky afforded Vandervelde, Kurt Rosenfeld and other adversaries of the Soviet government the right to participate in the trial as defenders of the accused terrorists. This was done precisely in order to dispel in the mind of the international proletariat any doubts as to the fairness of the trial.

Could not Kiroff, Kolland, Charles Gide, Bernard Shaw and other friends of the Soviet Union assume the initiative to establish such a committee in agreement with the Soviet government? This would be the best method of checking on the accusations and the suspicious widely spread in the working masses.

The Soviet bureaucracy cannot place itself above the public opinion of the international working class. As regards the interests of the workers' state, a serious verification of its actions could only serve to its advantage. I, for one, would submit to such an authoritative committee all necessary information and documents concerning my son.

This letter of mine is therefore a direct appeal to working class organizations and friends of the U.S.S.R. abroad, not to interested attorneys of the Soviet bureaucracy, of course, but to sincere and independent friends of the October revolution.

If after prolonged hesitation, I raise openly the question of Sergei it is not only because he happens to be my son. This reason would be more than sufficient for a mother but insufficient to arouse political initiative. But the case of Sergei represents a clear, simple and indisputable case of conscious and criminal self-will, a case which can be very easily verified: the bureaucratic upper-crust crushes and torments a highly qualified Soviet worker who is known to be loyal and absolutely innocent—only in order to satisfy the base instincts of revenge without any political justification: for is it not absolutely obvious that physical suffering inflicted on the son could have no influence whatever on the direction of the political activity of the father, an activity to which Sergei was never in any way related?

That is why I permit myself to think that the case of my son deserves public attention. At any rate, whoever wants to act must act immediately, because given silence and impunity the vengeful acts of Stalin may soon assume an irretrievable character.

France, June 1, 1935.

DENVER (FP).—Industrial unionism as a means of ending jurisdictional disputes was endorsed by the Colorado Federation of Labor convention by an 8 to 1 vote.

1,087 Vote for Bolshevik-Leninists in Paris S. P. District

Preliminary results of the voting in the provinces for delegates to the Congress were as follows: MOROCCO—

Out of a total of 301 voting at the federal congress on May 30, the motion of the Bolshevik-Leninist group received 185 votes as against 117 for the motion of the Bataille Socialiste. 10 mandates from Morocco will be cast for the B.L.G. motion at Mulhouse.

MARNE—

Out of 700 votes cast at the Congress at Verus the B.L.G. motion received 120 votes, thus giving them 5 mandates.

FINISTRE—

Thanks to the work of Comrade Behel one-fourth of the Carhaix section voted for the Bolshevik-Leninists. The work had been carried on for scarcely a month.

RIEON—

15 percent of the votes were won by the B.L.G., thus giving them nine national mandates.

VAUCLUSE—

The Avignon section gave one national mandate to the B.L.G.

TARNE-ET-GARONNE—
The B.L.G. gained three mandates as against four for the Bataille Socialiste, and at
YONNE—

Two mandates were received by the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Just before going to press we received the information relating to the results of the second ballot taken at the Federal Congress of the Seine District. In this vote the Bolshevik-Leninists of France received 1,073 votes for their motion, over a fifth of all the votes. Three delegates, Balay, Molinier and Naville were elected to the Mulhouse Congress.

The main point on the agenda of the Federal Congress of the Seine district, on the eve of the National Conference of the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party of France) at Mulhouse (June 9) was the "Struggle against the Crisis and the Seizure of Power."

The division of the votes on the first ballot was as follows: Bataille Socialiste resolution (the left-Centrist group, who have the majority in the Seine district—2,581 votes; Lebas-Severac resolution—1,366 (the leadership of the party); Resolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists—805.

Action Socialiste resolution—125. Constructive Revolution resolution—132.

C.A.S.I. resolution (the "extreme left")—95.

Abstentions—445.

The resolution presented by the Bolshevik-Leninists has already been printed in the New Militant. And it need only be added that the speeches of the Trotskyists in defense of their positions were in sharp contrast to the vague "leftism" of the other delegates, without a shade of the false optimism which pervaded the "leadership" as a consequence of the latest municipal elections.

We reprint below a summary of a report of the Congress, from the May 25 issue of La Verite (organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O.):

The Bolshevik-Leninist Position
In his speech Comrade Molinier stressed the only possible revolutionary concrete measures which must be undertaken by those who really want to take to the road of revolution. He aimed his attack at the motion of the Bataille Socialiste which speaks of the seizure of power without recognizing the need of the general strike or of creating the embryonic organizations of the workers' state (the Mass Committees). Also, the latter motion lists some excellent prescriptions for the struggle, such as general armament without so much as hinting at the actual and concrete link toward that end: **the workers' militia.**

Comrade Gerard followed by emphasizing the typical contradictions of centrism which pervaded the motions presented.

It was quite in the nature of things that the motion of the Bataille Socialiste could have as its signatories at one and the same time those who were the partisans and those who were the opponents of direct revolutionary action. This motion, said Comrade Gerard, was a colored screen, on which anyone could project his own particular color.

Comrade Naville devoted himself to the exposition of the concrete implications of the seizure of power, linking it up with the actual situation (the Flandin government, the state of the party and of the working class). He pointed out that the policies of the leadership of the party were incompatible with a real struggle for power.

Speaking of parliamentary illusions, Naville took as an example, supporting it by facts, the experience in Italy. The Italian Socialist party despite its considerable electoral successes was none the less annihilated by Fascism, which was weakest in the electoral field. His speech created a profound impression.

The experience in Belgium had dealt a serious blow to the supporters of de Man. So that, tired whom

First Battalion of Workers Militia Marches in France

On June 19, a monster demonstration took place in Paris. In commemoration of the Commune, some 250,000 workers paraded and demonstrated before the Mar de Federes, at the Pere Lachaise cemetery.

The demonstration took place, so to speak, under the sign of the Stalin-Javal Communique. As reported in L'Humanite and the Pravda practically the entire demonstration was devoted to expressions of love to Stalin. What neither the L'Humanite, nor the Pravda dared to report was that thousands upon thousands of workers, the left wing of the S.F.I.O., syndicalists, anarchoists, Doriotists, and, of course, the Bolshevik-Leninists expressed themselves in no unmistakable way about the "great Leader's" consummate betrayal. This time the import of the "leader of the world revolution" was all too clear. And such slogans as "Down with National Defense!" "Civil Peace is War!" "Down with the renegade Stalin!" "Stalin sac au dos!" (Kick Stalin out!) plentifully punctuated the line of march.

By no means the least, vociferous, was the detachment of the first workers' militia, 300 strong that participated in the demonstration, carrying on high its own proletarian version of the Mosaic code: "For one eye, both eyes, for one tooth, the whole jaw."

This first detachment comes as the result of the vigorous propaganda and work of the Young Leninists, who formed the initial nucleus of the present detachment.

The beginning is always the most difficult. Having achieved the first step, it will be much easier now to build and drill subsequent detachments. Other iron detachments will come on the morrow.

spoke in the name of Constructive Revolution was compelled to dissociate himself from the traitors in the P.O.B. (Belgian Labor Party).

He exposed the true depths of the reactionary nature of his tendency by condemning as wild-eyed romanticism all the formulations relating to the arming of the workers.

The Centrist Verbiage
Zyromski took the floor as the spokesman for the motion of his tendency, the Bataille Socialiste.

He began by stating that very rarely he had found himself in so complete and close agreement with a motion. There is no doubt of it. The motion of the Bataille is the best possible specimen of centrism. It faces on the one side toward reformism and on the other towards revolutionary ideas. It deals with reformism in the vaguest and most cautious manner possible, clothing itself with the vaguest formulations, and then deals a blow straight at the heart of revolutionary ideas. It is in essence a collection of phrases that blinds those voting for it to nothing.

La Verite, in commenting on Zyromski's speech, observes that after listening to Zyromski speak so much about "revolutionary force" it could not but recall Pivert's criticism (which had appeared in the La Verite in a previous issue, as an answer to an open letter to him) of those who bubble in general about arming, without envisaging the actual, concrete link in the

Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in French S.P.

1. Pious struggle against the ideas and methods of reformism, a complete and final break with the advocates of collaboration with bourgeois parties (Neos, Gradualists, etc.) in France and throughout the world. The struggle against reformism does not exclude, but demands the struggle for reforms. The reformists who stand on bourgeois legality betray the struggle for reforms. Condemnation of the method of the German Social-Democracy, "The Lesser Evil," which led to the worst possible evil, Fascism.

The Struggle for Power
2. Necessity of revolutionary struggle for power, of armed insurrection for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the only method of transforming capitalist society into socialist society.

The struggle against bourgeois democracy does not exclude but demands the struggle for the defense and extension of workers' rights in the democratic period. This struggle becomes all the more pressing as against the various forms of the dictatorship of finance capital (Fascism, Bonapartism, etc.).

Condemnation of the method of Austrian Social-Democracy in attempting to gain 51 percent of the electorate, a method of passivity and gradualism which can only lead to defeat.

Recognition of the soviet of workers, peasants, and soldiers as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat: a form historically established by the experiences of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the revolutions at the close of the war.

3. Recognition of the international, and by the same token the permanent, character of the proletarian revolution, corresponding to the imperialist nature of the present epoch of capitalism. Condemnation of all deviations of a nationalist character in the policy of the proletariat ("France is not Germany or Italy")—"We love our

country," etc.)

Revolutionary Defense
4. Intransigent opposition to national defense under a capitalist regime. Recognition of revolutionary defense as the only consistent proletarian policy. Denunciation and complete break with hypocritical and false social-pacifism as well as social-patriotism. The necessity of systematically pointing out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international tribunal, no conference on the reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations, will save humanity from imperialism.

5. Revolutionary defense against imperialism and against internal counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, which remains a proletarian state because of its social basis and the predominant form of property.

Necessity of mercilessly unmasking the false methods of the Soviet bureaucracy and especially its foreign policy. The utilization, for the defense of the U.S.S.R., of the contradictions between the various imperialist states must not in any case mean capitulation before the bourgeoisie of the proletariat of an imperialist state temporarily allied with the Soviet Union.

Illegal Work
7. The revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat demands secret, systematic and persevering propaganda in the army.

8. Necessity of supporting, not in words but in deeds, every movement for emancipation among colonial peoples or oppressed nationalities up to and including the right of these peoples to secede from the mother country. The right to self-determination of the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine, including the right of secession from France if they wish.

Systematic propaganda among the French workers against all national and anti-foreign sentiment.

total lack of understanding of the situation in a single phrase which threw the assembly into convulsions. "Haven't we still got plenty of liberties?" asked Severac. Severac can only propose to "continue" and wait. Carry on propaganda. Undoubtedly Severac prefers the sanatorium to the concentration camp, but if he is permitted to "continue," it will be the concentration camp. Nevertheless, contrary to what occurred during the last Federal Congress of the Seine District, the impression was obviously conveyed that Severac this time did not rush to attack the vague motion of the Bataille, which smacks of the Toulouse self-defense motion which Severac had himself voted for. It was against the concrete proposals and methods which find expression only in the motion of the Trotskyists that Severac aimed his fire. Severac's attitude once again testifies to the fact that two policies are confronting one another, one the policy of catastrophe and pacifism, the other, the policy of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the policy of revolution. The motion of the Bataille Socialiste seeks to balance itself in the middle; it is only a screen being erected to cover up the gulf between reformism and revolution.

Pivert on the Tightrope
Pivert provided the "surprise" of the conference. He did nothing more or less than defend the Bataille motion by means of the slogans in the motion of the Trotskyists. It was with considerable astonishment that those who applauded Pivert during his speech heard as his conclusion, that he was supporting the Bataille Socialiste motion. After everything he had said and written to the contrary: after he had written and stated that he for one wanted a concrete and actual motion, that it was necessary to tie up the seizure of power with the war (against national defense); that one must not throw phrases about arming in general, but build the real link in the chain: the workers' militia—after all this, and more, Pivert signed and proclaimed his adherence to the motion which is in flat contradiction to what he has said and written, and he refused to vote for that resolution which was fully in accord with his expressed ideas. . . .

In other words, one advocates the concrete road of revolution, but while waiting, one takes to the road that runs half-way and in between. This attitude on Pivert's part is all the more damnable because it serves to screen from the eyes of the workers the real problems facing them.

Abusing a Good Example
2. Duclos comes next. He reminds us that when the hangman Kornilov waged his offensive, Lenin practiced the tactic towards the Kerensky government, not of supporting the latter but directing all forces against the main enemy.

We popularized this example during the Red Plebiscite and throughout the entire course of events in Germany: at that time the German Communist Party, instead of conducting against Hitler the tactic of Lenin against Kornilov, chose rather to make a united front with the German fascists against the sorry socialist government of Braun-Severing in Prussia. This meant victory for Kornilov-Hitler.

But today it is Duclos who resorts to the example. It is no longer a question of the united front with the "social-fascists" of yesterday upon the common class front, but of an improbable construction in which a Hitler is always tantamount to a Kornilov, but where the Kerensky "to be supported after a fashion," becomes Laval-Weygand. That is, not the puny reformist Kerensky of the democratic revolution who was smeared by history but mighty French imperialism.

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It must be added that the wretched humbug remains triumphant to the end. He continues with the quotation: "Allowing for necessary changes, Lenin wrote, we equally push to the foreground at this time the rebuilding of the agitation for what may be called 'partial demands' (there you see you have the immediate demands, etc. . . .)"

But the quotation does not end there, and here are the partial demands that Lenin listed: "arrest Millukov, arm the Petrograd workers, call in the troops of Kronstadt, Vyborg and Helsingfors, dissolve the Duma, arrest Rodzianko, legalize the transfer of the landed estates to the peasants, establish workers control over food supplies and industry."

Thus it is that Lenin, who goes on to exhort the soldiers to rise against the generals and officers who had declared themselves for Kornilov, rises to fling in Duclos' face the call for a "workers' militia."

3. Thorez, Duclos and Gitton keep repeating to anyone who listens to them: "we are no deserters. As Lenin called upon us, we shall participate in every war, no matter how reactionary it may be." As a matter of fact, Lenin declared that the communists and the workers will participate in wars imperialist may unleash. Upon this point we must discuss with our comrades of the left wing of the Socialist party who declare themselves for "the launching of an insurrectionary strike in reply to the war."

General Strike Against War
If the Marxist-Leninists reject this slogan it is assuredly not on the grounds of principle. But the mechanism whereby wars are unleashed by imperialist powers and

their material and moral preparation result unfortunately in the fact that at the moment when war is declared (if there is a declaration) is the very moment when the proletariat and its organizations are least apt to bring into play the instrument of such a scope as the insurrectionary strike. Thus the slogan proves barren and consequently dangerous. The example of Jouhaux and the French anarchists reveals what betrays the slogan of the "insurrectionary strike" and its subsequent transformation.

Lenin said that the communists and the workers will participate in the imperialist war like the slaves they are. But they will participate as implacable opponents of national defense in order to continue the class struggle and work for the transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war.

That is not at all the way in which Thorez and others give proof of not being deserters. At the general membership meeting of the C. P., Thorez made the following reply: "And now I answer a question that has been put to me. 'In case of a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R. would you apply your slogan: Transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war?' Well, no! Because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union."

4. Thus the conclusion remains the very same: involved here for the workers is the question of "revolutionary defense." In the name of this defense they must participate in an imperialist war in the service of French imperialism.

Here we are not even discussing the dubious unstable and peridious character of the alliance between French imperialism and the U.S.S.R. What is under discussion is not the final end pursued by the French bourgeoisie as well as by every other bourgeoisie in Europe or elsewhere in the impending slaughter which will be unleashed by the capitalist crisis.

As it stands the leaders of the C. P. are pledging themselves to rivet the proletariat to the chains of their bourgeoisie up to and including all the slaughters of war, throughout all the crises of the war. And all this in the name of what kind of revolutionary defense? Of the French proletariat, of their revolution which is or will be accomplished? No. It is in the name of the Russian Workers' State which the French bourgeoisie means to strangle.

But will matters rest here?

The Logical Conclusion
Once on this road, it is foredoomed that the Communist leaders will proceed much further: at Prague, Severac declared that the Communists would defend "the independence of Czechoslovakia." In Paris the expert P.V.C. writes: "the communists do not plant their banner over a dung heap. They do not condemn the army as such. They do not disown the idea of the fatherland (no, since the time of Marx, they know that the workers have no fatherland). They want to conquer for the toiling masses the right to their own banner, the right to their own army, and the right to their own fatherland."

And, WHILE WAITING, they want to safeguard all the material and cultural wealth of the country. "WHILE WAITING," that is to say while under the present domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois fatherland. Thus, revolutionary defense leaps over the chasm which divides it from social patriotism.

The policy of "revolutionary defense" pledges the proletariat to war and to counter-revolution. It is as inevitable for the French proletariat as it is for the Soviet Union. And all this in the name of a "realistic" policy.

There is nothing more "realistic" for the proletariat than Marxism. For ten years we have fought the theory and practice of "socialism in one country." Now more than ever we call upon the proletariat to join us in the struggle for the regeneration of proletarian internationalism.

DETROIT (EP).—Preparations are being made to charter an international union of automobile workers within the near future. Questionnaires will be sent to the various locals of the United Automobile Workers of America to ascertain whether these organized workers now desire an international union and feel capable of the responsibility of directing its affairs.

The response will be for the immediate establishment of an international, the Detroit office of the American Federation of Labor assumes. In anticipation of a large affirmative vote, preparations are now under way to call a convention in Detroit, starting August 26.

Rotten Arguments for a Rotten Cause—the Road from Class Struggle to Civil Peace

At the present time as during the war when Lenin denounced them, swarms of theoreticians rise to the theoretical and scientific defense of the fact that the Communist International has accepted national imperialist defense.

The first ones to date are not worth much.

1. In his long speech at the general membership meeting, Thorez wrapped himself in the mantle of a "great historical example, comrades." That is to say, the attitude of Marx and Engels who supported up to September 4, 1870 the war against the French Empire. And consequently the Communists may support the war against German fascism.

Social-Patriotic Disfrags

The trouble with this threadbare argument is that it has already been worn to shreds in the hands of Vailant, Guesde, Scheidemann and Kautsky during the war of 1914. And it is a fact that in the joint articles in "Against the Stream," Lenin and Zinoviev proved that the war of 1870 was a national war, resulting from the bourgeois national movement of the German people, which was democratic, national and progressive. It is the class content of the war, its significance in the history of the emancipation of classes that dictated the attitude taken by Marx and Engels toward the close of the historical period of continental national wars. But what is the class content of a war of French imperialism? If Thorez wants to use this argument in support of his position, it is only fitting that he should follow Guesde and Scheidemann. Even Cachin can explain that to him.

Moreover, in this war of the pre-imperialist epoch, Marx and Engels supported Bepel and Liebknecht in their refusal to vote war credits to Bismarck, not to be compared with Laval or Wiegand.

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We popularized this example during the Red Plebiscite and throughout the entire course of events in Germany: at that time the German Communist Party, instead of conducting against Hitler the tactic of Lenin against Kornilov, chose rather to make a united front with the German fascists against the sorry socialist government of Braun-Severing in Prussia. This meant victory for Kornilov-Hitler.

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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Can we not get rid of booms and depressions merely by putting all taxes on land and not on the products of the workers?

Answer: There are several fallacies in this conception, which is held chiefly by the Single Taxers. The first consists in assuming that it is, ever has been, or will be, possible to tax anything which is not the product of a worker. Land, without labor, produces practically nothing for human use and it is only when the energies of man are combined with nature that articles of use are created. When the State, be it Slave, Feudal, Capitalist, or Proletarian, applies taxes, it merely appropriates that which has been created by the work of humans whether this tax is assessed in money or in kind, on land, incomes, inheritances, or any other form of wealth. Placing taxes on land alone merely affects a change in the form of tax and therefore in the share of this burden which the different classes in society must bear. Nothing else.

The second fallacy lies in the assumption that taxation can level out the economic cycles of capitalism. Taxes are merely part of the wealth which is created, and, merely appropriating this portion in no way changes the mode by which wealth is produced. Tax as you will, under capitalism, the anarchy, competition, and economic cycles will and must continue. Otherwise capitalism cannot exist.

It may have been argued that the intention is to tax the capitalists so heavily as to practically force the system out of existence. Here we come to the chief fallacy implied in the above question. Who will do the taxing? The government? But the present government is the instrument of the capitalist class, which has no intention of using its own weapons to commit suicide nor to permit others to use it in dealing it a death blow.

It is therefore indulging in useless abstractions to attempt to figure out how to get rid of capitalism by means of a capitalist government. There is only one way: The capitalist state must be destroyed and be replaced by the workers state.

E. V. ST. PAUL—

Question: How do you account for the fact that the state of Ohio seems to be the center of strikes whereas these only seem to be flaring up spasmodically in other parts of the country?

Answer: We can only here advance a supposition since it is impossible to gauge at any particular time all the molecular processes that are generated by the class struggle. In all probability the tempo of the struggles in Ohio, relative to the rest of the country, flows from two chief factors:

1. The objective factor, i.e., the concentrated nature of Ohio industry. If we take 1929 statistics as a basis, 24.2 percent of the workers in the manufacturing industries of this country worked in establishments employing each over 1,000 people. As compared to this, 32.1 percent of the workers in the manufacturing industries in Ohio were concentrated in such large industries, and this figure is exceeded by only three states in the Union: Michigan, with 43.3 percent, Connecticut, with 34.2 percent, and Indiana with 34.1 percent.

2. The subjective factor. People with revolutionary consciousness, particularly members of the Workers' Party, have taken leading positions in the struggle.

In this historical period, the entrance of Marxism into the class struggle is, of course, the decisive element.

Question: Where can I find the statement, attributed to Stalin, in which it is stated that the Social Democracy and fascism are twins?

Answer: In the pamphlet "What Is Happening in Germany?" by Fritz Heckert, published by the Workers Library Publishers in June 1933. Heckert states as follows (p. 20): " . . . As early as 1914 (?) Comrade Stalin gave a definition of the development of social democracy into fascism that in its exactness and its clear-sightedness is unsurpassed (!!), a definition that was made the basis of the Comintern and the policy of the C.P.G.:

"Fascism—said Comrade Stalin—is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. . . . These organizations do not contradict each other but complete each other. They are not antipodes, but twins. . . ."

Further on in the pamphlet, Heckert, ranting against Trotsky, says: "The facts (!!!), then, have in a cruel fashion unmasked the counter-revolutionary meaning of the 'platform' of the social-Hitlerite Trotsky, who has striven to prove that social democracy and fascism are not twins, but antipodes." (p. 28)

Raise Banner of Bolshevism At French S. P. Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

agreement runs the risk of disruption. The Radicals, however, despite the encouragements of the Communists and the promises of "support" from L'Humanite, balked. They quit cold and capitulated to Laval who was finally able to form the new ministry, now in office, having obtained the extraordinary powers previously refused Flandin and Buisson. What lesson must be drawn from this "choice morsel"? For us it is simple and clear. The Radicals revealed what they are and what they are capable of when they are in power on Feb. 6, 1934, during the attempt to capture the Place de la Concorde by the reactionary troops. Faced with the danger of civil war the Radicals capitulated to Doumergue, to the mutinous forces, and to the reactionary coup d'etat. This attitude of the radicals flows logically from their class policy. Could they, would they, ever break with this attitude by involving themselves with the Socialists and the Communists in the struggle against the armed forces of reaction? That would be tantamount to their committing themselves to the road of civil war, which is precisely what the Radicals do not want. And that is why, after many hesitations, the Radicals who refused extraordinary powers to Flandin and Buisson, perceiving where this road led them, turned tail once more, by granting Laval the extraordinary powers against which they had just voted twice in succession. Once more, the threat of armed gangs, of extra legal forces organized by fascism, called the cards in the parliamentary game, demonstrating the complete impotence of the parliament which has outlived itself.

The Mulhouse Congress

The Mulhouse Congress, convened on the morning of this ministerial crisis, should have been a tribute to broadcast to the country, to clarify the country on the difficulties of the hour, to give the working masses the solution of these difficulties. On the contrary, the Mulhouse Congress took note only of the past, giving no directions for the future. The report of the parliamentary group was approved by 2384 mandates against 427, abstaining. In the course of the discussion on this report Leon Blum made a speech which, as usual, was canonized as a "great" speech, but whose greatness, again as usual, consisted in its absolute emptiness, and its complete lack of directives and perspectives.

What did Leon Blum, the "leader" of the S.F.I.O. say? L'Humanite gave his speech the most prominent display, as if he were a leader of the Communist Party itself. In reality both centrism, one stemming from social democracy and the other from Stalinism, complement one another and merge in an amorphous hash, so that it becomes more and more difficult to tell them apart.

National Defense

But now we come to the question of national defense. This is the question which should have revealed a clear differentiation between communism and social democracy. But at the present time the position of Leon Blum is no different from that of Thorez, the Stalinist leader. L'Humanite rejoices in the rapprochement of the two points of view, Socialist and Communist; but it fails to perceive that by this very fact it avows the increasing alienation of the Stalinist parties from Leninism and from revolutionary Marxism. Let Blum speak for himself:

"The attitude of the party (on the question of national defense) conforms to that of the Socialist International and the trade union international. We are ready to do everything in our power to avoid war. But this preventive attitude no longer suffices when war becomes a fact."

"The parliamentary group takes its stand upon the position of the Tours congress of 1920. We declared then that we, Socialists, believed that, under given conditions the national and international duties coincide. Under what conditions does this coincidence exist? When there is a flagrant aggression and invasion of the national soil."

"When this thesis was first presented, Maurice Thorez (Secretary of the Communist Party) rose to the tribune and declared his opposition to it. But since then things have changed..."

Stalin Changes Thorez' Mind

We know what this change is. Following the Stalin-Laval communique the Communists also supported the idea that "National Defense" can coincide with international obligations. But let us allow Leon Blum to continue:

"Shortly after my speech there appeared a series of articles in L'Humanite which designated Hitler as the hereditary enemy. From this time on the theory of revolutionary defeatism was no longer

strictly maintained. ... I said that in case of aggression by Hitlerite Germany the whole proletariat would rise, together with the rest of the country. Now I say that on the day of Hitlerite aggression, Russia would be threatened and therefore the proletariat of the world will rise. My statement was nothing but sort of a prophecy and events have vindicated it."

"What events? The declarations of Stalin, naturally!"

"Have you noticed," Blum kept shouting at the Congress, "the direction of the Communist formulations? Isn't it obvious today that Valentin Coururier employs almost the identical formulas which I used at Tours in 1920?"

And L'Humanite, its heart leaping with joy, applauds Blum for having "said what we say!"

"I believe," Blum went on to say, "that we should welcome the explanations given by the Communists as a result of our united action and as something which will facilitate organic unity. Common formulations are possible."

Thus, on one of the most important problems which have divided the revolutionists from the opportunists and centrists of all shades, the problem of national defense, the "rapprochement" between the Stalinists and social democrats becomes not only possible but has in fact taken place. And not as Blum pretends "as a result of our united action" because the contrary is true, but rather because the sham "unity of action" is only a consequence of the latest evolution of Stalinism on to the positions of social-patriotism.

But on another question of the same gender a similar rapprochement between the "Socialist" and

"Communist" point of view is to be observed: the question of "parliamentary collaboration." What did Leon Blum have to say on this subject? "The Communists were much more interested than we in getting the Lefts together. Nobody as much as they pushed for the constitution of a 'Left Government' in which the Radicals would take the leading role. When Maurice Thorez said to the Radicals: 'Go there,' the Radicals asked: 'Will the Socialists come with us?' In a word: the Communists pressed for a situation which would require our participation." (Whence the great embarrassment of the Socialists.) "What would we have done if the Radicals had not evaded our proposals? I have lived," Blum continued, "through some very difficult days."

Naturally, for fear of his being called to assume direct responsibility. But the Radicals, by cutting the matter short, freed Blum and his Communist colleagues from the fears of revolutionary hazards, from the fears of taking power.

What did the Mulhouse Congress say and what did it do in the face of this problem which is the central problem posed by the situation in France? It is already more than a year since the question of power has been posed in the sharpest manner following the coup of "February 6th." On February 12, 1934 the tolling masses at the call of their organizations replied by a general strike all over France. But the Socialists and Communists, instead of making a bid for power, quit cold, capitulating before Doumergue who was placed in power by the forces of the reactionary coup d'etat. Doumergue, finally had to make room for Flandin and once again the Socialists and Communists sighed, relieved of the fear of being the successors, and they con-

signed themselves to demanding from Flandin the dissolution of the fascist bands and the guaranteeing of "democratic" rights. Flandin, in turn, fell. But despite the electoral victories of the "Peoples Front" in the municipal elections in May and June, the Socialists and the Communists agreed to do nothing, pushing the Radicals to take power, who in their turn quit cold. In the meantime the fascist bands did not cease from equipping themselves, from taking to the road of civil war.

The Bolshevik Leninists

But, the Mulhouse Congress not only had nothing concrete to say on these questions but it revealed the desire to hear nothing about them, when a single voice and a single force took the floor to remind it of its duty: the voice and the force of the Bolshevik Leninists.

Nothing reveals better the character of the Mulhouse Congress than the reaction of the parliamentary high priests to the speeches of the delegates representing the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency, the so-called Trotskyists. For the first time, since the split in Tours in 1920, this tendency appeared on the tribune of a Socialist congress. It was represented by over a hundred mandates. But its real force rested in the ideas defended by it. The Stalinist degeneration, is proved, among other things, by this mutual approbation, by this feeling of mutual and compatible understanding which implies the reciprocal pardon for past errors between the Socialist and Stalinist leaders. At the present time they rest on the same centrist positions. On the other hand it is the Bolshevik-Leninists on whom falls the honor of raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of communism, the banner of those principles on which the Third International of Lenin was founded. When Paul Faure appealed to the congress for unanimity, he exhorted all the delegates, save the Bolshevik-Leninists "who remain true to the 21 points of Moscow," that is to say, true to the principles which gave birth to the Third International. And when the "Trotskyist" delegates heckled Blum's speech, calling the Stalin-Laval communique a betrayal, Blum in a fit of anger replied: "Should unity have to leave your small group outside the reunified party, I will take my party into it." Naturally, and we are also ready. Blum warns us that the wanted organic unity is the unity of the two bureaucracies against the revolutionary current. But the "small group" which Blum would like to leave outside the unified party, has already won an important place for The Mulhouse Congress is proof of itself in the French labor movement.

The only clear and definite slogans; the only true and possible solutions for the working class were presented by the delegates of the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency. National defense? No national defense as long as the bourgeoisie is in power. Revolutionary defeatism is the only working class policy against imperialist war. The defense of the U.S.S.R. is the problem of the socialist revolution; is the question of the struggle for power. And for the conquest of power: mobilize the masses for revolutionary action (against all collaboration with the class enemy). The struggle for power is the immediate problem and not merely an object for discussion at a congress. Workers government (Socialist-Communist government), that is the slogan of the hour. Ballots and parliamentary action will not bar the road to fascism and lead the masses to power. Weapon against weapon: workers' militia. That is the task which falls on the working class parties at the present moment.

These slogans, broadcast from the Mulhouse tribune, distorted by the corrupt Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucrats, will make their way into the hearts of the workers, will create new and grandiose opportunities: the only opportunities for salvation. Numerical weakness is a good argument only for Blum; but the "small group" in the turbulent conditions of today can become the nucleus around which all the revolutionary forces will be regrouped. The progress achieved by the Bolshevik-Leninist tendency in the course of seven months inside the S.F.I.O. proves how great are the possibilities of development for a genuine revolutionary current in the impending great working class struggles and the civil war. Days of stress are inexorably approaching for France as well. And the struggle for power remains the only way out for the working class. Which however it will not be able to find without a party genuinely poised for this revolutionary struggle. That party will be created in the very fire of the struggle. It cannot raise any other banner than that of the Fourth International. Without that, the merger of the reformism of Blum with the bureaucratic centrism of Thorez will lead the working class only to new defeats. It is the grave task of the Bolshevik-Leninists to avoid this catastrophe.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Mexican Labor Movement Unites Against Reaction

MEXICO CITY (FP).—Sudden threats of a violent capitalist offensive have quickly jerked labor in Mexico into unified action, producing almost overnight the formation of a permanent united front group known as the National Proletarian Defense Committee.

The recent sharp menace to organized labor came in the wake of a heavy strike movement since the first of the year. During this time, 1,200 strikes have been called throughout the country, including sympathetic strikes.

Because many of these have been directed against foreign capitalists who control Mexican industry and commerce, insistent pressure has been brought on all governmental departments by employers' organizations which have been trying to inject a "red scare" into the situation. They have been aided by sympathizers of the clergy opposed to the government's church policy.

Growing dissension within the ranks of the official government National Revolutionary Party recently came to a head in a political crisis which produced resignation of the Cardenas cabinet and incorporation into it of elements regarded as favorable to certain conservative groups.

The crisis, which on the surface was a split between followers of Pres. Cardenas and Political Dictator Plutarco Elias Calles, former president and "strong man" of Mexico, developed around the capital-labor issue. To the uninformed observer it appeared that Calles was attacking labor and that Cardenas was defending labor.

Mexico's "New Deal"

Labor spokesmen, however, pointed out that the situation was in reality one which might be compared with an open declaration of hostility between progressive Republicans in the U. S. and New Dealers. The issue, labor leaders said, was whether labor should be treated openly as a factor which opposed capitalist encroachments or whether it should be "given greater doses of demagoguery in order to make it appear that the government is really a labor government."

The situation showed plainly that labor will not retreat, and that it does recognize a common class menace requiring unified action. Calles assailed the recent strike wave, citing by name strikes which he considered unjust, such as those against the telephone company (U. S. capital) and the Huasteca Petroleum Co. (U. S. capital), and added that labor should show itself more grateful for the concessions gained in the past and should not "seek to embarrass the government which is working in their interests."

Organized labor was not particularly interested in the fights among the politicians, but it certainly talked in plain language about those aspects of the fight which might affect workers. The united front immediately issued the following statement after Calles' declarations had been made public:

"The organized labor and peasant movement of Mexico energetically protests the declarations of Gen. Calles, and declares that it will defend the rights of the working class, such as strikes without restrictions, association in unions, and others; and will not cease fighting for the economic and social betterment of wage earners. Strike movements, assailed as due to collective unca-

ness and to a state of social injustice, are phenomena spurred over only by those who represent capitalist interests.

"Strikes will end when there is achieved a transformation of the bourgeois system in which we live. The organized labor and peasant movement of Mexico, aware of the historical moment in which it lives, declares that it will oppose all transgression of its rights, utilizing, at the proper time, the general nationwide strike as the only means of defense against the possible implantation of a fascist regime in Mexico. And facing the threat of seeing its interests jeopardized, declares its firm intention of maintaining class unity."

The united front which signed this statement represented the majority of organized labor, ranging from the radical Unitary Confederation of Mexico to the more powerful but less radical General Workers and Peasants Confederation (headed by Lombardo Toledano and generally characterized as syndicalist-reformist). This was the first time that this important confederation joined the united front movement in Mexico.

Among the points in the pact of solidarity signed by the National

Proletarian Defense Committee are: 1. One representative from each organization forms the committee. 2. The member groups will mutually respect their integrity and abstain from attacking one another. 3. Difficulties between labor organizations will be referred to the committee in an effort to settle them without attacking each other and thus hurting the workers' movement. 4. No interference in autonomy of member groups. 5. Ample basis for solidarity action. 6. Agreement that upon appearance of any fascist or similar organizations threatening workers or peasants or their fundamental right to strike, liberty of association, liberty of expression, right to public demonstration, or "if the state tolerates or foment organizations whose aims or tendencies are openly against such rights, the member organizations of the committee will declare a general strike in opposition to a tyranny of this nature." 7. Convocation of a National Workers and Peasants Congress. 8. The signatory groups declare that "they are opposed to collaboration with the capitalist class and will adjust their acts to revolutionary tactics and under the principle of the class struggle."

Pledge Support to C. S. Victims

(Continued from Page 1)

of America, Spartacus Youth League, Young Peoples Socialist League and Communist Party Opposition (Lovesonites). The American Civil Liberties Union and the General Defense Committee (I.W.W.) have already appointed observers.

A meeting will be held shortly in this city to add these organizations to the temporary committee. Steps will be taken immediately thereafter to add trade union delegations, and there will follow the work of providing Mini with appeal counsel and launching a militant protest campaign against the eight convictions and the criminal syndicalism law. The appeal argument will be very substantial due to errors made by the trial judge and also due to the affidavit obtained from a juror by the N.P.L.D., which impeaches the entire verdict as an illegal horse-trade. With active popular backing, the defense will have a fighting chance.

More I.L.D. Sabotage

According to an announcement by the N.P.L.D., Mini, "placing political integrity above legal expediency," to use his own words, has flatly rejected attempts of the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party to bribe and threaten him into becoming a silent partner in their efforts to make of the Sacramento criminal syndicalism appeal fight a political football.

The I.L.D., the Western Worker (mouthpiece of the C.P.), and other Stalinist institutions have made a united front in playing down the Sacramento appeal fight. Ignoring William Randolph Hearst's challenge that the Sacramento convictions constitute a national test case, the C. P. is playing up, not the Sacramento case, but the Gallup affair, in order to publicize Bob Minor, one of its leading bureaucrats.

The I.L.D., which, during the trial, slandered the youthful Mini as a "stool-pigeon," was compelled to back down at the time of his conviction. It then characterized him as "an honest misled class prisoner." I.L.D. attorney Leo Gallagher proposed a joint defense. The C. P. set on foot a rumor that Mini had "repented" of his political "errors," and that he was "no worse than Jack Warnick," the solitary C. P. Sacramento defendant who had the moral courage to defend Mini against the malicious onslaughts of the Darcy-controlled Stalinist machine.

Now the C. P. has expelled Warnick because he refused to back down on his support of Mini, and discovered that Mini is no less intransigent, the C.P. has also turned on him again.

The Western Worker, which for a few weeks urged readers to send comradeship letters to Mini, has turned its back on him. Endeavoring to escape in advance the blame due it for dividing the appeal movement, the C. P. now "charges" that Mini has "decided to go it alone" on the appeal.

I.L.D. Tries Terror

Nevertheless, the I.L.D. is collecting funds in Mini's name without authorization and without accounting to anybody. This is revealed by a number of documents, including the mimeographed program of a "benefit dance" held at Eagles Hall in San Francisco on June 8th by the so-called State Conference for United Action, a C. P. "united

front." For a while after its flattery failed to win Mini over, the C. P. endeavored to silence him by terrorization. The organization which withheld bail from its jailed members in Sacramento because some of them had dared challenge the bureaucratic regime of the C.P., did not hesitate to try to terrorize Mini into a fear that if he did not knuckle under to them, he would have no defense at all. The I.L.D. sent to San Quentin Leo Gallagher, its trial attorney whose court-room tactics were such a miserable combination of opportunistic backsliding and provocative nonsense, to state that Mini could ride along on the I.L.D.'s appeal for his seven co-defendants, only on condition that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which handled Mini's trial defense and in a score of ways aided the whole defense movement, have no part in the case.

Mini Stands Firm

Mini was informed that the alternative would be renewed ostracism by the I.L.D., and his abandonment to the "shady characters" of the N.P.L.D. who are "impotent, counter-revolutionary" etc. A rumor was set on foot and peddled to Mini through his fellow prisoners and otherwise, that the N.P.L.D. was "abandoning" him. When Mini proved as impervious to this panic-appraisal as he had to flattery, the unprincipled C.P.-I.L.D. bureaucrats turned on him venomously once again.

In a letter to Leo Gallagher, Mini has stated his position in unmistakable language as follows:

"... At the time when the question of joint appeal first came up, I took it for granted that an agreement for close collaboration between the I.L.D. and the N.P.L.D. could easily be worked out. But apparently this part of the question was never considered by members of the I.L.D. ruling group; and the idea became general that the N.P.L.D. had 'abandoned' the case, and that I had turned over my defense to the I. L.D."

"This was a mistake, of course. How could anyone be so naive as to believe that I would entrust my entire defense to the I.L.D.? Especially after the four months display of the honesty and political ability I had just seen in Sacramento?"

"You can see that with me it is a question of placing political integrity above legal expediency. If the I.L.D. refuses to acknowledge that an organization that I belong to exists, then it seems logical that they should ignore my existence also since I believe in the principles and policies of the organization. Under those circumstances, any gesture by the I.L.D. to let me in, while leaving my political beliefs out, must be classed as hypocritical opportunism. And I cannot be part of it."

"From now on, then, to avoid any misunderstanding, any legal actions on my behalf must have the approval of the N.P.L.D."

I.S.U. STRIKES CITIES SERVICE
BOSTON (FP).—With 10 Cities Service oil tankers already idle in five ports from Boston to Port Arthur, the International Seamen's Union looks forward to a complete tieup of the company's 14 ships.

The strike was ordered to force the company—the only oil company of importance still unorganized to accept a union contract. Wages on its ships are some \$15 a month lower than on other tankers, union officials state.

Cities Service ships are tied up in Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia and Port Arthur, Tex.

Eight-Page New Militant Is First Step Toward Daily Paper

(Continued from Page 1)

basis. A propaganda group might conceivably go along with a four page paper, reaching its readers once a week and confining itself to some particular phase of revolutionary theory or activity. A party, which in the nature of the case assumes responsibility for theoretical education of the advanced workers and also for leadership in the daily struggles of the working class, simply cannot begin to meet its obligations with a four-page paper reaching its readers only once a week.

As a matter of fact, we should aim at a daily paper at the earliest possible moment. That in a country as large as the United States and in such a period as this there should be only one general working class daily, and that a Stalinist one, is nothing short of tragic. A daily paper issued by the Workers Party of the U. S., raising aloft the banner of the Fourth International, and presenting a truthful report of national and international events and an analysis of them based upon an uncompromising revolutionary internationalism, would have a national, and in fact, international significance.

The first step toward the achievement of this goal is to carry out the proposal of the Political Committee to increase the weekly New Militant from four to eight pages by Anti-War Day, August 1. All the various types of readers of the New Militant will thus receive more of the material for which they have been asking. New readers can be enrolled by the hundreds, possibly even thousands. An immense stimulus can be given to all the organizational activities of the party itself and of the mass organizations in which it exerts influence.

Funds for the small amount of additional machinery needed in the print shop and to guarantee the steady issuance of the enlarged weekly for a period must be in hand before the change is inaugurated. To proceed in any other way would be to act irresponsibly. Hence the financial campaign for the eight-page New Militant which has been inaugurated in recent issues and about which the branches of the party have been informed. Unquestionably the members and friends of the party, the workers who have seen the party in operation in many a struggle, can by united efforts make the realization of this new forward step possible. We call upon the party members and branches to carry out swiftly and enthusiastically the directions which have been sent them. We call upon all our sympathizers and friends to send in their contributions, large or small, without a moment's delay.

No more appropriate day could be found to carry the banner of revolutionary internationalism a long step forward than Anti-War Day, August 1.

Troops Smash Illinois Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

sharp battle ensued in which several workers were hurt after overturning two trucks bearing deputized "company guards." Reedy's injuries are grave.

The first to leave the county courthouse, where the Governor's conference was held, was Sample, who told the workers to gather at Labor hall for a meeting within an hour. Several hundred strikers had waited four hours in the rain outside the courthouse for news of the meeting.

Next came the Governor, flanked by national guard officers, including Captain Sherwood Dixon, Democratic Central committeeman, of Dixon. Captain Dixon had the loudest voice in Lee county during the campaign of 1932, shouting promises of a new deal for "the forgotten man."

Horner, after posing for two pictures, was whisked away in his waiting automobile, accompanied by Roy Bennethum, president of the

Stover organization. The Governor said before leaving that he was going to place a wreath on the grave of Jane Addams. Bennethum didn't announce his destination, but as the car sped away some of the workers said they hoped he would go to hell.

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NEW YORK (FP).—The United Textile Workers of America executive board has proposed legislation patterned after the Guffey coal bill, setting up a national board of control for the cotton textile industry.

A. J. Muste
Max Shachtman

Protest Persecution of Bolshevik
Revolutionists in Soviet Russia

Irving Plaza Hall
15th St & Irving Pl.
Sunday, June 30th at 8 P.M.

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Britain Joins Hitler Against Soviet Union

Smashes Versailles Pact by Treaty with Germany

Great Britain's open support of German rearmament, as marked by the recent Anglo-German naval agreement, has strengthened the hand of reaction in Europe. New realignments of imperialist powers in preparation for an impending war is taking place. Peace in Europe has been maintained in the last few years due to Hitler's failure to obtain a strong ally on the continent and the collaboration of England and France. Both conditions now appear to be destroyed.

England's new policy, a culmination of years of hardly concealed material support to Hitler's rearmament, has a two-fold purpose: first, to disrupt the Franco-Soviet pact, if possible to win France to an open anti-Soviet policy and second, to collaborate with Hitler so as to insure itself against possible Nazi military adventures at England's expense, for example in Austria.

England has held the balance of power in Europe for the last few years. Now it has openly thrown itself to the side of Germany in Europe. Its agreement with Germany sanctions an increase in the latter's navy to 35 percent of Britain's or a "maximum" of 429,000 tons as compared to France's 650,000 tons. In addition an air agreement between the two countries is now contemplated.

Blow at France

France is bitter over the agreement. Not only does it strengthen Germany, but the fact that it was arrived at without the sanction of the French government makes the French imperialists uneasy. The British, at first, refused to divulge Hitler's naval program to Paris. A few days ago, however, Hitler, under advice of London, informed the French government that his naval program for the next eighteen months calls for the construction of new ships totalling 107,000 tons, inclusive of two battleships of 25,000 tons each.

The first breach in Anglo-French collaboration over the Italian-Ethiopian dispute, immediately followed the signing of the Anglo-German naval agreement. Until then, despite the friendly relations established between France and Italy last January, Paris and London acted concertedly in relation to Italy.

Mussolini now has a free hand in Abyssinia. He has rejected the offer of Anthony Eden, British Minister for League of Nations Affairs to settle the Italo-Ethiopian dispute by giving Ethiopia a strip of British Somaliland to compensate the Africans for concessions to Italy. All correspondents agree that Italy will go to war with Ethiopia in October.

Fear for Colonies

The reaction of the French government to the offer of Eden is not provoked solely by its bitterness over the Anglo-German agreement. France has its own imperialist interests in Africa.

As a Paris dispatch to the New York Times of July 2 states:

"Loyal as France may be to the principles and text of the League of Nations covenant, the leaders and citizens are far from approving the British suggestion to placate Italy and Ethiopia by handing over to the latter the port of Zella, which might become a direct rival of the French port of Djibuti. If Mr. Mussolini had accepted the suggestion, says the Temps, it would have been to the detriment of France and an open violation of Article IX of the treaty of 1906 by which Britain and Italy undertook to refrain from competing with Djibuti."

However, the realignment of the imperialist powers is far from fixed. Diplomats are making hurried trips from one leading capital of Europe to another. There are rumors of tentative Franco-German parleys which if confirmed may mean a disruption of Franco-Soviet relations.

Workers' Russia cannot be defended by imperialist France. Peace cannot be maintained by the "thieves kitchen," the League of Nations. The defense of the Soviet Union depends upon its Red Army, the Soviet workers and peasants, and above all on the international working class.

Protest Stalin Jailings in N.Y.

NEW YORK, June 30.—Over 300 workers attended the Irving Plaza Hall to protest the recent persecutions in the Soviet Union, the latest evidence of which was the imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky and others. Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, and A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the W. P. were the speakers.

The cases in history of persecutions by the Stalinist bureaucracy were ably presented by comrade Shachtman. Comrade Muste concluded the meeting by stating the position of the Party on events in the Soviet Union and their relation to the movement in this country.

By a unanimous vote the following resolution was adopted by the workers present:

We, the workers assembled at a meeting in Irving Plaza Hall, Sunday, June 30, on the call of the Workers Party, protest most vigorously the new wave of persecution against Bolshevik-Leninists and worker revolutionists in the Soviet Union.

We consider the arrest and imprisonment of Sergei Trotsky, who it is known has not participated in any political activity, as an act of brutal vengeance, as an act of Stalin against Leon Trotsky. We endorse the call of Nathalia I. Trotsky for a commission of Andre Gide, Roland and G. B. Shaw to investigate the matter. We are particularly alarmed by this new wave of terror against revolutionists since it can only weaken the revolutionary forces inside the Soviet Union and undermine the prestige of the S. U. in the eyes of the advanced workers in the capitalist countries. These persecutions are particularly criminal in view of the acute danger of war against the Soviet Union.

We delegate the comrades A. J. Muste and Max Shachtman to bring our protest to the attention of the Soviet embassy in this country.

TOLEDO, Ohio (FP).—Averting a strike of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Rathbun-Jones Engineering Co. of Toledo has granted a new agreement providing pay boosts from 3 to 5 cents an hour and maintenance of the 40-hour week.

NEW YORK (FP).—Tom Mooney has won what may well be the battle that is the turning point in his long fight for freedom. The California supreme court has reversed its 18-year-old attitude and has granted Mooney's lawyers a writ of habeas corpus, which means that the state must answer the great volume of evidence of perjury committed during Mooney's trial or release the famous labor prisoner.

New York Pledges \$1000 in Drive for 8-Page New Militant

One of the first responses to our campaign for the eight-page weekly came from S. Harrison, New York City (\$5.00 contribution listed in last issue) and carried this message: "Read about the eight-page New Militant while in Philadelphia last week. It truly gladdened my heart to hear the good news. There are great perspectives ahead of us—the enlarged issue may well contribute a whole lot in the case. . . . Wishing you once more all the success required for such an undertaking."

This is encouraging, and we agree, there are great perspectives ahead of us. We have undertaken a big job as behooves a revolutionary movement, but we set out with the conviction that we can carry it through.

It has never been easy to produce the New Militant week by week. Funds have never yet been plentiful. As a matter of fact we have managed on a shoestring basis. To produce the New Militant today requires an outlay of \$162.00 per issue, all expenses included. At least that is the amount we should have. The truth is that we did not get it and we were compelled to make up in some other way, most often by reducing the economic rations for all the comrades who carried the burden of the active work.

The New 'Magna Charta' for Labor

As soon as Senator Wagner can get to Washington to participate personally in the ballyhoo connected with the attachment of Roosevelt's signature, the much touted Wagner Labor Disputes Bill will have become law. Thus, according to Green, Hillman and the other A.F. of L. bureaucrats who "look to the President" to save labor, another Magna Charta, Charter of liberties, for labor will have been established. What will happen then?

The steel barons and other employers who do regard this bill, which (on paper) "outlaws" company unions and directs employers to bargain collectively with a union which gets the vote of a majority of their employees, as an outrageous concession to labor, have given notice that they will carry the issue of its constitutionality to the Supreme Court. The workers have had bitter experience with such delays over section 7a of NRA which was also a Magna Charta of labor according to Green et al.

Under this bill a National Labor Relations Board is to be set up to "enforce" collective bargaining, etc. Thus the way is paved for eventual greater control of government over the unions. Apart from that, bitter experience has taught the workers how slowly the machinery of these Boards operates even when "friends of unionism" sit on them, and that the employers have numerous devices for evading their decisions or crippling their operations. Besides, under a capitalist government, which necessarily is concerned about keeping the wheels of industry (i.e. capitalist industry) running smoothly, the basic concern of these government agencies is never that of enforcing the rights of the workers, but that of maintaining "industrial peace," in other words, preventing strikes or if they break out somehow, "settling" them, getting the workers back to work as quickly as possible.

Thus these government boards become in

effect strike-breaking agencies even under the best conditions.

The workers will not get salvation from the Wagner bill. They must now as ever fight the entire system for which it stands. They will get nothing except that which they can take by their organized strength and militancy. They must prepare more rigorously and thoroughly than ever, not for an easy way to improved conditions via labor boards, etc. but for a battle to the death against the employer drive against unionism, against the rising cost of living and the accompanying lowering of the standards of living.

It is possible that the initial psychological effect of the passage of the Wagner bill on some sections of the workers will be similar to that which occurred when the NRA was first proclaimed—to create the impression, namely, that unionization will get government support and so to stimulate organizing campaigns and strikes. It is a fact that capitalism in the U. S. does not yet have to resort to the most extreme repression. A "liberal" administration can seek to allay labor unrest and to buy off trade union leaders by concessions, by preventing the most reactionary employers from carrying out immediately their most extreme plans. Militants will take advantage of the situation, and especially of any organization sentiment which may develop among the workers, not in order to strengthen the mistaken impression they may have of friendly government support, but precisely in order that in the struggle to get what the government purports to give them, they may learn the true nature and function of all capitalist governments. Police, militia, soldiers, with clubs, tear gas and guns, will meet the workers who strike for the rights "granted" under the Wagner bill, as they met workers who struck for similar rights under the now defunct NRA. And the lesson will sink in deeper and deeper.

Akron C.L.U. Head Backs Green Red Drive in the Unions

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, July 1.—Joining hands with William Green and other A. F. of L. bureaucrats in their latest "anti-red" drive, Frank Patino, president of the Central Labor Union here declared he not only supported Green's move to split labor through mass expulsions but also began a campaign to oust local militants.

Patino, backed by the Summit County Labor News, announced his policy the day after the monthly meeting of the C.L.U. thus preventing an immediate reply by militants to his disruptive tactics.

It was the first open admission of Patino that he is with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, although his previous actions in strikes had branded him as a hopeless, petty bureaucrat. His statement, widely featured in the labor paper, came three weeks after Coleman C. Claherty, rubber organizer, dragged the red herring across rubber workers' union meetings in an attempt to scare progressives.

Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape, Mussolini Says

Dynamite in Situation May Explode in New World War

By MARTIN A. GLEE

From official sources, writes the London correspondent of the New York Times, it has been learned that Mussolini has told the British envoy, Sir Anthony Eden, that "nothing could prevent Italy from going to war with Ethiopia in October." Arnaldo Cortesi, writing from Rome, says: "If there was any doubt that hostilities (against Ethiopia) would begin in a couple of months there is none now."

The war against Ethiopia may well turn out to be the precursor of the next world massacre. Let us recall once again that it was the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 which was the precursive signal of the last world war. Italy's designs on Ethiopia are pregnant with dire consequences for the world working class. For it is they who will be called upon to suffer a thousand tortures in a thousand different sections of the globe—when the next world war starts.

To understand more clearly the designs of western imperialism on this primitive kingdom in Africa, it is necessary to go back a bit; to establish the position of Ethiopia on the dark continent and to focus attention on the imperialist powers having a "direct interest" in the matter by virtue of boundaries—Italy, France and England.

In eastern Africa lies the kingdom of Ethiopia, popularly but erroneously referred to as Abyssinia. (Of the many tribes that go to make up the empire of Haile Selassie I, the Abyssinians are the most culturally compact, unified and politically and socially advanced. Hence the usual reference to Abyssinia when one is in reality speaking of all of Ethiopia.) It has a population of about 11,000,000 in an area approximating 350,000 square miles. The chief industry is agriculture with breeding taking second place. The exports, the chief articles of which are wax, ivory and animal skins, do not amount to very much. Imports which amount to about 10,000,000 dollars yearly are

(Continued on Page 4)

New York Pledges \$1,000

So far we have made only a very modest beginning and we are still (Continued on Page 3)

100 Companies Grab 1/4 of Nation's Wealth

Invent Electric Jolt for Strikes

NEW YORK (FP).—Police can follow orders now and handle strikers with gloves—"electric gloves."

Construction Supt. Cirilo H. Diaz of Frederick Snare Co., Havana, Cuba, has invented an electric glove which, he guarantees, will paralyze strike pickets temporarily.

In his office in the heart of the Wall Street district, the ingenious Diaz demonstrated his invention to a Federated Press reporter.

Diaz explained that the battery supplying power to the glove is hung on the policeman's belt. An electric cord, cleverly hidden inside the coat sleeve, runs from the battery to the glove, from which electricity is sent through the striker's body by means of four contact points.

The patent, as issued by the U. S. Patent Office, claims the glove is intended for use by police against drunken and insane people, often hard to handle peacefully.

Diaz himself exploded this idea when he told this reporter: "Police can use my glove against radicals and strikers."

Diaz claims the glove can't kill anyone, although the current can be stepped up to 5,000 volts, enough to shock or paralyze any person, and to cause the more jumpy to lose consciousness.

A complete outfit sells for \$10 and New York police officials have already praised the weapons and asked for reduced prices on quantity orders. Police in other cities and states, as well as companies which hire their own private guards to break strikes and stop unionization, are expected to buy huge quantities of these electric gloves. They will supplement clubs, guns, horses, tear gas and vomit gas in dispersing strikers.

This invention may bring fame and fortune to Diaz; it means only a new kind of hell to American workers. But it may galvanize the American workers into abrupt action unforeseen by the inventor, or police and thugs users of the gloves.

BEET WORKERS ORGANIZE FINDLAY, Ohio (FP).—Sugar beet field workers in the Findlay area have organized a local of the Agricultural Workers Union.

The newly-elected officers have been instructed to confer with growers for a wage agreement.

Beet workers are offered a contract giving them \$10 an acre for blocking, thinning and hoeing beets, and \$0.60 a ton for harvesting. They demand \$19 an acre flat guarantee—the rate given in the Blissfield, Mich., area. Both areas are controlled by the Great Lakes Sugar Co.

WASHINGTON (FP).—A New York banker, Vice-Pres. J. L. O'Neill of the Guaranty Trust Co., has been given charge of the skeleton NRA, now little more than a research agency. O'Neill was formerly associated for 22 years with Carnegie Steel.

WASHINGTON (FP).—Fewer and fewer people are coming to control more and more of American industry. This tendency has been going on for some time, of course, but the latest figures are now presented in a report on the "Concentration of Corporate Control in American Industry," prepared by the old Research and Planning Division of NRA.

It shows that 100 large corporations control well over a quarter of the general industrial wealth of the country; that the big corporations are coming through the crisis years with their relative position strengthened; and that there is every reason to believe the concentration of corporate control is continuing.

The report quotes A. A. Berle and Gardiner Means, authors of "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," to the effect that the 200 largest non-banking corporations on Jan. 1, 1930, controlled 49.2 percent of all corporate wealth in the United States. In 1931 the percentage of non-financial corporate wealth controlled by the 200 largest corporations had increased to 55 percent.

A study of income tax data for 1931 and 1932 shows that the tendency toward concentration continued, the NRA report states. It assembles figures showing that 16.55 percent of the corporations controlled 52.2 percent of the corporate wealth in 1931, and 15.75 percent of the corporations controlled 53.3 percent in 1932.

Fewer and Fewer Hands Taking statistics on 100 large industrial corporations, the study shows that the percentage of the industrial wealth of the country controlled by them rose from 23.5 percent in 1929 to 26.0 percent in 1932. "There is every reason for believing that 1933 figures, when available, will show a continuation of this tendency," the report states.

In regard to the record-breaking number of business failures in 1931 and 1932, the report points out that these were mostly small firms. "How many others were forced to the wall, no one knows," it declares. "The passing of small businesses did not ripple the pages of the financial press, and went unrecorded."

But while small and medium-sized corporations perished by the thousands, the leading corporations as a group came through virtually unharmed. With some exceptions the relative position of the large corporations was "strengthened because of the holocaust of lesser competitors during 1931-32. Four hundred and eighteen industrial corporations tabulated by Standard Statistics had more cash and United States government securities at the bottom of the depression than they had in 1927."

These 418 corporations controlled 26.5 percent of the cash and equivalent held by 300,000 general industrial corporations in 1927. In 1929 this percentage had increased to 43.7 percent.

Roosevelt Throws Youth a Bone But Slams Labor at Same Time

Roosevelt has dished out a new sop (slop), this time to the youth of the United States. "I have determined," said the President, "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. . . . The yield on this investment should be high." The new project proposes, in one of its four points, to provide jobs for about 150,000 youths at \$15 a month, "limited to unemployed youths in families that are certified for relief."

A second, and perhaps more obnoxious feature of the project, proposes to "find employment in private industry for employed youth." Employers will be urged to accept youths as apprentices during which a "minimum allowance should be given." In other words, employers, who will probably require little urging, are offered labor at cheaper than full-scale adult wages. Thus, while the first proposal establishes a miserable standard for youth la-

bor, the second is designed to tear down the wage standards of the adult workers.

Other proposals include job-training, and assistance for high-school students whose families are eligible for relief at "80 per month average," and for college students up to 12 percent of the college enrollment, by providing jobs at \$15 a month. The latter proposal is a continuation of the FERA system which has now operated for a year, transferring supervision from college hands to government authority.

Only One-Sixth "Benefits" All told, the project is estimated to cost about \$50,000,000. This sum is to be administered by the National Youth Administration, over which will preside Josephine Roche, Colorado mine owner and Asst. Secretary of the Treasury. In addition the president is to appoint a National Advisory Committee, "to consist of representatives of labor, business, agriculture and youth."

Some 500,000 youth are expected (Continued on Page 4)

RALLY SUPPORT FOR EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Great Minds...

"If there were no aliens in this country there would be no unemployment problem," asserts Representative Dies who is forming an organization to be called "The Americans" for the purpose of carrying on a national campaign to deport 6,000,000 aliens. "Russia has, to all intents and purposes, withdrawn a fertile and populous land of over eight million square miles in extent, with a population of 165,000,000 from the usual economic intercourse with the world. This has upset the delicate economic balance of Europe," proclaims Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., commander of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, in the Hearst press. He advocates aligning ourselves with Nazi Germany "not only for laying forever the ghost of Bolshevism but for opening up the fertile lands of Russia to a crowded and industrially hungry Europe."

Safety...

\$150,000 was appropriated for machine guns, floodlights, electrical devices and tear gas for the defense of United States Mints. "Evidently you're looking for an attack by the regular army," remarked Chairman Buchanan of the Appropriations Committee. "You can't tell what sort of an attack will be made," replied W. C. Cram, technical advisor of the Treasury. "We might be attacked by a mob." The New York City Police Dept. requested quotations on a new "electrical glove" to be worn in subduing strikers. The apparatus consists of a battery and induction coil carried on the hip with wires running to the glove. Voltages up to 5,000 can be obtained. Twenty-five 12-year old New York boys were arrested, jailed, shown the electric chair and fingerprinted as part of their instruction in the suppression of crime. After finishing the course they were presented with badges bearing the slogan "Crime Can't Win!"

Blue Eagle...

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers reports that mills continue to operate in compliance with NRA codes and that its policing unit has had practically nothing to do. One mill was reported to have increased hourly rates. Textile mills in Macon, Ga., have gone back to the 50 hour week with no increase in pay (one back increases granted under the mill requiring employees to pay NRA); millinery manufacturers in Buffalo, N. Y., announce an increase in weekly hours from 35 to 40; workers of the Monzie Shoe Co. in Tennessee are on strike against increasing the shift from 8 to 10 hours; employees of the Ideal Hosiery Co. are striking against a 10 percent wage reduction; two men were killed by deputies in a dispute over wage cutting at the Monarch Textile Mill, Union, S. C. Investigators for the Labor Department found "home work" rampant. Visiting 179 listed employees of the Rhode Island lace industry they found 279 other persons working on the same production, more than a sixth being children. In 75 percent of the cases weekly earnings were less than \$10. Anna Schlörer Smith, Philadelphia mayonnaise manufacturer and owner of Blue Eagle No. 13, slashed her throat when her employees struck in protest to an increase in hours to 50 and a cut in wages from \$13 to \$10 per week.

Housing...

About one third of America's dwellings "are of a character to injure the health, endanger the safety and morals and interfere with the normal life of their inhabitants," reports Edith Wood of the PWA Housing Division after an extensive survey of homes in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. "Housing, public works and other projects on which material costs are relatively high will have to take a secondary place," states the Advisory Committee on Allotments President Roosevelt's four billion dollar relief fund.

Unemployment...

Two thousand hunger marchers from the Canadian west coast are corralled in a concentration camp at Regina, Saskatchewan, to prevent them from marching on Ottawa. Prime Minister Bennett stated to members of the group that there would be no recognition of "Soviet agitators and Soviet committees." "You don't want work," he continued. "You want adventure and hope this organization you are building may overawe the government and break down law and order." FERA colonists at Matanuska, Alaska, complain that they have no houses to live in, food is exorbitantly expensive, schools are not ready, and mosquitoes are unbearable. President Roosevelt announces: "Harry Hopkins and I are considering offering a medal to the State Administrator who causes us the fewest headaches."

A Survey of the Automobile Industry

Detroit and Toledo-Striking Contrast in Organization Methods

moment the "left wing" was nowhere to be found. When the blow came, the men were simply bewildered and stunned. Nobody was on the spot to give them the necessary advice and point the road. The auto-workers protested in the only way they knew how—with their feet.

After that betrayal, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats left the auto workers to the tender mercies of the Automobile Labor Board. When after some nine months meditation, Dr. Wolman at last got around to holding "elections" in the automobile plants and the results showed some 4 percent for the A. F. of L. Green and Dillon got terribly indignant and belligerent. They threatened retribution. Fearing that the ground was just slipping underneath their feet they promised to start a giant organization drive to organize the whole automobile industry.

Dillon Blocks the Road

The organization drive, if it can be honored with that name, just evaporated into thin air. Because the auto workers wouldn't respond? The direct opposite is true. Every "spontaneous" outburst of the auto workers at Murray Body, at Hupp, Kelsey Wheel, the wet sanders in Lansing, was sidetracked by Dillon and referred to some governmental agency. Everyone in Detroit acquainted with the situation knew that the Dillon office feared to organize the men and was deliberately sabotaging all attempts.

The influx of thousands of new young workers of the basic industries in the A. F. of L. and the growth of mighty organizations in the nerve centers of American industry did not signify the corresponding growth and importance of the present leadership, but, on the

contrary, heralded their downfall and disappearance from the trade union scene. Apparently the bureaucrats know this very well, and that is why they so assiduously and carefully sabotage every step of the locals themselves.

Good Opportunities Missed

After a year and a half of such experience, the period of easy unionization is definitely ended. Now, something more than small intimation fees and dues are necessary to attract the automobile worker. Still 1935 was an excellent year to start a serious organization drive. For one, 1935 was a "boom" year. More men employed in the industry than at any time since 1929. Undoubtedly the A. F. of L. would have regained major positions in the industry, had it seriously proceeded with its promised campaign.

A triple alliance would have been formed of auto, rubber and steel. The confidence, such a move would have inspired, would have been immense. The men would have returned to the firing line, and a serious offensive could have been launched against the company unions.

These are all the things that might have been done, were the present A. F. of L. leadership seriously concerned about organizing the automobile workers. Instead it did nothing—and when the workers here and there timidly attempted to start organization on their own account, they were ruthlessly and brutally squelched.

That is why trade unionism is at low ebb in Detroit today. These are the "objective conditions" which made it so difficult to stir up the Detroit Chevrolet workers and interest them in the strike in Toledo. After a year of such sterling labor

"activity," the A. F. of L. federal locals might have lost all standing in the industry, had another center of attraction existed. At first that seemed to be the direction.

M.E.S.A. Stagnates

The Mechanics Educational Society, which organized the key men of the industry, the tool and dye makers, led brilliant, spectacular battles in almost every plant in Detroit and apparently were destined to sweep the whole field. But after the sell-out of March 25, 1934, instead of pushing on and taking over the leadership in a great organization campaign, it began stagnating. No serious attempts were made to get in production men, its membership slumped and the union was torn by an internal cancer of factional struggle between the various cliques, which paralyzed its activity and rendered it helpless. Unless the M.E.S.A. can cleanse itself—and that in short order, and begin an earnest drive for the production men—it will cease to be an important factor in the industry. All indications point at the present time to the fact that for the immediate future, the A. F. of L. federal unions are destined to be the shell within which the auto workers will organize.

We have spoken previously and we are ready to repeat again the story of the peridy of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. We can even add: Dillon and Green are deliberately delaying the formation of an International in the automobile industry, for fear that they cannot yet control it; they intend moreover to exclude from such an International the tool and dye makers, the maintenance men and other workers claimed by the various International unions. All this is true, but axiomatic to a revolutionist engaged in trade union work. If we wish, however, to do more than just "expose" the bureaucracy, if we would actually do battle with it and destroy

it, we must do more than propagandize; we must extend our organizational base in the auto industry because events have proved, we in the W. P. are the only ones who can do the job. We must fuse our ideas with the workers inside the federal unions, to help them "arm" themselves against their enemies and to organize "pressure" for the calling of a democratically controlled convention to establish an International union and to begin an organization drive by September in preparation for a general strike.

Workers Must Prepare to Strike

All the elemental forces of the industry are again turned loose full force, and are inexorably driving the men onward towards the path of unionism. Bitterness and resentment are accumulating so rapidly, that when the explosion occurs, the Toledo strike will look like a tea-party in comparison.

The workers have had a year's experience with the Auto Labor Board. Some 200,000 of them participated in the A. L. B.'s "elections" and while it was a bitter pill that Green and Collins forced them to swallow we say with confidence: it was not in vain! They have learned more in these last few months of "collective bargaining" than the previous five years put together. In plant after plant, members of the bargaining agencies have clashed with the management and have found that beyond getting a light bulb replaced or a water bubbler repaired—their power did not extend. If their demands were not acceded to, they of course had the opportunity of appealing to Dr. Wolman! Now, their only recourse is... strike, and for that they must have an organization.

So, having passed through the glorious run around of Roosevelt, Wolman, Green, Collins and Dillon, they are back at the starting point, more experienced, more steered and better prepared for the battle.

It is now the duty of the conscious revolutionists not to lag behind, but to be prepared to guide the workers and help them in their coming struggle. This task, of organizing this key industry, the "nerve center" of American economy is the most important and significant one since post-war days, galvanizing the key industries, the opening up a completely new phase in American unionism and the labor movement of this country. If we succeed, our position in the American labor movement is secure and we shall be prepared to lead the workers forward to victory.

A Letter the Daily Worker Dared Not Print

To the Editor of Daily Worker,
50 East 13th Street,
New York City
Gentlemen:

In a Daily Worker editorial of June 17, 1935, we read:

"Joseph Zack and Jack Taylor, the two choice morsels which the Trotskyites fished out of the garbage discarded by the C. P., have been expelled and are now publishing a paper of their own. . . . Any honest worker may be forgiven if he holds his nose!"

This section of the above dated Daily Worker editorial runs true to Stalinist form and method of "discarding garbage" in the form of Daily Worker editorials for the consumption of "honest workers" who "hold their nose!"

You hold it is the policy of the Daily Worker to give the "honest workers" the truth and nothing but the truth—yet you deliberately print a trumped up account of my "expulsion" from the Workers Party of the U. S.

The New York Times gives "all the news that's fit to print" providing they do their own "fitting"; the Daily Worker prints a "fitting" account of Jack Taylor's "expulsion" . . .

Need I say that this "expulsion" is the brain child of the Daily Worker editor? . . . Need it be said that Stalinist brain fever (perhaps clairvoyance with Stalinism as the medium) has produced a picture of Jack Taylor "expelled" from the Workers' Party of the U.S.A. and publishing his own paper? . . .

For the "honest workers" who "hold their nose" against the Stalinist stench known as Daily Worker editorials, let me say the following:

Jack Taylor has not been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. and he is not publishing or helping to publish an independent paper.

Finally let me remind you—although you cannot have forgotten this fact—my resignation from the Communist Party was published in the Militant two months prior to my being "discarded" by the C. P. bureaucrats.

Stalinism has now been "discarded" what you call "garbage" for years. Thousands of "discarded" revolutionaries are exiled to Siberia and others held in Stalin's jails. This "garbage" is composed of those Marxists who can see the difference between the Menshevism of Stalin and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky.

This, gentlemen, is the truth—but to get the truth it is necessary to discard the Daily Worker and to read the New Militant, organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

—JACK TAYLOR

Plenum of N.C. of W. P. Spikes False Rumors

The June Plenum of the National Committee of the W. P. took note of rumors to the effect that there are leaders and members of the W. P. who advocate that the W. P. should join or merge with the Socialist Party. Occasionally it is necessary to take account of rumor and gossip, no matter how absurd and irresponsible it may be, simply because it is so persistent. Solely on this ground, the Plenum hereby states that all such reports are absolutely without foundation, that no leaders or members of the W. P. advocate or have advocated any such program.

The position of the W. P. on the Socialist Party and the Second International has been clearly and explicitly set forth in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the merger convention last December of the former Communist League of America and the American Workers Party. We repeat it here both because of the intrinsic soundness of the analysis there set forth and because it is the best and simplest way to indicate how incompatible with the basic Declaration of the W. P. is advocacy of a proposal that it should join or merge with a party of reformism and pacifism:

"The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to a bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now, as at other periods in its history, the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the 'Militant' leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International."

The merger of the former A.W.P. and C.L.A., after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, was in our opinion an historic turning point. The founding of the new party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles was the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. We believe that in ever increasing numbers the vanguard workers who are today in other parties and groups or have no political allegiance will realize with us the crucial importance of breaking with reformism and centristism and unifying the revolutionary forces on the basis of revolutionary internationalism and under the banner of the Fourth International.

What to Attend

BROWNVILLE
Dunce and Watmellon
Eating Contest
SATURDAY, JULY 13, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

Lerman Bros., Inc.
Stationers & Union Printers
Selling to Organizations at Wholesale Prices.
29 East 14th STREET
New York City
Telephones ALg. 4-8843-3356

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square N.D.
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

Tobin's Union-Busting Drive Against 574—and their Reply

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Central Labor Union committee has returned from Indianapolis bearing a set of written demands from D. J. Tobin which outline the basis on which General Drivers Local 574 can be reinstated in the Drivers International. These demands bear witness to the ruthless tactics to which Tobin will stoop in his burning desire to get revenge for an imaginary grievance. Here are his demands:

1. That all inside workers be denied membership in the union.
2. That no worker who does not devote at least 51 percent of his time to driving or other actual work on a truck be permitted to be a member.
3. That the ice drivers be in a separate union. That the coal drivers be in a separate union.
4. That the taxi drivers be in a separate union.
5. That all independent truck owners be denied membership in any union.
6. That a new charter be issued on the following basis:

a. All present officers and active members in Local 574 be denied membership under the new charter.

b. All applications for membership be subject to the approval of Tobin. (This would mean that any worker who is even suspected of having taken an active part in the union would be unable to remain a member.)

c. That the Teamsters Joint Council reorganize the local under the direct supervision of a special representative of Tobin.

d. That all actions of the union be subject to the approval of Tobin.

7. That Tobin receive the delinquent per capita tax of Local 574, the amount to be determined by the General Executive Board and to be not less than 50 percent of what Tobin estimates the local owes. (Tobin's estimate, by the way, is almost double the actual amount involved.)

Tobin Program Worse than Bosses

This program was planned deliberately to cut the union up into small helpless units and to strip it of its fighting ability. Tobin does not want a union in his International which has the power of 574. A few unions like 574 and it would be impossible for him to maintain his bureaucratic control which constantly strangles unionization of the truck drivers of the nation.

In this desperate attempt to protect his pie-card, Tobin is putting forward the same program which the Citizens Alliance put forward last summer. Once again he plays into the hands of the employers as he did through his editorial writing during the 1934 strikes. In fact he attempts to go even further than the bosses did. Not only does he deny that the inside workers have a right to belong to the union, but he attempts to confine the mem-

bership of the General Drivers to workers who spend at least 51 percent of their time on trucks, and then they can be members only if the truck is used to haul certain Tobin-approved commodities.

After reading the Tobin manifesto to the assembly, Jean Spellman, spokesman for the C.I.U. committee, moved that the report be referred to the Teamsters Joint Council for action.

Slander Used in Election Campaign

At this point several delegates took the floor demanding to know why and how intimate details regarding the Local 574 charter fight had come into the hands of the candidate opposing William S. Brown in the aldermanic race in the third ward. Brown, the president of 574, played a militant role in the 1934 strikes and, in keeping with his fighting ability and instincts, waged a splendid and clean fight in the election campaign. But despite this fine record he was not invited to speak to the assembly on this issue which is of such vital importance to his union.

Moe Hork, a member of the 574 executive board, was denied the floor when he attempted to speak on the tactics employed against Brown in the campaign.

Many delegates took the floor to speak of the great gains which the General Drivers have brought to the entire labor movement. Specific instances were cited, such as the New England construction job where the truck drivers threw their strength into a fight which had begun to appear quite hopeless to the building trades unions.

Travesty on Union Democracy

At this point in the debate, which had by now become very heated, a substitute motion was made to throw the Tobin demands in the waste basket. This motion was later ruled out of order on the grounds that it was a negative motion and could not be voted on.

Delegate Wachter pointed out clearly and completely what a travesty of trade union democracy Tobin's policies represent. He pictured how the overwhelming majority of the delegates were in complete sympathy with Local 574 and showed that the differences of opinion in the matter lay principally in the relative courage of the delegates in determining a course of action. Questioning sharply Tobin's right to the dictatorial powers which he assumes, Wachter proposed that the Central Labor Union appeal Tobin's decision to the convention of the Drivers International and that in the meantime the whole matter be left pending with complete recognition of 574. Wachter was unable to obtain a vote on his proposal.

Threaten Charter Revocations

Speaking for his motion to refer Tobin's demands to the Teamsters Joint Council for action, Spellman told the assembly that, while he was in Tobin's office, Tobin had held a telephone conversation with Green in Washington and that Green had promised full co-operation.

Attempting to get the floor to answer Spellman's statements, Farrell Dobbs, secretary-treasurer of Local 574, was denied that privilege, and the Spellman motion was railroaded through.

An analysis of Tobin's demands shows that the voluntary withdrawal of the present leaders of 574 will not satisfy the lust of D. J. Tobin. He clearly states that he will be satisfied with nothing short of the complete disorganization of the local, the sacrifice of all the gains for which Henry Ness and Jack Belor died, and the expulsion of scores of militant members from the union. Tobin demands more than the heads of the leaders—he demands the complete strangulation of the union.

Reactionaries Meet Defeat

With the matter now in their hands, the Teamsters Joint Council will attempt to carry out the Tobin program. But despite the action railroaded through the assembly, the reactionary bureaucracy was badly defeated.

The issues in the fight are clearly defined, and the progressive thinking delegates are well informed as to the real meaning of this program to the movement. Their sympathies are completely with 574, and they will carry their opinions back to their unions with a recommendation that they continue to support the drivers. The standing of Local 574 will continue to be very high among union men.

Delegate Crowl, business agent of the iron workers, told the assembly that on the army job, and every other union construction job where the ironworkers are employed, if any union refuses to demand that 574 men deliver their materials, the ironworkers will tie up the job.

Local 574 will not give up the gains it has made through the bitter struggles of 1934. The sacrifices made were too great to permit Tobin to so lightly cast aside everything that Local 574 stands for. The membership of the General Drivers is up in arms over this outrage. They recognize the Tobin demands as a twin sister to the vicious propaganda of the bosses.

Local 574 will fight Tobin on every front and defeat his Citizens Alliance program.

Every union, every liberal and radical organization must take a clear cut position in this fight. The workers of Minneapolis must respond in the same splendid manner that they did last summer in the struggle with the Citizens Alliance. Smash all union-smashers! Make Minneapolis a union town!

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

England Ends Versailles Treaty

Hardly one week after the Tories took over the British government the new foreign minister, Hoare, resorted to direct action to resolve the contradiction between the reality of German rearmament and the fiction of the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty. The tripling of the German navy is "legalized" by the Anglo-German agreement. In this fashion British imperialism tries to solve a number of its problems, external and internal. Faced with the possible danger of a new naval race in the North Sea with a resurgent German militarism, British capitalism preferred to make concessions relatively harmless to herself, even if a menace to her former allies. England thus takes one step further in encouraging Germany to seek the salvation of its capitalism by expansion to the East, at the expense of the U.S.S.R. A German navy of the size permitted means the control of the Baltic Seas, hence the possibility of attacking Leningrad safely.

At the same time the English ruling class serves notice to France that the latter had better come to terms also with Hitler and abandon the Soviet Union to its fate. This act makes of the Franco-Soviet pact virtually a scrap of paper, for in that pact France can "legally" be released from its operation in case England and Italy refuse to define the aggressor in the coming war. England is doing everything possible to force France to repudiate the military alliance with Stalin. Internally the British Tories are preparing for the coming general elections. They can point to the naval agreement as being one step in the direction of limitation of armaments, which adds nothing to the British naval budget at the moment. If the Tories are successful in the elections there will be an entirely different aspect of things after the elections. The naval race will then be resumed full speed ahead.

Stalinism Grovels Before Imperialism

The nearer the war of intervention, the more desperately the Stalinists grovel before world imperialism to prove that the Soviets are not really a menace to the bourgeois ruling class. Ambassador Troyanovsky, former Menshevik and fit representative of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, assures America that the Soviet Union under Stalin is merely the continuator of the policies of the Kerensky Provisional Government. And in this he tells the truth. The Stalinists are

engaged in erasing every trace of the October Revolution in order to prove their worthiness to exist side by side with reactionary world imperialism. As the preliminary to further concessions to reaction, the Stalinists are proceeding to annihilate physically all Bolshevik oppositionists, past or present. This can only mean a further attack on the working class in the Soviet Union, an added preparation for the betrayal of this working class as well as the world proletariat to bourgeois reaction, solely for the purpose of maintaining in power the reactionary Stalinist bureaucrats.

Only one force stands in the way of Stalin and endangers his "success" in blocking the road to power of the proletariat of Western Europe. That force, still small but growing in influence through the power of its correct Marxist approach to the revolutionary tasks of the working class, is the nucleus of the Fourth International, the inheritors of the militant traditions of the Second and the Third Internationals. To the Stalinists the Fourth International is a greater menace than capitalist imperialism. The next wave of revolution, organized under the banner of the new international, will sweep out of power and into utter oblivion the corrupt bureaucracy that exists only so long as the workers suffer defeats. The venomous hatred manifested by Stalin for the "Trotskyists," the attempt to confuse the workers by slanders and by lumping together the counter-revolutionary imperialist robbers and the Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard—the two extremes of the class struggle—are themselves the recognition that the Stalinists will have to pay for their crimes the moment the workers become aware of them.

The Fourth International alone can accomplish this necessary task of ridding the working class of the poison and treachery of Stalinism. It is the builders of the Fourth International who alone can forewarn the advanced workers against the betrayers who are already sowing the seeds of social patriotism in preparation for the next war. The justifiers of the Franco-Soviet Pact, the lackeys of Soviet diplomacy, are working, in the interests of a privileged clique, to fasten more firmly on the necks of the workers the yoke of capitalism. The Stalinist Defenders of the Soviet Union are ready to become also the Defenders of the Allies of the Soviet Union, the upholders of French militarism. With England already openly tossing aside the Versailles Treaty, the Stalinists are becoming the champions of this treaty insofar as it aids Stalin in his reactionary alliances with capitalist imperialism.

The Manager's Corner

(Continued from Page 1)

far from this goal. But here comes some good news. The New York party district has pledged itself to raise not less than half of the amount stipulated. And, while these comrades were a bit slow in getting started, they are leaving no pebbles unturned now. Very extensive preparations have been made to make good on the pledge. We shall render regular accounts so that every reader may watch how well this district puts its words into action.

The Boston branch made a preliminary pledge of \$53.50 and in accord with the habit it has already established it proceeded to make good right away. Last week we reported \$25.00 from Konikow. There was a slight error. It should have been listed to the credit of the Boston branch. In this issue we can report an additional sum of \$14.00 for this branch. In other words \$39.00 on its account made good already. Of course, the pledge was only a preliminary one.

Contributions To Date

We have organized this campaign

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in such a way that the increase of circulation, getting new subscribers and more extensive bundle sales becomes an important feature. All funds received for new subscribers at the new rate, whether they be regular subscribers, or whether these are obtained by the club plan system, together with amounts for greetings obtained are recorded as part of the campaign. On this basis we have received during the last week the following amounts:

Contributions:
Boston Branch \$14.00
Brownsville Br., New York... 2.50
J. Rorty, Conn. 1.00
Back Seat Driver, N. Y. C. ... 1.00
Illidgard Smith, Kansas... 1.00
Grote, Branch 3, N.Y.C. 10.00
Astoria Branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
Bronx Branch, N. Y. C. 3.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C. 1.00
Center Branch, N. Y. C. 8.00
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C. 11.28
Total \$53.78
Total reported last week, \$54.00
Subscriptions (Club Plans):
Center Br., N.Y.C. (8 subs) ... 3.00
Minneapolis Branch (8 subs) 3.00
Total \$ 6.00
Grand Total \$113.78

Special Subscription Contest

For the best subscription getters, during the period from July 1 to September 1, the following prizes will be awarded:

Any comrade sending in 10 new yearly subscriptions (\$2.00 each), or 20 new subscriptions (\$1.00 each) will receive a complete set of Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" in three bound volumes. Any comrade sending in five new yearly subscriptions or 10 six months subscriptions will receive a bound copy of "The Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."

Of course, these are subscriptions for the eight-page issue only. We shall keep an exact account of all subs received and make sure that the prizes are awarded properly and only to those who reach the goal set during the period stipulated.

In each case we will also change the prizes for an equivalent of any set of books from the Pioneer Book Shop if so desired.

From The Very Beginning

By AL DASCH

The week of July 4th is a fitting one to review some of the revolutionary traditions of the American working class. Class struggles in America did not begin with July 4, 1776. Nor did the first American Revolution solve the contradictions in American society.

The history of this country is replete with class conflicts. From the time of the first indentured and chattel slave down to the modern wage earner an unceasing struggle has taken place between the contending classes. Nor is this strange. For America, almost from the day the colonies were founded, has been subject to the laws of the class struggle. Those who are ignorant of the past, or who deliberately seek to hide and distort its revolutionary traditions may deny this; but the past itself is the greatest living proof of the class battles in American society.

A Legacy of Force

The past has bequeathed the proletariat of today a rich legacy. Revolutionary actions of previous generations hammer home the necessity of revolutionary methods today in order to abolish the ills and ailments of present day society. The lesson they teach is that America was born and matured in violence—that those who struck out for their rights relied not upon "Eternal Truths," but upon the more substantial method of force. It was in this way that the progressive factors in American society were permitted to expand and the basis laid for a social change.

A century before the armed conflict between the colonies and the mother country, England, two of the largest colonies, Virginia and New York, were plunged into the throes of a civil war. These were the Bacon and Leisler uprisings, taking their names from the leaders of the oppressed who headed these revolts. Both met with temporary successes but were later suppressed with the utmost cruelty. The reasons for the rebellions and the severity with which they were put down is given by a member of the then existing Virginia Council. While his description refers specifically to Bacon it fits perfectly the rebels in New York.

The Rebels of Yesterday
"Bacon gathers about him a rabble of the basest sort of peo-

Heritage of Class Struggle in U.S. History

ple, whose conditions are such as by a change could not admit of worse, with these began to stand in defiance against the government. . . . These are the men that are set up for the good of ye Country; who for ye ease of the Poor will have no taxes paid . . . Would have all magistracy and government taken away & set up one themselves & to make their good intentions more manifest stick not to talk openly of sharing men's estates among themselves."

How familiar is this cry from the lips of a colonial master, to us today?

The American Revolution of 1776 was the class struggle breaking out into the open and taking place by armed means. Underneath the surface of the civil war was, of course, a clash of economic interests. England by a series of decrees was hampering the development of the colonies. The mercantilists (who were the ruling class in England) prevented the establishment of American industries so that their own factories would have a market. They succeeded in passing laws forbidding the colonists to expand westward. They prevented the shipping of American raw materials to other nations and imposed restrictions upon the colonists purchasing goods from other countries. In short the domination of England was becoming a fetter on the growth of the colonies. The interests clashed—civil war was the result.

Suppressing the Poor

For us the heritage of 1776 lies not in the eloquent phrases of the Declaration of Independence or the revolutionary fathers. The Declaration of Independence is violated by the capitalist class whenever their interests clash with those of the working class. As for the leaders of the revolution, they were almost entirely motivated by personal interests and not idealistic conceptions. The revolution did not live up to its fine promises once it succeeded. Witness for instance, the revolt of Daniel Shay, an army colonel, and those he led in an at-

tempt to garner for the workers and poor farmers the promises made to them. Shay and those with him were defeated by an army, especially raised for that purpose. But that action destroyed the myth that the revolution was fought for the inalienable rights of man. Wherein then are the revolutionary traditions?

The revolution broke the domination of the mother country and liberated the colonies. It opened the west for expansion and made possible the unleashing of the productive forces in American society. Besides it set up a republican form of government and gave an impetus to the progress of revolution in Europe. As such, it was progressive and we salute it. The heritage of the inalienable rights of man and the heroic suffering of the soldiers in the colonial armies belong not to the American bourgeoisie who are only too anxious to forget the revolutionary actions of the past, but to the American proletariat who will truly complete the first American Revolution by the establishment of a working class dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie claims that the Revolution abolished the difference between classes and the necessity of strife. But the whole history of America since then is a history of violent clashes between exploiters and exploited. From Shay's Rebellion down to the present day a red thread of revolt runs through American society. Nat Turner's revolt, John Brown, the civil war, the strike years of 1877-78, May 1, Homestead, the large and fierce strikes of the present period, all bear witness to the class conflict raging in the United States.

Marx, in the introduction to the first volume of Capital speaks of the stimulating influences of the American Revolution of the 18th century and the American Civil War of the 19th on European society. The first influenced the course of the Great French Revolution and brought in its train a spread of democratic ideas through Europe. The second helped bring about a series of important reforms in the old world. Who can say that the revolutionary events which will take place in American society in the 20th century will liberate not only the American proletariat but that of the entire world?

hands of the Executive Board including the power to suspend and expel members. The present very limited democracy would be succeeded by a bureaucratic dictatorship of the officers and the Executive Board. The road would be clear for further expulsions of members if they raised any organized objections to these measures or to any policies which the clique sought to pursue.

Effect on Other Unions

If the Administration succeeds in carrying through its program it will give the Green-Wool leadership encouragement in their present campaign to expel the communists from the unions—which is their device for labelling and getting rid of the progressives.

If minority groups can be suppressed in one union, then they can be suppressed in other unions as well. It is to be expected that the reactionaries in other A. F. of L. unions will not be slow in seizing upon similar "reorganization" measures. The demagogical cry will be raised that progressive groups based upon a simple trade union program are taking orders from "outside organizations" meaning by that the working class political parties. The pretext for the suppression of progressive minority groups will have been obtained by the precedent set in the case of the Teachers Union. Thus the investigation of Local 5 acquires significance for the progressive forces in the entire labor movement. It is not an exaggeration that these machinations endanger the existence of the progressive forces.

It thus becomes the duty of the progressives in other unions to come to the assistance of the large militant membership of the Teachers Union in their efforts to preserve the unity of the organization against the Administration splitters.

The "Investigation" Maneuvers

If the Lefkowitz-Linville faction succeeds in its present move to reorganize the Teachers Union, the results will probably take this form:

1) Leaders and many prominent members of the union will be expelled or excluded from the "reorganized" union.

2) The minority groups will be dissolved and legalized. They will be prohibited from holding group meetings, issuing literature and appeals to the membership, presenting motions and resolutions in the name of the groups. They would likewise be prohibited from putting up slates of candidates in the elections or to conduct an organized campaign in behalf of their candidates. The growth of the Opposition would probably be checked for the time being, at any rate.

3) The policy of no membership meetings with power to decide policies would be continued.

4) The Delegate Assembly would be stripped of its present powers to review decisions of the Executive Board; its policy-making powers would be taken from it.

5) All power to determine policies would be concentrated in the

Bolshevik Speaks for Fourth International at SFIO Congress

The following is a summary of the speech of Molinier, for the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at the Mulhouse Congress of the Socialist Party of France:

He explains why some of the members in various sections will vote against the report of the delegates to the Second International.

What is involved here at this time is not the question of approving some points of opposition of the French delegation but of posing here briefly the international problem in all its amplitude.

This is the key question which determines all others, which delineates the political evolution of the tendencies: the crossroad where they meet or divide, a problem which determines their will to carry on a real struggle against war. It is on the international scale what armament is on the plane of the struggle for power.

And this question of the International poses itself again and again every time the question of war or the seizure of power appears in a sharp form. The dilemma: Either "gradual national and international development" or coordinated international revolutionary action.

This difference crops up in all the debates.

Of what value are internationalist phrases if you are organizing for nationalism? At this time only the bourgeoisie acts in concert in the world and when the socialist delegates go to these conferences they act there as hirelings of their bourgeoisie.

Have we an international? That is, have we a coordinated political organization of international struggle? What do those think of the Second International who still have authority in the eyes of the majority of this Congress?

Lebas said at the National Congress on February 29, 1920:

"... The war, as comrade Rafin-Dugens, has so correctly observed, has killed not only men, it has killed wealth . . . one of its corpses, one of its victims was the International. . . ."

"... One must examine the situation created in the Party in all countries and observe more over if we can agree on saying how we can reconstitute it, this International, whatever number we give it. . . ."

"... These, of course, are the reasons why the Federation of the North has decided in almost complete unanimity to propose to the Party to withdraw from the Second International. This, of course is not because we are throwing mud at it but because we very sincerely believe that we can work more effectively for the reconstitution of the new International outside of the old and decadent one rather than by remaining inside it."

Paul Faure at the National Congress, February 29, 1920:

"... We ask, comrades, that the French Socialist party leave the Second International."

"I listened to Renaudel and vainly sought in his speech for decisive reasons which to my mind he did not produce for maintaining our adherence to this organization."

"Our resolution remains un-

shakable. We became more and more impatient, understanding that from the socialist standpoint the atmosphere of the Second International became absolutely unlivable. . . ."

Since when has it come back to life?

Defeat in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in Spain, in Belgium, where the former president of the International presides at the imprisonment of striking miners! The corpses are rotting.

The Third International? Let us consider it. It must be said:

It bore the banner of revolution throughout the world.

Did it organize the split? Does it mean to split when one fights for principles?

It degenerated with the degeneration of the Russian revolution; it has seen its death certificate signed by Stalin.

It is now the International whose parties after many zig-zags are becoming the means of national defense in conformity with the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Russia; such a betrayal means placing the official seal upon the tombstone of the oppressed of the entire world.

(Molinier retorted to Dormoy who interrupts him at this point:) "It is only natural that you defend Stalin after he has sunk to your level."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Unity of the Second and the Third Internationals?

On what basis? The basis which allows the same class influences, the same games of difference to exist?

Or our basis? Coordinated, joint, action against capitalism, which is concentrated and spirited action driven forward. Never class peace! No theory of socialism in one country.

In the present state of things one must base himself on experience to rebuild the International.

WE MUST BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which means to take into account the life and the death of the others.

In many countries: Holland (R. S.P.-O.S.P.), America (C.I.A.-A.W.P.) unity was achieved on this basis.

All the living forces of the two internationals must be organized on this basis! What about the big parties? Win over the decisive elements.

For that; without subordinating daily action to the creation of the Fourth International, we will group around us on the principles of revolutionary action all the active forces of the Party, and with them pave the way for the Fourth International.

Molinier's speech was for the most part heard in intense silence, interrupted very infrequently and applauded lustily by a small minority of the Congress.

The defense of the Stalinist policy fell upon citizen Grumbach, one of the most active defamers of the Communist International in its best days.

READ THE NEW MILITANT

Zack Expelled from Workers Party

Joseph Zack has been expelled from the Workers Party of the U. S. for gross violations of discipline. He wrote to a leading comrade in Minneapolis advising him to violate an N. C. decision on a grave trade union matter in action. He further openly violated party discipline by contradicting and challenging to a debate the Party speaker presenting the Party point of view at an open mass meeting in New York. He has been participating, without any consultation even with the Party, in efforts to launch a paper to be called "Independent Unionist"

which has for one of its slogans: "For A New Progressive Federation of Labor." The W. P. has never issued any such slogan; it is contrary to the Party's trade union line. The fact that Zack is now announcing himself as speaker at a public meeting at which he promises to "expose" alleged controversies within the W. P., furnishes additional confirmation of the correctness of the action taken some weeks ago by the Political Committee meeting jointly with the N. Y. District Committee in expelling him from the Party—not for his views which he was given every opportunity to set forth in the regular channels within the Party but for flagrant and persistent disregard and violation of the elements of revolutionary discipline.

LECTURE

The Truth About "Trotskyism"

A REPLY TO OLGIN'S PAMPHLET AGAINST "TROTSKYISM"

What is the connection between the new slanderous attack and—
—Stalin's Campaign Against the Bolsheviks in Russia?
—The Social-Patriotic Policy of the French Communist Party?
—The Right Wing Swing of the American Communist Party?
—The growth of the movement for the Fourth International in France, Holland and the United States?

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, The New International

WEDNESDAY, JULY 17th at 8:00 P.M.

At IRVING PLAZA

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Protest Meeting
Friday, July 12, 8 P.M.—A.J. Muste speaks on "Recent Events in Soviet Union" at 1776 Pitkin Ave., B'klyn.

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Labor Party Confusion

As the Workers Party predicted from the outset, the Communist Party gets into hotter water all the time with its mass-class-not-reformist-not revolutionary but class-struggle Labor party.

There is quite a flurry of Labor Party talk these days among the Old Guard of the Socialist Party and certain trade union leaders, as well as among some sections of the workers. Typical of a good deal of this talk was Sidney Hillman's speech at the Taminant Economic and Social Institute of the S. P. Old Guard recently. "Labor is now looking to the president for leadership," says Brother Hillman. But if "the conservatives in both old parties will not permit the president to carry through the New Deal program" then workers, farmers, etc. will be turning to a new party.

Fervently Brother Hillman prays that such a Party "will not go along the lines of the share-the-wealth groups and advocates of overnight panaceas." He was "particularly bitter," the papers report, in his criticism of liberal and radical critics of the New Deal, Senator Borah, Clarence Darrow, "the left wingers, radicals and college boys."

Thereupon the Daily Worker bursts forth in editorial and cartoon. "But what kind of a Labor Party, Mr. Waldman?" We charge that "the Old Guard of the S. P. and the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. are planning a Labor Party in name only." What did the C. P., Browder, Stalin and Co. expect to happen when they came forth with their Labor Party slogan? What could happen other than what has actually occurred—confusion among the workers, a golden opportunity for the bureaucrats and fakery to practice their mislead-

ership, to divert the growing discontent among the workers into the safe channels of a Labor Party?

Yes, editors and cartoonists of the Daily Worker, an "anti-capitalist," not a pro-New Deal party is what the workers need. That can only mean in this period, a revolutionary Marxian party, not an attempt to lead the masses in this country into some replica of the British Labor Party or the German Social Democracy. But the C. P. is no longer a revolutionary Marxian party. It lacks consequently the intelligence and the courage to call the workers to rally under the revolutionary banner. It joins with Hillman and Waldman and others of that ilk in singing the Labor Party chorus. Only it protests that it is singing out of another book!

For a Fighting Auto Union

The announcement by the American Federation of Labor that a convention of Federal automobile locals is to be held on August 29 indicates a triumph for the militants in the industry and at the same time means that they must work more quickly and seriously than ever to organize their forces for a decisive battle with the reactionary bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. The latter would never have consented to a convention at this time had not the conduct of the progressives during the recent Chevrolet-General Motors strike in Toledo and elsewhere, and subsequent to the strike, demonstrated that the latter meant business and would not tolerate further delay in setting up an international. But the bureaucrats will now seek to control the convention and through it the new organization.

The progressives must work to send honest and militant delegates to the convention and to establish at the convention an organization based on democratic control by the membership, not bossed by Green, Dillon, Collins and Co.; an industrial union with jurisdiction over all workers employed in the automobile and auto parts industry; with no discrimination against members or prospective members because of religion, nationality, race, color, or political affiliation; relying not on favors from the bosses or government boards but on the militancy and solidarity of the workers.

The Workers Party now, as for many months past, calls for the most loyal and enthusiastic support of the militant forces in the automobile unions seeking to realize this program.

Italy Prepares Ethiopia Rape

(Continued from Page 1)

made up chiefly of cotton, sugar, oil, etc. Recently it has been discovered that Ethiopia is probably rich in important natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, etc.

But that which has led to conflict in the past and which is most likely a great contributing factor to the present turmoil is the fact that Ethiopia is completely surrounded by "neighbors" without an outlet of its own to the sea and that in its interior lies Lake Tana from which rises the headwaters of the Blue Nile that water the fertile cotton regions of the British-controlled Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. As close as is possible to give boundary lines without a map, Ethiopia is bounded on the North by Eritrea (Italian); on the East by French and British Somaliland; on the South by Italian Somaliland and the west by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. France permits the use of its railroad which is Ethiopia's only connecting link with the sea, running from Addis Ababa to Djibouti, a French possession.

Only the other day England was ready to grant Italy a seaboard outlet to the sea through its Somaliland, in an effort to arbitrate the Italy-Ethiopian differences, but Italy balked.

Britain's Stake

England's concern in the matter, its offer for an outlet to the sea and grants of land in Ethiopia proper to Italy—besides its game on the European continent—can be understood only if the strategic importance of imperialist hegemony over the Lake Tana region is taken into consideration. As stated before, it is from this region that rise the waters which makes of British-controlled territory in Eastern Africa so economically valuable a possession. Pacts and agreements have been in existence for decades and only recently it has been reaffirmed that no dams be constructed in the Lake region which might impair the flow of water to its neighboring territory. The gobbling up of Ethiopia by any of the imperialist powers involved would give it a strategic importance in the entire of eastern Africa.

The question might well be asked: how is it that, granting its strategic importance, no power has seen fit to conquer this territory? First, it can be answered, it is not so easily conquerable. Or rather it wasn't. Probably with ultra-modern instruments of warfare, Ethiopia could be licked. It must be remembered that Italy has already suffered a shameful defeat at the hands of these backward tribesmen at the close of the century.

And secondly, and probably most important of all, is the need of

keeping a black Christian buffer state to counteract the sentiments of the rest of the native Africans who are Mohammedans. It was just this fact that scotched the ambitions of the Mad Mullah, a number of decades ago, who started a movement to drive the Christian imperialists out of Africa. This undoubtedly the powers, particularly that power which has had the most experience in imperialist conquest, Great Britain, has well understood.

Mussolini's Alibi

The so-called cause for the present conflict is the result of a series of border incidents along Eritrea some months ago. Some Italian soldiers were found dead, killed, perhaps by Ethiopian soldiers. But the facts already brought out prove that these Italian soldiers were killed sixty miles within the Ethiopian boundaries, which if one were to go in for this aggression and aggression business, would certainly prove Italy the aggressor.

Italy used this incident, however, as the nub around which to start long desired operations. Anyhow, it Duce argued, Abyssinia needs civilizing. Italy needs room for its people to expand, a modern power needs colonies and the Italian people need to satisfy a long standing insult to national pride. All of which means Italy wants Ethiopia. But Italy cannot go it alone. At least for any length of time. Britain and France are directly involved. From a little distance so are Japan and Germany. So far France is pretty well lined up with Italy and has been driven even still closer as the result of the Anglo-German naval treaty which France considered an affront. England's efforts at arbitration have so far proved futile. The League of Nations to which Ethiopia has been constantly appealing has merely put the matter off, arguing benignly, that since war on a real scale cannot start until after the rainy season (fall), it would table the matter till then. Meanwhile Italy has shipped thousands of troops and tons of supplies to Africa. In the past few months Italian troops have been laying roads in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in preparation for war. France, standing by Italy, has barred ammunition from reaching Addis Ababa, which as we have shown above she could well do.

No Help from Litvinoff

In this connection it might have been expected that one voice in the League of Nations would have spoken up in behalf of the impoverished little nation in colonial Africa—the voice of Maxim Litvinoff, who represents the Soviet Union in the League. But not a peep out of him, except to so profusely and slavishly congratulate Sir Anthony Eden for his wise decision to postpone the matter until "after the rainy season" as even to make Sir Anthony blush. In this connection, too, the world is still awaiting the answer to the telegram sent Litvin-

off by Mr. Williams, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The telegram reads as follows:

"Why has Soviet Russia, though you as Foreign Minister and President League Council, remained silent Italian-Ethiopian situation? Has Russia abandoned its alleged opposition to imperialism and its much publicized defense of weaker peoples? Does your anti-imperialism stop at black nations? Await your reply."

A war against Ethiopia by Italy will not be a purely African affair, or an Italo-Ethiopian affair. Even if it starts thus, it will not end so. Too many imperialist powers have their fingers in the pudding. The liberal jitters that Mussolini, as usual, is only blustering are false and disarming. It may well prove to be a test of how secure is the inner regime of a modern imperialist power since the abject collapse of the Third International, France's backing of Italy, in light of the Franco-Soviet pact, will compromise the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world proletariat unless a resounding call—which is highly improbable—be issued to the world working class to demand hands off Ethiopia.

England has been drawn closer and closer to Germany in recent days. Hitler's "drang nach Osten" may soon take on fearful reality. Japan is consciously contriving an act of provocation after another against the Soviet Union. While occupied in writing this, a late evening paper brings the news that serious skirmishes are already taking place on the Ethiopian front with "heavy casualties" reported. The next world war looms large on the horizon. More than ever must the working class be prepared.

More than ever must we reaffirm the revolutionary slogans: "Turn the imperialist war into civil war, 'The enemy is in our own country.'"

Spring Makers Strike in N.Y.

Employees of the Kay Mfg. Co. of 22 Warren Street, Brooklyn are on strike. The company did not think profits large enough so it increased hours from 40 to 44. With the increase of hours workers paid by the week received no increase in pay and to show the "fairness" of the company rates for piece workers were reduced 10 percent.

In other words all workers were supposed to work an extra four hours a week for the glory of god, the good of their health, and the bosses' profits.

Only one thing was wrong with this proposition—the 350 workers,

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism

The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarian Dictatorship and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

By A. J. MUSTE

Doubt and discredit are being thrown upon the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy and upon the revolutionary movement of the working class by the policies of the present Stalin-dominated regime in the Soviet Union. When in connection with the signing of a pact between the S. U. and the Imperialist French government, it is officially stated that "M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces at the level required for security" and when Maurice Thorez, leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France flatly declares: "Now I answer a question that has been put to me: In case of such a war launched by Hitler against the U.S.S.R., would you apply your slogan: 'transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war' (against French imperialism, that is). Well, no! because in such a war it is not an imperialist war that is involved, a war between two imperialist gangs, it is a war against the Soviet Union"—then the enemies of the Workers' State utter the taunt: "There goes your boast that the Workers' State brings a new force into diplomacy, into relations between states, your claim that the working class revolution will put an end to imperialist wars."

Liberals of all shades who had come to have a measure of sympathy for the revolutionary movement as perhaps the one practical instrument for the realization of their ideals are alienated; many of them go back to faith in phantoms like humanitarianism and religion to usher in the reign of peace. Reactionary and conservative trade unionists and Social Democrats who were on the defensive when the Soviet regime and the Communist International were making a clear-cut revolutionary attack on capitalism, imperialism and war, take fresh courage and obtain a fresh opportunity to confuse the workers and to strengthen their hold upon them. Into the hearts of many of the advanced workers strikes an icy blast of disillusionment and cynicism.

Stalin Sows Illusions

That social patriotism fastening itself upon the Second International should betray the workers and lead them to a ghastly slaughter, before they realized what was happening, that is understandable. From such an experience the working class can profit and therefore recover. But if now the International of Lenin succumbs to social-patriotism, calls upon the worker under whatever specious plea to defend the (imperialist) "fatherland," doubt may well arise as to whether there is any way to save the revolutionary movement from corruption and defeat. "If the salt has lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?"

The revolutionary internationalists of the Workers Party in the United States and the parties and groups in other countries which have likewise raised the banner of the Fourth International, have the answer to this problem; and they alone in the working class movement today have an answer. It is not, however, with this phase of the degeneration of the Soviet regime and the Third International that we are primarily concerned here; but rather with a problem closely related to it.

The present regime in the Soviet Union is employing repression and terrorism on a large scale and of a brutal character, not only against

those who are the enemies of the Workers' State or those who can with some measure of plausibility be regarded as such, but also against revolutionists who are political opponents of Stalin and his henchmen. It is not necessary here to produce detailed evidence of the fact. The Soviet press itself carries daily reports of severe measures taken against old Bolsheviks, including recently those who have never had any connection with the Trotskyist opposition, for example, as well as against relatives of the men who have never participated in any political activity at all, as witness the case of Trotsky's son, a chemist who was permitted to go on with his work for many years after his father's exile, to which Nathalie Trotsky has recently called public attention.

When organizations such as ours protest against such repressive acts, we are met, and with increasing frequency in recent months, with the argument that protests from us come with poor grace and can hardly expect to get serious attention. We are told that we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship, that we justified acts of terrorism in the period when Lenin and Trotsky were the dominant figures in the Soviet Union, that in our opinion the workers, when they take power in the United States, should take whatever measures may be necessary against those who would desire to reestablish capitalism, and so on. The acts against which we protest are bound to occur under "dictatorships," we are told, regardless of "the kind of dictatorship" which may exist. Only "democracy" such as we have in the United States provides any insurance against them.

Liberals Find a Moral

Thus the most liberal daily in New York, the N. Y. Post, in its editorial columns of June 24, 1935, reasons: "The appeal of Mrs. Nathalie Trotsky in Saturday's Post is recommended to the attention of parlor pinks and Communist 'sympathizers.' It illustrates the evil effects sure to flow from dictatorship, no matter what its alibi—whether on the plea of 'halting Communism' as in Germany or the plea of 'establishing Socialism' as in Soviet Russia. . . . Communism and Fascism are new labels, but the founders of this country knew them under other forms. It was to break the power of a Tory King and to prevent the recurrence of similar despotism in this country that the founders of this country set up the safeguards of the American Constitution, the world's oldest and still the world's best. . . . Communists oppose the Hitler dictatorship but they condone the Soviet dictatorship. Trotsky opposes the dictatorship of Stalin but he would like to substitute for it the dictatorship of Trotsky. The case of Trotsky's son demonstrates what happens under any kind of a dictatorship—whether Left or Right. . . . the use of suppression necessitates ever more suppression until rising resentment, deprived of peaceful vent, overthrows the regime. That applies to Russia under Communism as it applies to Germany, Austria and Italy under Fascism. Democracy will yet survive them all."

In one of the closing chapters of "Russia's Iron Age," the much discussed book by the brilliant foreign correspondent, William Henry Chamberlain, long regarded as one of the most devoted and effective journalistic "friends of the Soviet Union," there is a very moving pre-

sentation of the same point of view: "One among many points of faith common to apologists of Communism and of Fascism is an overweening contempt for civil liberties, which are represented as unnecessary and inconvenient barnacles on the ship of progress. The longer I have lived in the Soviet Union, where civil liberties—freedom of speech, press, assembly, and election—are most conspicuously lacking, the more I have become convinced that they are of vital and tremendous importance, and that their existence or absence is as good a test as any of the quality of a nation's civilization. The Communist (or the Fascist; their trend of thought in this question is strikingly similar) talks of civil liberties as of the outworn fetish of a handful of disgruntled intellectuals who are unable to rise to the necessary vision of the high and noble character and purpose of the Communist (or Fascist) state. But my own observation in Russia has led me to believe that a great deal more is at stake than the freedom of thought of the educated classes, although it seems rather obvious that culture becomes impoverished when the historian must alter his record of the past, the author must give a prescribed coloring to his characters, and free research in any field can be cut off by the will of an all-powerful state."

In the Ukraine

"It was during my trip through the famine regions of Ukraine and the North Caucasus that I became utterly and definitely convinced that democracy, with all its faults, weaknesses and imperfections, is enormously superior to dictatorship as a method of government, simply from the standpoint of the common man. Is there any recorded case in history where famine—not poverty or hardship or destitution, but stark famine, with a toll of millions of lives—has occurred in a democratically governed country? Is it conceivable that the famine of 1932-33 could have taken place if civil liberties had prevailed in the Soviet Union, if newspapers had been free to report the facts, if speakers could have appealed for relief, if the government in power had been obliged to submit its policy of letting vast numbers of the peasants starve to death to the verdict of a free election? The countless graves of the humble and obscure famine victims, the peasants of Ukraine and the North Caucasus, of the Volga and Central Asia, are to me the final grim, unanswerable refutation of the specious Communist contention that freedom of speech and press and political agitation is only humbug by which the bourgeoisie tries to delude the masses."

For good measure, and in order to emphasize the frequency with which the same tune is heard in these days, we may quote from the leading article in the June issue of Harper's Magazine by Johan J. Smertenko: "John Howard Lawson finds Alabama in the grip of a fascist 'terror' because he and a lawyer of the International Labor Defense were placed momentarily under 'illegal arrest' and six Communists, also freed after trial, 'are in daily and hourly danger of whipping, torture, and possible death.' But he is unmoved by the thousands, slaving in the timber camps of the Arctic region because they will not forswear their religion, who pray for death as a release from their torture."

"Elmer Rice and Paul Sifton cry out dramatically against the soulless industrial system of America and glory in the industrialization of the mujik. The bread-lines of disorganized capitalism stir Edmund Wilson to eloquent rage, but the bread lines of bureaucratic communism are accepted as a necessary expedient in technological development. The peripatetic John Strachey deplores from some thirty lyciums and a half-dozen periodicals that 'freedom of speech is abused by capitalists in this country,' whereas in Russia it is merely 'incomplete,' since the inviolate censorship and ruthless suppression are exercised only against 'the remnant of capitalists who wish to see the return of their system.' (Among the capitalists are the dead or exiled authors: Andreyev, Artzbashev, Bunin, Korolenko, Kuprin, Merezhkovsky, Tolstoy, and, of course, Trotsky.)"

"Thus too Walter Duranty, whose complacent dispatches in the Times contrasted the Nazi blood-purge with Lenin's treatment of the 'opposition,' has been eloquently silent about the outblutted imprisonment and summary executions of the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenov faction. And Waldo Frank, whose burning protests against Kentucky violence almost scorched the pages of the liberal weeklies, does indeed 'speak in a monstrous little voice' of these official murders: 'I realize that the peoples of Russia have their own background and that it is utopian to expect them, because of their heroic prosecution of a great social cause, to behave in every instance according to our own rules and ideals. . . . In so far as it (Russia) appears, even to contradict justice at home, it is harming the cause of justice abroad. From the standpoint of this high strategy, if from no other, I deplore the recent executions.'"

Answer of Workers Party

Whether or not they are personally disturbed by such questions, revolutionists in the U. S. will have to meet them. If the reactionaries and liberals between them, making use of Stalinist policies and actions, can make the American workers believe that, as over against capitalism, Communism means repression, regimentation, less freedom, personal dictatorship, etc., a formidable barrier against revolutionary progress will have been erected. We of the Workers Party have to defend the assertions of our Declaration of Principles: that the policies of "socialization of the means of production and exchange" which the Workers' State will pursue "insures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people," that every willing worker can be assured of "a well-paid job," security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness; that there "will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and repressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers;" that the Workers' State while functioning as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies will assure and continually extend "far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism."

(Continued in next issue)

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

men and women, old and young, did not like it and they walked out on strike 100 percent. They placed a picket line in front of the plant and the rest of the strikers camped on the street nearby. The plant is tied up tight as a drum.

The need for a trade union which previously had been agitated for by some was now apparent to all. The strikers sent a committee to see Wm. Collins, eastern representative of the A. F. of L. Collins gave them his good wishes and referred them to the Industrial Relations Board. The Board sent a representative who appealed to the non-existent heart of the boss.

The workers committee called up the Central Council of Federal Labor Unions. That was 15 cents lost in phone calls, though Mr. Ravitch, secretary of the Council, was mildly interested.

The strikers, still determined, sent a delegation to the Bronx where the Kay family has another factory. Here a representative of the International Upholsterers Union at both plants are signing up with this union.

The spirit of the strikers is excellent. New to labor unions, they were able to get themselves organized, established a picket line, elected picket captains, arranged a regular hourly relief of pickets, etc.

One worker was arrested in connection with an injury received by a scab truck driver. His release was immediately secured by a strik-

ers' delegation. The plants manufacture springs and spring mattresses. Wages are miserably low and the workers are determined to go back on a 40-hour week with previous rates of pay and a union to back them up.

Bone to Youth Blow to Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

to "benefit" from this new scheme. According to Labor Department statistics, there are, however, 3,000,000 unemployed youth, which estimate is "considered conservative" by the New York Times. Using this figure, which actually must fall severely, million short of reality, 2,500,000 youth are automatically obliged to shift for themselves.

"More than one third of the high-school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29 were unemployed in July, 1934," says the Labor Department. How many have become unemployed since? How many non-graduates are unemployed? A canvass conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the spring of 1934 "found that out of every 100 employable persons between the ages of 16 and 24, 34 were unemployed, as compared with an average of 21 for all age groups." (Labor Information Bulletin, May, 1935.)

Why Roosevelt should have pro-

posed to "do something for the nation's unemployed youth" is somewhat answered in Senate Resolution No. 67, January 30, 1935:

"One of the most tragic results of the depression is the effect it has upon the lives of young men and women emerging from our educational institutions. There are several million young people between the ages of 18 and 30 who have graduated from our schools and colleges and entered into a work-world where no opportunities have been open to them to obtain a start in business or to commence the practice of their profession. This large group may become demoralized and disheartened and thus constitute a dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements and also offer a challenge to the system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted."

The National Youth Administration was therefore created to stem this rising discontent against a "system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted." The National Youth Administration was therefore assigned the task of regimenting the youth into channels of patriotic devotion. Moreover, election time and maybe war is coming. That then is the yield Roosevelt expects. Unfortunately for the system and those who starve because of it the sop is hardly enough to assuage the needs or discontent of the youth.

A Blow at Labor The millions of youth, the few who have been offered a starvation pittance and the many more who have been completely ignored, have been presented a challenge that can only be met with further "dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements." Their problem is more than a youth struggle. The essence of the Roosevelt plan strikes a blow at the wages and jobs of all workers. It aims to reduce the American working class to a lower standard of living, and further penury. It must therefore be met, not as a youth affair, but as the concern of the whole laboring mass.

With the support of the adult workers behind them, the youth of the United States must demand, in united ranks: trade union wagescales; regular jobs with a five-day week and six hour day; adequate provision for support while attending academic and training schools; settlement houses in the cities for homeless youth under civil and youth supervision; unemployment insurance; the right to vote at the age of eighteen. The next step is to destroy that system which wastes "the minds and ingenuities of its youth," to join the "radical-minded elements"—the Spartacus Youth League.

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY. SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

NEW MILITANT

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Head of Young Communist International to French Socialist Youth: "If war occurs against the U.S.S.R. and you make your revolution, you will be traitors."

Mooney Wins New Hearing

State Confesses to Destruction of Evidence

SAN FRANCISCO.—The California state supreme court has consented to hear new testimony through a referee on Sept. 3 to prove that Tom Mooney is innocent of the crime for which he has spent 19 years in San Quentin prison.

The court made this concession when Mooney's attorneys, on behalf of the famous labor prisoner, asked a writ of habeas corpus.

Attorneys John Finerty of Washington, D. C., Frank P. Walsh of New York City, and George T. Davis of San Francisco unsuccessfully tried to force the court to produce Mooney for the hearing. The lawyers held that the court could not waive Mooney's right to be present, but the judges asserted that it is an unwritten law of the court that the petitioner does not have to appear personally in a habeas corpus proceeding.

"If, in the future, Mooney's presence is necessary, he will be brought here and all his rights safeguarded," Chief Justice Waste said.

Over strenuous protests of the three lawyers, the court refused to sit to hear the testimony. A special referee will be appointed for this purpose. Testimony will take three weeks, Mooney's attorneys asserted.

"This court, in light of its past rulings, is going to have to reverse itself to hear our evidence, and therefore the whole court should hear the case," Finerty contended.

State Destroys Evidence

The state, in effect, confessed that it had destroyed some of the most vital defense evidence. When Mooney's lawyers asked that the state be directed to bring to the September hearing the negatives of the pictures which showed Tom and Anna Mooney on a roof a mile from the scene of the crime, the answer came: "The negatives have disappeared."

During the arguments before the court, Atty.-Gen. William Cleary reiterated former statements to the effect that the state will oppose Mooney's release even if perjury is proven.

"Mooney must prove not only perjury, but that it was committed with the knowledge and connivance of the state officials," was Cleary's assertion.

Finerty jumped to his feet with the statement:

"Two years ago, in Mooney's trial on an indictment remaining against him, Matthew Brady, district attorney of San Francisco, admitted the witnesses in Mooney's first trial had been impeached as perjurers. For the state to admit that it was not bound by that admission will bring down upon the attorney general of California another castigation at the hands of the U. S. Supreme Court."

Finerty and his associates said that they have 18 witnesses to give testimony. Two of the most important witnesses are seriously ill, and will testify only through depositions. They are John McDonald, waiter, who has admitted he perjured himself when he placed Mooney at the scene of the 1916 bombing, and F. E. Rigall, who can prove that Frank Oxman, now dead, who was one of the main witnesses against Mooney and Billings, perjured himself.

Wagner Bill Ignored in Akron

AKRON, Ohio, July 8.—Enactment of the Wagner strike-breaking labor disputes bill provoked little attention among rubberworkers here, even conservatives realized it was but a futile gesture of the government to pretend having an interest in labor's welfare.

Strong company unions at Goodrich, Goodyear and Firestone continued to exist without a murmur of protest from the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Meanwhile uncertainty was evident among union workers over progress towards establishing an international union as Washington A. F. of L. headquarters withheld word, for no apparent reason, of a convention call.

Old Guard Pounds Militants As Socialist Party N.C. Meets

Right Wing Riding High; National "Militant" Caucus Breaks; Hoan with Waldman; Thomas Attacks Left

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party is convening for its quarterly meeting in New York, July 13-15.

The most important point on its agenda is the report of the "Committee of Inquiry and Mediation," appointed at the last meeting to solve the internecine struggle in New York City.

The N.E.C. is exiled to the Bronx or Queens, the City Central Committee, under control of the right wing, having refused to act as host to their national leadership.

This meeting takes place one year after the national convention at Detroit, when the Milwaukee machine of Mayor Hoan, the "Chicago left," the New York "Militant" group, and Norman Thomas' followers made a horse-trading combination which captured the N.E.C. The theoretical excuse for this capture of power was the passage of a Declaration of Principles which, couched in deliberately ambiguous phraseology, enabled the "Militants" to claim it was a "revolutionary document," while Norman Thomas and Dan Hoan could assert it was traditional socialism.

Old Guard Position Clear

The Old Guard will have no centrist ambiguities, but demands a frank avowal of unashamed loyalty to the capitalist state and its democracy. The Old Guard served notice at Detroit of war to the death against the Declaration and has carried on its fight with principled intransigence, refusing to accept any of the compromises offered it by the N.E.C. Systematic expulsions of left wingers, in New York and upstate; lifting of charges of anti-Old Guard locals; enough to secure a majority of the City Central Committee; forcible expulsion of the New York branches of the Young People's Socialist League from their headquarters in the Rand School and the organization of a rival youth organization under Old Guard leadership; systematic onslaughts in the Forward and the New Leader; alliance with the most corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucrats to put pressure on the N.E.C. (the United Hebrew Trades, for example, passing a resolution denouncing the Declaration of Principles); organization of inter-state conferences of Old Guard state organizations to set up programs in competition with the N.E.C.—in these and a hundred other ways the Old Guard has hammered away, like a battering ram, against their opponents.

Under this steady barrage, their opponents have offered one shameful compromise after another, and when their proposals have been thrown back in their faces, have retreated still further. The Old Guard has given to the capitalist press a series of statements declaring their refusal to abide by the convention decision on the Declaration of Principles. When the convention decision was supplemented by a referendum which gave a majority for the Declaration, the Old Guard merely reiterated its stand.

The answer of Norman Thomas and Dan Hoan was . . . to propose to have the N.E.C. make changes in the Declaration! When, "after agreement was almost reached," as Norman Thomas recently revealed, the Old Guard refused to compromise and continued to violate the party's principles, Thomas and Hoan decided to act. They . . . "appointed a committee to consider suggestions of changes well in advance of the next convention of the Party so that the matter may be adjusted with as little dispute as possible" (Thomas)!

Then, at the last meeting of the N.E.C. instead of carrying on a struggle against the Old Guard, they appointed a committee to MEDDLE between the slugging Old Guard and the battered left.

(Continued on Page 3)

Heavy Prison Terms Given to Group of Polish "Trotskyites"

GENEVA (ICL).—Information has just been received here that at the beginning of the month of May, nine persons, accused of belonging to the "Trotskyist" organization, were brought to trial in Warsaw. Without any proofs submitted, they were condemned to especially severe prison terms: one woman to five years in prison, three of the accused to four years, and three to three years each.

The attorney general of the republic, in his act of indictment, dwelled on the character of "Trotskyism" which he described as much more dangerous than official communism which merely wants to "defend the U.S.S.R.," whereas the "Trotskyists" "aim at inflaming the entire world." It's above all on this point that the big press dwelled in its court reports.

Workers' Security Bill Drafted By Nat'l Unemployed League

A BILL

To limit the hours of labor, to provide additional appropriations for public works, and for the relief of the unemployed and to establish a system of unemployment and social insurance.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the maximum hours of labor of those employed by the government of the United States, state, county, municipal and other governmental units in the United States and of those employed for wages by an employer in industry, mining, transportation, agriculture, domestic, technical, clerical and professional service, and all other occupations, shall be 30 hours per week.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted that the sum of 10 billion dollars be appropriated for the purpose of carrying forward a program of public works.

(1) The monies available or to be appropriated for the purposes of this bill shall be expended within one year from the date of its enactment.

(2) The objects for which the money available or to be appropriated under this act shall be spent shall be the provision of modern low rental homes; an up to date, fully equipped county hospital in every county; modern libraries and recreational centers in every city and county; rural electrification; and elimination of grade crossings.

(3) No monies available or to be appropriated under this act shall be spent for military or naval purposes.

(4) The hours of labor under all projects established under this bill shall be not more than 30 per week.

(5) The compensation of all those employed under the provisions of this act shall be not less than \$30.00 per week and the prevailing union rate of wages wherever said rate exceeds \$30.00 per week.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted that the Secretary of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of unemployment and social insurance for the purpose of providing insurance for all workers and farmers unemployed through no fault of their own in amounts equal to average local wages. Such insurance shall be administered by workers and farmers and controlled by them under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor in conformity with the purposes and provisions of this Act, through unemployment insurance commissions composed of the rank and file members of workers' and farmers' organizations. Funds for such insurance shall hereafter be provided at the expense of the Government and of employers, and it is the sense of Congress that funds to be raised by the Government shall be secured by taxing inheritance and gifts, and by taxing individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 per year and over. No tax or contribution in any form shall be levied on workers for the purposes of this Act. In no case shall the unemployment insurance be less than \$10 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

The benefits of this Act shall be (Continued on Page 2)

U. S. Aids Terror of Mendieta

Brutal Regime Slays and Jails Scores of Workers

Right on the heels of the deportation of the liberal U. S. delegation from Cuba comes the sensational report, printed herewith, of assassination, wholesale arrests and horrible persecution of workers and revolutionists by the militarist regime of Cuba. This reactionary clique, emulating "Butcher" Machado, has suppressed all trade union and political organizations and prohibited the right of free speech, press and assembly. This terror proceeds with the open support of the Roosevelt Administration through its Ambassador Jefferson Caffery.—Ed.

By R. S. DE LA TORRE

The proletariat of Cuba is today confronted with a situation in many ways similar although more difficult than in other colonial or imperialist countries. The government of Mendieta which rose to power under the pressure of the United States Ambassador, Jefferson Caffery, has been converted into a most efficient instrument of imperialist oppression. In order to accomplish this destructive mission against the aspirations of the oppressed masses, the government has organized the largest oppressive machinery ever known in Cuba, under the leadership of Batista, commander of the army. It extends over every inch of the country, from the large cities to the most remote sugar plantations.

The army of Cuba (a country that has no national frontiers) reaches the exorbitant numbers of 18,000 soldiers, with a budget of \$18,000,000 which is in effect a greater expenditure per soldier than any country in either Europe or America. To this we have to add a few thousand more technical and secret intelligence service men, devoted exclusively to political persecution of all those persons and organizations opposed to the government. Apart from this there is the urban police, controlled by the municipal government, which is a mere department of the general staff of the army, cooperating loyally in the persecution of all the oppositionists. As a general rule, the soldiers as well as the police, are recruited from the most degenerated social strata, from the lumpen proletariat of the cities and the hungry peons of the countryside. They are paid very generously and given all kinds of privileges, thus assuring their unconditional submission to the government.

In order to round out the oppressive apparatus, directed essentially against the working class, they have created Emergency Tribunals, which judge all matters of a political nature. These tribunals have

(Continued on Page 3)

Thrift Pays

Little Diana Didn't Save A Dime But Inherits \$30,000 A Year

NEW YORK.—It pays to work hard and be thrifty.

Fourteen-year-old Brenda Diana Duc Frazier of New York can tell you that—and she can tell you that she has never had to work or think of pennies and dimes. For her mother, who's the divorced wife of a big banker, has just received an approved order from a surrogate's court for expenses for little Brenda Diana.

Forty-five thousand dollars is all she gets to spend in the next 18 months. Her dresses will cost her \$5,500; she'll be able to get by on her vacation if she spends her \$5,250 carefully; and on \$900 for music lessons she may be able to pick up a tune or two.

Only one item is really small and economical. Brenda will spend just \$375 for Christmas presents and charitable contributions!

Powers Yield to Italy's Aggression in Ethiopia

Shall Ethiopia Perish?

Against Italian Fascism, Negroes Are Fighting Battle of World Proletariat

The devouring flames of war are burning on two continents. In Northern Asia, the troops of Japanese imperialism continue their relentless drive to the west and the south in order to assuage the ruling caste's rapacious appetite for an empire in Siberia and China. Afraid of bringing to its feet a powerful people's movement that might mean its own end, the pitiable Chinese bourgeoisie dampens the ardor of resistance of the masses and retreats precipitately before the Japanese invader.

And now the plains and mountainsides of Ethiopia are being approached as the scene of the Fascist war upon the last of even semi-independent countries on the African continent. Tens of thousands of Mussolini's troops, equipped with the most modern machinery of warfare, are on the march against the Ethiopians, determined to subdue them as once Eritrea and Somaliland were subdued—to accomplish now with the Fascist legions what they failed to do in the war upon Abyssinia towards the end of the last century.

The invasion is now generally recognized as inevitable. All talk about conciliation, about a peaceable settlement of the dispute, has been nothing more—it is now clear—than so much verbiage behind which Mussolini was taking all the measures necessary to dispatch to Africa an army which, when it reaches its full strength, will number some 200,000 men. From the Netherlands comes the official announcement that the Italo-Ethiopian Conciliation Commission has finally decided to adjourn its sessions indefinitely, after having met for two weeks, without coming to a conclusion. The whole matter is now referred to . . . the League of Nations.

And the League of Nations? What is to be expected from this "great instrument for peace"? Approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the war in the Gran Chaco; approximately the same result that was produced by it in the case of the appeal of ravished China against the brutal invasion by Japan.

For years the League of Nations has been advertised to the world as the only, "even if not entirely satisfactory" agency for the preservation of world peace. Each time it encountered a situation which brought new discredit upon it, it took care to take some new action which would restore its failing credit in the eyes of the masses. For a time, the assembled imperialist bandits covered their bristling armor with the solemn pledges of the Kellogg Pact which "renounced" aggression as an instrument of national policy. Where is the Kellogg Pact today—the pact to which both Italy and Ethiopia were signatories? A scrap of paper, a fraud, a deception.

(Continued on Page 4)

3 Leading Members of North Dakota C.P. Resign; Join W.P.

Fresh evidence of the revulsion of revolutionary workers to the latest acts of treachery by the Stalin bureaucracy is contained in the statement of resignation of three leading militants in the North Dakota District from the Communist Party. Excerpts from their statement quitting the C. P. and joining the Workers Party are printed below.—Ed.

Flaxton, N. D.
Workers Party of U. S.
New York City
Comrade:

We have finally become convinced after due and careful investigation and mature consideration of all the facts that the Communist Party of the United States, and the Third International dominated and constituted as it is now, cannot and will not organize and lead the workers of this country or the world, for or to the seizure of power and the building of socialism on an international basis. Another vanguard party of the proletariat must be organized and built by the workers and farmers of this country.

For that task, and we are convinced after careful and mature consideration, that the Workers Party of the U. S., already organized by honest and capable revolutionists, and now functioning, is such a vanguard party of the working class, that can and will organize and lead the workers of America for the seizure of power and the building of socialism on an international basis. And being fully convinced of the necessity of the establishment of the Fourth International to organize and lead the workers of the world on an inter-

national basis, as advocated by the Workers Party and other groups of revolutionists in other countries with which it is affiliated, we withdrew our membership in and severed our connections with the Communist party, U.S.A., section of the Communist International, and submit our application for membership in the Workers Party of the U. S. and agree to submit to its discipline and to support the party to the best of our abilities. We call upon all honest and sincere revolutionists to follow our example.

We feel that we owe it to our former comrades and associates in the C.P.U.S. to state frankly, that we arrived at the decision stated above, after due and careful investigation and mature consideration, being fully aware of the implications and results. This decision is based upon the open and plain repudiation and betrayal of the world revolution, of internationalism by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. under the domination of the Stalin leadership and bureaucracy. . . .

Then follows a condemnation of the ruinous theory of "Socialism in one country," and its destructive results throughout the world—from China through to Germany and culminating with the Stalin-Laval communique. It concludes with the following statement:

"These successive acts of betrayal by the Third International and the C. P. of the Soviet Union, forces the necessity and justification for the steps we have taken."

CHARLES E. TAYLOR
ASHBEL INGERSON
MARY INGERSON

Il Duce Moves For Conquest In September

'White Man's Burden' Alibi for Fascist Exploitation

By MARTIN A. GLEE

The situation with regard Ethiopia grows more tense daily. Whereas it could be stated a few days ago that Italy's penetration into the kingdom of the Negus would not start until October; today reliable reports have it that operations will more than likely begin a month sooner.

As the usually well-informed Mr. Frederick T. Birchall of the London bureau of the Times puts it:

"The last hope of averting a military attack by Italy upon Ethiopia faded out today." His reference is to the fact that the meeting of the conciliation commission appointed by the League of Nations broke up when the Italian delegation refused so much as to listen to the statements of the Ethiopian delegate who insisted on establishing the fact that Cal Ual, the scene of the first clash, was within Ethiopian territory.

Il Duce Ready for Action

So far as Italy is concerned the negotiations are over and dead. Il Duce is now completely occupied with the strengthening of his forces in Africa, building his army up to about 250,000 (already about 150,000 Italian soldiers are encamped in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland). Moreover, Italy is compelled to prepare a sufficient water supply for drinking purposes, provision its African commissaries with food and medical supplies and continue road improvements for military purposes. For this she is compelled to wait a month or two longer. Besides, the rainy season will not begin subsiding until the early fall.

All of which means that Italy is prepared to strike now. The reply of Washington to the Ethiopian note was grist to Mussolini's mill. The apparent change of front on the part of England, in reconciling herself to the Italian adventure, can possibly be explained by the fact that Italy has assured Great Britain that it will not deflect the waters of Lake Tsana toward its own territory and that it is ready to assume treaty obligations to that effect.

Wants Only a "Crumb"

Italy will probably attempt to connect its colonies bounding Ethiopia on the north and south, by building a railroad and highway across the Ethiopian kingdom. This will greatly facilitate Mussolini's "civilizing" invaders reaching the capital, Addis Ababa, and taking complete control. Few more callous exhibitions of imperialistic methods of conquest could be cited unless one were to go back to the Boer War. One of the jingles for the Italian Fascist press puts it neatly and unhypercritically when he declares that "justice would require Britain, possessing the world's greatest colonial empire, to stand aside when Italy attempts to obtain a small crumb left over from Britain's gargantuan meal."

The "small crumb" is Ethiopia. Despite the hypocritical talk of Washington that it expects the matter to be ironed out between the parties involved and that it sees no cause for alarm, Cornelius Van H. Engert, a shrewd expert of U. S. imperialism in the Far East has been shipped from his post in Egypt to become Charge d'Affaires and Consul General at Addis Ababa.

The question of Ethiopia comes up in the next day or two in the House of Commons in London. France is still standing by Italy. Germany and Japan look on with hawk-like attention.

The backward colonial country of Ethiopia stands like a sparrow with clipped wings surrounded by hungry cats on all sides and its one friend whom it has a right to rely on, the Soviet Union, does nothing because of a conservative bureaucracy at its top. Litvinov, in the League of Nations, remains silent!

EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT FIRST STEP TO DAILY

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Relief . . .

An FERA survey of Baltimore's 1550,000 unemployed showed only 8 cases where people refused to work "without legitimate reason," this phrase applying to men who refused to scab and to those who refused to work at less than union rates. . . . An ad for a salesgirl in a New York evening paper attracted 1,000 applicants by 6 A.M. the following morning. By 3 o'clock the crowd was so dense that the plate glass store front gave way. . . . Berry growers complain that the unemployed will not go to work. In North Carolina the highest average net earning of berry pickers is 33c a day. Workers are quartered in barns in most cases entirely lacking in sanitary facilities, twenty persons eating and sleeping in one room. . . . General Hugh Johnson, recently appointed relief administrator for New York City, states his views: "Whenever a worker gets a chance to take a private job, even if it pays less than he is getting on relief, he should be made to take the private job." . . . E. P. Hurlburt, Oklahoma oil magnate, has banned from employment in his refinery anyone who has ever accepted relief. . . . In Oregon single men are forced to live in camps and work on public projects for maintenance and one dollar a week spending money. . . . Sixty-five year old Clark Fancey, on relief in Little Rock, Ark., could not eat the canned beef provided her because she had no teeth. Relief officials found her a job with a dentist where she could "work out" a set of false teeth. . . . Using an "attitude test," Dr. E. A. Rundquist of Minneapolis found that the average person on relief felt no inferiority complex but that his economic position bred radicalism. . . .

Imperialism . . .

Mussolini's war with Abyssinia is scheduled to begin when the rainy season ends. Meanwhile he is collecting insults to justify it. "Italy needs room for expansion," says he. . . . In spite of every encouragement, Italy's birthrate has declined steadily during the past ten years. . . . Great Britain protests that health conditions in Liberia (literally a U.S. protectorate) are so bad that it is a source of infection for the rest of Africa. Monrovia, the capital, is overrun with rats and bubonic plague which is kept from spreading only because the city has no harbor. Government officials raid the interior for slaves which they sell to Spanish and French provinces. Harvey Firestone gave the nation a brief period of prosperity by hiring natives at 25c a week on his rubber plantations. . . . The United States Senate passed a bill which makes it illegal to pursue, shoot, shoot at, kill, capture, trap, collect or otherwise willfully molest or disturb the American Eagle. . . .

Patriotism . . .

In the Revolutionary War 4,044 Americans lost their lives; 4,290 people were killed celebrating the Fourth of July in the last 30 years. . . . The Illinois Senate Committee investigating allegations that students at the University of Chicago were subjected to subversive teachings dismissed the charges but accused Prof. Robert Morse Lovett of being "unloyal to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States" because he engaged in activities in defense of civil liberties. His only son was killed in the battle of Belleau Wood. . . . Chicago newspapers were filled with reports of the investigation which was inspired by Walgreen, the drugist. Not a word was said about Court Case 22585 against the Walgreen Drug Co. for adulterating medicines and tonics. The company was found guilty. . . .

Commerce & Industry . . .

To boost trade the British Association of Cotton Manufacturers announced at a trade luncheon that the Prince of Wales wears cotton underwear. Wool manufacturers countered with the information that King George wears "woolies" bought by Queen Mary. . . . California prunes are graded according to the following sizes: medium, large, extra large, mammoth, giant, jumbo, colossal, and super-colossal. . . . Cheese manufacturers in Wisconsin were successful in obtaining a law requiring two thirds of an ounce of cheese to be served with every 25c meal. . . . Maxwell Stewart, Associate Editor of The Nation, was arrested for picketing the office of The American Mercury in protest to the refusal of officials to grant collective bargaining to employees. . . . The current issue of The Nation carries a full page ad offering the two magazines clubbed at a bargain price. . . .

Sunday, July 14 — Beach Party. Boro Park Branch. Meet at the 1st Aid Station on Ocean Parkway at 11 A.M. sharp. All comrades invited.

Stalinists Go to Bat for Priest

Chicago C.P. Makes Touching Plea for Coughlin

By F. X. FERRY

CHICAGO.—The workers of Chicago who were greatly interested in following the contortions and zig-zags which up to the present time represent the policy of the 8th District of the Communist Party and who saw many surprising things perpetrated under the flag of Stalinism—even those were surprised when the bourgeois press of July 2 headlined in black letters "Red Party Joins Coughlin's Suit." The workers shared the surprise of the bourgeois press which pointed out ironically in the Chicago Tribune, the Daily News and the Daily Times that the Communist Party of America sought to join in a lawsuit on behalf of Coughlin against the Chicago Park Board.

The story began when Attorney Samuel Eitelson, former Insull attorney and the former city attorney of Chicago during the administration of the famous "America first" Mayor Thompson, filed a suit in the Superior Court of Cook County on behalf of the Detroit priest, Coughlin, and of his organization "Union for Social Justice," asking that the Chicago Park Board be ordered to rent the Stadium, or as it is known, the Soldiers Field to Coughlin for the purpose of holding a public meeting.

C. P. "Enforces the Constitution" The point of view of the park board was that the Stadium is not to be rented for the purpose of holding controversial meetings, be they on political or economic questions. They pointed out that the field is to be used for sport and general educational purposes as singing festivals, etc. The hearings in the court were continued a number of times after certain technical points were decided and after a petition of the Huey Long faction and of his "Share the Wealth Club" for permission to intervene on behalf of Coughlin was denied.

On July 2, the Chicago Tribune reported "Reds Offer Aid in Fr. Coughlin's Fight for Field" and that formal notice was served on Coughlin's attorney and on the counsel for the Park Commissioners that the "Communist Party of the United States of America" will ask permission of Judge James Joseph Kelly to file an intervening petition in the case. The Chicago Tribune obtained some information on the matter from the attorney representing the Communist Party to whom the vicious bourgeois paper refers to as "the mouthpiece of the Reds" and who identified his clients as "having an organization in Illinois and a headquarters in Chicago" and described the organization as follows: "The Communist Party of the United States of America is an organization made up of workers, industrial and agricultural, small farmers, professionals, intellectuals and such other sections of the population who are opposed to exploitation of the toiling workers by a handful of the rich."

The C. P. attorney assured the Chicago Tribune that "his friends and associates really are hostile to father Coughlin for a number of reasons," but nevertheless, as he stated in his petition, "we are interested in the performance by public officers of their official duties and in the enforcement of the Constitution and laws protecting public rights."

A "Fascist Attack" on Coughlin

Of course, it is very hard to say whether the Communist Party of the United States actually identifies itself with the petition presented on its behalf by its attorney, but if it does, it is more than interesting for the workers to know that the attorney for the Communist Party states that "many Communist workers would like to hear Father Coughlin, not only to listen to him, but to expose his anti-workingmen ideas." It is undoubtedly true that Coughlin will appreciate the help extended to him by the C. P. in obtaining working-class and more particularly Communist working-class audiences in which to peddle his stuff.

To be sure, the attorney for the C. P. becomes also theoretical in support of his petition in which they support the prayer of Father Coughlin that the court should give him the right of using the Soldiers Field for a public meeting because it is stated that "any denial of the use of Soldiers Field is in itself a Fascist attack against the right of freedom of speech and assembly of citizens and workers."

Apparently the C. P. has a new theory concerning Fascism somewhat similar but not quite as clear as that concerning Social-Fascism, because now they believe, at least in their intervening petition in Chicago, that the duty of the workers

in general and the C. P. of the U. S. in particular is to prevent the advance of Fascism, and for that end to fight for Father Coughlin's right to obtain a public meeting place where he may expound his views which up to the present was characterized by the C. P. as nothing else but potential fascism if not clear fascism.

In Black on White

Many of the workers of Chicago when reading the bourgeois Daily News wondered how it happened that the "Communist Party sought leave to file an intervening petition in Coughlin's behalf — an ironical note in view of the priests' attack on Communism." Judge Kelly attempted, unbeknown to himself, to save the C. P. from the embarrassment of being recorded in the court files when he first denied leave to the C. P. to intervene, telling the lawyer representing the C. P. that he was too late. Later, however, the court relented and permitted the attorney to file an appearance in the case; and thus the historical finger, warning the C. P. to keep out, at least from the written records, was not observed. The C. P. of the U. S. is on record in the Superior Court of Cook County under No. 368 S879, as an intervening petitioner in which they joined with Coughlin in asking the Court that the Park Commissioners be ordered to rent Soldiers Field to the priest whom the C. P. labelled the "Radio Hitler of the United States."

Of course, it may be that Earl Browder does not know anything about Chicago, but there is no question about it that some of the bright lights must have been informed since the political genius of the C. P., Bob Minor, was seen around headquarters on the first day of July, that is, one day before the petition was filed.

The workers have seen the C. P. in action more than once and they have seen it going through a whole series of united front tactics so there is no justification for any follower of the C. P. to be very much surprised. They may feel satisfied that the theory of "Social-Fascism," the "united front from below" and the latest help extended to Father Coughlin is undoubtedly not out of line with the circus which they performed together with Father Divine (Father Divine is God), and it is surely not out of line with the tragic role which the C. P. of Germany played in the famous referendum when they joined, if not in forces at least in efforts, with the Hitlerites to oust the Socialist government of Prussia.

Russian Stalinist Emissaries Sent to France to Win Socialist Youth for Patriotism and against Marxism

INTRODUCTION

Kossarov: The minority of the Socialist youth will be defeated if it continues on its present course of action, not knowing exactly what it wants. A minority is built for struggle, failing that it becomes demoralized, its leadership disintegrated, and it loses the masses. You are not yet ready to fuse with the Young Communists; that will leave you a free hand. Should you become a sympathetic organization of the Young Communist International you will retain the prerogative of tendencies and internal factions. If you should fuse with the Y. C. we will propose that you accept our program without reservations, because we do not permit factions in our movement. We do not force anyone to join our organization but once there he belongs unreservedly. From our point of view tendencies are detrimental to the unity of our organization. Our rule is the following: before accepting a decision there is a discussion, then everyone must abide by it—a strict and indispensable discipline. Unity with the Y. C. will be possible only on the basis of the above.

Lissansky: It is only thanks to democracy that I who was expelled for having participated in the Amsterdam-Pleyel conferences (the Stalinist international united fronts with themselves on war and fascism which were held in the twilight of the "third period"—Ed.) can speak here today. The situation is becoming increasingly revolutionary. The comrades believe that they will be able to continue their action without being expelled, to do as the minorities did during the war. It is possible, if events are with us, to regroup the left elements as our Belgian and Spanish comrades have done. It is therefore more possible to raise their class consciousness by creating an organization sympathetic to the U.S.S.R. In this manner we will be in agreement with the left elements of the party and the international and we will be able to retain the comrades who still evince a party patriotism. What we propose is almost a desperate solution: 1935 is not 1917. You have thirty million sympathizers and the prestige of having defeated your capitalism. If we discuss as equal to equal we are likely to hesitate for we are not entirely in agreement.

Chemodanov: Thanks to the existence of a tendency, the meeting this evening could have taken place; thanks to democracy Lissansky was reinstated. But we must not lose sight of the differences between the Socialist and the Communist organizations. We stand on

The Color Line in the A. F. of L.

The Negro & American Labor

Discrimination against Negroes in the American Federation of Labor has always represented one of the most ignominious features in the organized labor movement of this country.

At the convention of the A. F. of L. held in San Francisco last October Pres. A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters raised the question of discrimination for discussion among the assembled delegates. It might be interesting to observe that Negroes picketing the convention for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were arrested.

Randolph's resolution called for the expulsion of "any union which violates the constitution of the A. F. of L. by maintaining the color line." It might be pointed out, here, that despite his "radical" gesture at the convention it is well known that Randolph has worked hand-in-glove with Green and Co., who have tacitly condoned race discrimination in A. F. of L. unions. After hearing the resolution the committee on organization recommended non-concurrence, but a loud chorus of "NO" greeted the recommendation. Fearing a show of hands, Pres. W. L. Hutchinson of the Carpenters union quickly introduced an amendment calling on William Green to appoint an investigating committee to report on the whole matter to the next convention.

After some debate this amendment was finally adopted. Chairman of the committee on the Negro question is John E. Rooney of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Assn. The secretary is John Brophy of the United Mine Workers of America.

No Negro on Committee

The other three members of the committee are John W. Garvey, International Rod Carriers; Jerry L. Hanks, Journeymen Barbers and T. C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Maintenance of War Employees. It is again interesting to note that the one concerned most in that he brought the question up at all for discussion, Randolph of the Sleeping Car Brotherhood, is not on the committee.

At the hearing held July 9, Randolph reiterated his plea for the necessity of disciplining interna-

tional unions if they maintain the color bar. Reginald J. Johnson of the National Urban League warned that "dual unions, company unions and anti-A. F. of L. unions among Negroes would take shape unless the policy of discrimination were discontinued."

One or two preliminary meetings of the committee have been held but a hearing will finally take place in Washington sometime in July of this year where Randolph and others will present their case.

A number of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. absolutely deny membership to Negroes by constitutional provisions. Others exclude them by various rituals which pledge members of the union not to bring up a Negro for membership. Still others, having no outright provisions excluding Negroes, yet in practice see to it that few if any are admitted. In still other unions the Jim Crow system of Negro locals prevails.

It is of some merit here to cite same example of crass discrimination against Negroes in A. F. of L. unions and of the policy of evasion if not outright chauvinism of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. We quote at length from the 25th annual report of the N.A.A.C.P.:

Outright Discrimination

"On October 31 the attention of President Green was called to the complaints of discrimination against Negro members of Local 306, Motion Picture Operators of New York City, as to hours of work, general working conditions, rates of pay and restriction of locality of work to the colored section of Manhattan. It was pointed out that the employment of Negro union operators was restricted to theatres patronized principally by Negroes and that they were not permitted to work in circuit houses; that they were forced to accept working conditions and wages unacceptable elsewhere within the union's jurisdiction and in violation of the NRA code. The A. F. of L. was asked to promptly correct these abuses. Late in November President Green replied that it was impossible to interfere in the internal affairs of affiliated national or international unions except upon their consent, and referred the Association to the

President of the International Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators, thus continuing the familiar policy of evasion."

Below we cite another example of discrimination against Negroes as brought out by Mr. Johnson at the hearing and culled from the New York Times, July 9, 1935:

"Negroes who tried to enter a local of the painters' union in Atlanta, according to Mr. Johnson, were told that their leader was a Communist. They withdrew the leader and then again applied. This time, he said, they were informed by the District Council of the Painters' Union that the hod-carriers were forming a union and that their members should apply to that organization."

"The applicants responded that they were skilled painters and not hod-carriers. Then the secretary of the International Painters Brotherhood suggested that they send the usual \$15 fee to accompany the request for a local union charter. This they did and a charter was refused, the witness explained."

N.U.L. Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

extended to workers and farmers without discrimination because of age, sex, race, or color, religious or political opinion, or affiliation, whether they be industrial, agricultural, domestic, or professional workers, for all time lost. No worker shall be disqualified from the benefits of this Act because of refusal to work in place of strikers, at less than normal or trade union rates, under unsafe or unsanitary conditions, or where hours are longer than the prevailing union standards at the particular trade and locality, or at any unreasonable distance from home.

Sec. 4. Be it further enacted that pending the establishment of the system of unemployment insurance provided for under this Act, Congress shall authorize to be appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of 5 billion dollars to provide for all the unemployed cash relief at the rate of not less than \$10 per week for each unemployed worker or farmer, and \$3 additional for each dependent.

WOOSTER, Ohio.—A dramatic five-minute strike of thirty telephone operators of the Ohio Bell Telephone Co. office here won for them a ten percent pay increase—their main objective.

Coast Dockers Defy Ryan at I.L.A. Meeting

Propose Progressive Measures; Wants New Leadership

The convention of the International Longshoremen's Association held this week in New York promises to have some stormy sessions if advance indications can serve as a measure of judgment.

Since the upswing in business such conflicts have found increasing manifestations in numerous A. F. of L. unions. In the longshoremen's union it is particularly advanced. There is a fairly distinct division of right and left, the former represented in the main by the international officials and their supporters and the latter by the Pacific Coast delegation headed by Harry Bridges.

West Coast Against Ryan

This delegation declares openly that it has come to the convention instructed by the West Coast membership to oust the president, Joseph Ryan and to fight for a new leadership. This course of action is based on direct experiences, dating back to the Pacific Coast maritime strike and the San Francisco general strike of last year. Ryan took some flying trips to the coast, not to support the strike but to connive with the employers and to break it up.

A high sense of solidarity has prevailed ever since. The popularity of Bridges is attested by the fact that in the elections of delegates to the international convention he snowed under his conservative opponent by a vote of 1,759 to 129.

But the greatest gain scored by the Pacific Coast longshoremen since their famous strike is undoubtedly expressed in the creation of the waterfront federation extending through all the ports from Seattle to San Diego. It comprises the unions of all the waterfront workers.

The Pacific Coast delegation proposes that the convention adopt this form of organization in all ports. It proposes a national uniform agreement for all ports and joint control of hiring halls.

proposed that we leave the Second International and join in sympathetic capacity to the Third. They have the advantage over us of having triumphed. We understand their state of mind. If we do what they want, what will be our relation, exactly, with the Young Communist International? Will we be obliged to apply all its decisions or will we have a certain amount of independence? Will we have the possibility of forming factions? Our movement is young, we are organizing ourselves, we must first win over the Young Socialists and the Socialist Party; we have no other perspectives. Can we extricate ourselves from it now? That is impossible.

"What is the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.? For a long time it refused to join the League of Nations, that is, when there were revolutionary possibilities in Germany, in Austria and in Spain. On the other hand, the social democracy believed in the usefulness of the League of Nations: the Russians now have created a spirit of patriotism among the workers and they are obliged to utilize the contradictions between the imperialist states. I do not at all agree with Chemodanov: we do not want to place ourselves under the orders of our bourgeoisie for the defense of the U.S.S.R."

Chemodanov: The question of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has been discussed in the U.S.S.R. too; I am only giving you my personal opinion. But the Communists did not accept the united front because the U.S.S.R. needed it; the workers in every country need it. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. does not influence the course of the Party; the Young Communists have not abandoned the anti-militarist struggle, etc. If there is a war against the U.S.S.R. the workers will want to defend it and they will defend it arms in hand. In case of a struggle between Germany and Russia, the U.S.S.R. will be in no special danger; no country can withstand the Soviet Union; it will be a world war and the workers will all be on the side of the U.S.S.R."

Kossarov: The problem for revolutionaries is the organization of the masses. The mistake many Young Socialists make is neglecting the struggle for the conquest of the unorganized youth, especially the Catholics; they are allowed to go their own way under the influence of the enemy. If we do not work among them, the enemy will. Peace is the aim of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., but besides it is also necessary to be able to maneuver for the purpose of utilizing existing contradictions; the bourgeoisie has good relations with us but we must not renounce the struggle against it.

Chemodanov: The question of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has been discussed in the U.S.S.R. too; I am only giving you my personal opinion. But the Communists did not accept the united front because the U.S.S.R. needed it; the workers in every country need it. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. does not influence the course of the Party; the Young Communists have not abandoned the anti-militarist struggle, etc. If there is a war against the U.S.S.R. the workers will want to defend it and they will defend it arms in hand. In case of a struggle between Germany and Russia, the U.S.S.R. will be in no special danger; no country can withstand the Soviet Union; it will be a world war and the workers will all be on the side of the U.S.S.R."

Ranvier: For us, the enemy is international fascism. French and German. We do not believe, in any case, that the youth must follow their fascism against German fascism. If we allow our pre-fascist government to arm, then we allow the fascist morale to develop; our attitude must, of necessity, be clearly anti-militarist. If we allow the militarist spirit to develop, the revolution will no longer be possible. We cannot bind ourselves to our own imperialism under cover of defending the U.S.S.R. "The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself." Therefore, the workers must rise against their own fascism and thus assure the defense of the U.S.S.R."

a revolutionary basis; our aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat; we do not collaborate with the bourgeoisie. If there are factions, in whose interest do they struggle: those of the bourgeoisie or of the revolution? For us a faction weakens our ranks.

"What has happened in the Young Socialist International? In Sweden the Socialists are collaborating with the bourgeoisie in the government and are against the united front; similarly in Norway, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. One of the leaders of the Swedish Young Socialists, Valenken, said: 'If negotiations with the Young Communists are opened we will leave the Second International.' In Spain the Young Socialists have voted to withdraw from the reformist Socialist International and are for the united front; similarly in France and in Belgium (where the leaders are neither for nor against the united front; we cannot understand that). We believe that the French young socialists are acting in the interests of the young workers, contrary to the young Socialists of Sweden. If we struggle for the united front we must exclude those who are against it; that is why we are against factions."

"Will you be expelled from your party? Possibly. In Argentina the Young Socialists were dissolved. In Belgium the leaders brought pressure to bear on Godefroy (leader of

Belgian Young Socialists—Ed.), threatening to cut off all financial assistance to his organization. It is hardly different here. If you stand in the way of the party they will not play the democratic game with you. Don't be so sure of yourself. The question of expulsion is not so important. What counts are your perspectives. Do you want to win out in the youth movement, in the Party and then in the International? That is a remote objective. Everywhere in the Y. S. there is to be found a tendency favoring unity. Is your aim then to form an international mid-way between the Second and the Third? That is a difficult and unfruitful task. There is another road: change the leadership of the Young Socialist International; remove Ollenhauer. You will then be the leadership. And then what? What are our basic differences? The theory of Marx has been translated into life over one-sixth of the globe, etc. . . . If there is a war it will undoubtedly be against the U.S.S.R. It will not be a war between imperialists but between classes. Where will the Young Socialists be in such an eventuality? In the middle-of-the-road? With us? They must make their position concrete."

"There is another question: if you feel yourself to be very weak it is useless to form an independent organization. The essential question, however, is the struggle for

Cuban Repressions Maintained with Aid of U.S.

Mendieta Regime Vies with Machado in Terror Record

Bolshevik-Leninists Among the Victims of Savage Government Attacks

(Continued from Page 1)

put into practice a series of laws of a fascist nature, such as the prohibition of strikes, trade unions, the suppression of working class propaganda. They have also prohibited the right of free speech, assembly, etc. These series of laws concocted by the Mendieta and Batista regime that do away with all democratic rights and puts the working class of Cuba into a position known only in countries of outright fascist nature.

The Emergency Tribunals have meted out sentences ranging from six months to ten years to members of the Bolshevik-Leninist party, and have condemned militants of our trade unions for the only crime of having a union book on their person. At present we have about thirty comrades of the party, almost all of them outstanding political and trade union leaders, in prison. Together with the rank and file of our unions a total of nine hundred workers have been imprisoned. Of this number at least sixty are women. These figures refer only to the city of Havana.

Apart from those mentioned above hundreds of students and petty bourgeois revolutionists have been imprisoned. The conditions of repression are indubitably much more violent now than in the terrible years of the Machado dictatorship. Apart from imprisonment, the number of assassinated workers mounts daily.

The Strike

In the month of March the forces of the working class, united around the Committee of Proletarian Defense, under the influence of the leaders of the University of Havana, and under the pressure of the oppositionist petty bourgeois organizations, which have an appreciable influence on certain sections of the working class (street-car, railway, printers) embarked on a general political strike that was supported by almost all the state employees, paralyzing all the activities of the governmental offices.

Our party, conscious of the weak state of working class organization, centered all its forces on fortifying the previously established Committee of Proletarian Defense (the united front) so that the general strike would have a centralized leadership and would have a chance for victory. But in this proposal we found a clear opposition, on the one side from the Stalinist party, which, desiring to maintain its own hegemony, called the strike separately from the Committee, and from the other side—the leaders of the students and the petty-bourgeoisie who wanted to hurriedly precipitate the movement.

Under these conditions, the workers spontaneously, and under no centralized leadership, threw themselves into one of the most extraordinary strikes known in the history of the Cuban proletariat. They joined with the state employees in order to obtain for them security of their jobs (in Cuba every faction that takes power redivides the jobs by displacing the old employees.)

Marital Law

The government immediately mobilized all its machinery. A state of war was declared, thus putting into the hands of the military the power of judging of all acts of sabotage resulting from the strike. For three days complete terror reigned. All inhabitants were required to remain at home after nine o'clock. Even in broad daylight it was considered a criminal offense for more than two people to be seen walking together. The police and military hordes thronged the streets

only party that can lead the Cuban masses to victory.

Organizing the Workers

To understand our problem the special characteristics and the social composition of the Cuban people must be taken into consideration. In Cuba, proportionately speaking, the proletariat is very small, and only in the big cities does it present a picture of cohesion and militancy in its economic struggles. The political struggles of the proletariat are only of recent origin (the C. P. was organized in 1925, but until 1929 had no influence on the working masses). The proletariat of the sugar factories, although it had participated in strikes since 1914, really embarked on its major struggle only during the years 1924-25 and after the fall of Machado. They are, in general, an unstable group. The sugar worker is engaged in industry only during three or four months of the year, the rest of the year he loaf and begs in the nearby towns. Agricultural peonage on the sugar-cane and tobacco plantations, where work is generally spread throughout the year is of considerable scope. They work under terrible conditions. Notwithstanding their low cultural level and lack of class consciousness, however, they are amenable to organization as was proved in the four months of the Grau San Martin government when there was a certain modicum of democratic rights. The other determining factor in the social composition of Cuba is the petty bourgeoisie. But the Cuban petty bourgeoisie is different from their prototypes in other countries in that they have no economic base of their own. They are not rooted in small businesses, small industry and small property, but live exclusively as employees of the state. They can properly be termed as a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy.

Middle Class Parasite

The origin of this anomaly derives from the specific interests of American imperialism in Cuba. The chief industries (sugar, tobacco, transportation) belong to U. S. capital. Wholesale commerce belongs to the Spanish bourgeoisie. After the war of independence the Amer-

ican mediator, faithful to the policy of imperialist penetration impeded the rehabilitation of the Cuban petty-bourgeoisie, tricking them into dependence on the budget of the new born republic. Beginning with the government of Charles Magoon in the second intervention of the U. S., the national budget grew daily with the sole object of nourishing the growing petty-bourgeois bureaucracy. With the prosperity occasioned by the high price of sugar during the world war, everything went well, but the collapse of prices starting in 1921 caused a reduction of the budget despite the loans contracted in the North American markets to prevent such an expediency.

The effects of the crisis were felt most severely by the parasitical petty-bourgeoisie. Displaced from their bureaucratic positions they soon descended to the ranks of the degenerate lumpen-proletariat. At the crossroads of life and death, the most courageous nucleus took up the struggle and there arose a number of militant organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie. First of them was the ABC which began under Machado with a democratic program, arriving lately into an ideology of open fascism. After the fall of Grau San Martin, the Revolutionary Party of Cuba, which the latter led, appeared to express the desires of the petty-bourgeoisie, but the relative consolidation of the reactionary Mendieta and their little faith in the electoral process made this social stratum, in open desperation, seek as its only way out, insurrection. Then it turned toward the revolutionary organization, "Young Cuba", led by Antonio Guiteras, secretary of interior in the Grau San Martin cabinet.

Guiteras' Position

The organization "Young Cuba" is in essence an amalgamation of heterogeneous forces of the petty-bourgeoisie of all kinds; conservatives, centrists, lefts. Its program has as a basic point the "anti-imperialist" struggle and puts forward a broad reformist program in favor of the working masses. Guiteras had a broader outlook than his followers. He had an internationalist perspective for the Cuban revolution. In order to achieve this objective he intended to call a Continental Congress in Mexico of all the left parties and he expressed a great interest in inviting all the sections of the International Communist League on the American continent as he had communicated to our party.

But in the first days of this month Guiteras was taken by surprise by the army, as he was embarking for Mexico, near the city of Matanzas. He was assassinated together with the Venezuelan colonel, Carlos Aponte.

The death of Antonio Guiteras creates a different situation in the Cuban political scene. Our penetration in the ranks of "Young Cuba", the sympathy that its members feel for our party opens up good perspectives for our organization. The petty-bourgeoisie will not stop in its insurrectional intentions. For them it is a question of life and death; but here rises a brilliant opportunity for the proletarian party to show its abilities at leadership. On the other hand the terrible situation that confronts the Cuban proletariat will drag the petty-bourgeoisie into any insurrectional movement that may arise. If our party can mobilize its forces and put itself in the position of a vanguard, where its voice will be heard by the masses, then we can say that the revolution is saved.

But under the conditions that prevail work is very difficult. Our party lacks financial resources, cannot legally publish its press, cannot legally conduct any campaign to collect funds, and must therefore turn to the proletariat of other countries in requesting immediate help. This appeal is especially addressed to the North American proletariat with whom we are united through common bonds of exploitation.

North American comrades: you who have the possibility, even within the capitalist system, to build your organizations have before you the task of assigning funds immediately for the help of your Cuban comrades. Your help is necessary if the Bolshevik-Leninist party is to be able to fulfill its mission. We feel certain that a response will be forthcoming.

Havana, May 13, 1935.

What to Attend

BROWNVILLE
Dance and Watermelon
Eating Contest
SATURDAY, JULY 13, 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn
Friday, July 19, 8:00 P.M.—House
Party and social for benefit of
New Militant. 51 Morton Street
(F. Norman). Auspices: East
Side Branch No. 2, W. P. Admis-
sion 10c.

Beginning with the next issue all "What to Attend" notices must be in the hands of the Editor no later than Tuesday noon.

Old Guard Hammers Militants As N.C. of Socialist Party Meets

National "Militant" Caucus Breaks Up — Hoan and Thomas Backslide

(Continued from Page 1)

lowers of the N.E.C. (incidentally, this N.E.C. committee has been boycotted by the Old Guard, who refuse to supply it with information, documents, facilities) and thereupon, as proof positive to all labor fakers and money-bags who might have some doubts about the respectability of the N.E.C., Hoan and Thomas launched a real campaign against the left wing workers in the party.

They passed a resolution making membership in the party incompatible with advocacy of "armed insurrection"; the Old Guard promptly used the resolution to expel revolutionary workers; and the net result of the year's struggle is that the Old Guard is more solidly in the saddle than ever before, and the only blows which have been delivered by the N.E.C. are blows to the left. Querulous complaints about the Old Guard, worthy statements about their crimes, but decisive action against the leftward-moving workers—this is Norman Thomas' record since the Detroit convention.

What, meanwhile, has happened to the New York Militants, under the leadership of Murray Baron and Jack Altman, and their allies, the "Chicago left," led by Maynard Krueger and Clarence Senior—these "revolutionary socialists," who came to the Detroit convention with a printed program (which they never brought to the floor). Despite their support of the shady ambiguities of the Declaration of Principles, the socialist militants had a splendid opportunity to crystallize a real left wing in the Socialist Party. The spectacle of the disloyalty of the Old Guard and the cowardice of the N.E.C. made it possible for the militants to secure a hearing from thousands of socialist workers. But the whole strategy of the Militant leaders led in an opposite direction.

"Cadre Builds Program"

A revolutionist says: "The program builds the cadre": hammer out your principles and win adherents by fighting for your principles. The Militant leaders said: "The cadre builds the program": i.e., they, plus Thomas and Hoan, plus the trade union bureaucrats who, they hoped, could be induced to break with the Old Guard, plus anti-New York sentiment in the West and South, plus anyone who would come along for whatever reason—in short, a bloc having no other program than anti-New York, had to be maintained at any cost. This unpurposive line of the Militants could lead in only one direction: capitulation on every issue to Thomas and Hoan, who themselves have no principled differences with the Old Guard.

So far, indeed, has this surrender by the Militants gone, that on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, at which the retreat before the Old Guard will in all likelihood develop into a flat acceptance of the Old Guard on their own terms—on the eve of an open alliance between Hoan and the Old Guard, with Thomas "going along for the sake of unity"—the year's record of the Militants does not show a single instance of criticism of the N.E.C.

The Socialist Call, organ of the Militants, has only rarely criticized the Old Guard, and never said a word about the cowardly actions of the N.E.C. It has even suppressed the fact that the Old Guard has refused to invite or receive the N.E.C. for this week's meeting. Instead of coming out with a declaration that the Old Guard's report is the central issue before the N.E.C., the Socialist Call, after listing other points on the agenda, says that "it is expected" that the Old

Guard issue will "also" be discussed. Not a word about Thomas' blows to the left; on the contrary, after the last N.E.C. meeting made advocacy of "armed insurrection" incompatible with party membership, the Militant leaders went around explaining that this was a clever tactical move by Thomas, that it only applied to public statements by socialists to non-socialists, and they tried to hide the fact that the Thomas decision applied to the socialist press, to socialist meetings, and to socialists anywhere and everywhere. Though Hoan revealed at the last N.E.C. meeting that he was getting ready to make a deal with the Old Guard, the Militants made no criticisms of him. In other words, on the eve of the N.E.C. meeting, the Militants are completely identified in the eyes of the party rank and file with the N.E.C.

Instead of gaining ground by these tactics, the Militants have already lost considerably. Their so-called national caucus has disappeared: the "Chicago left," which revolved around the national office, has so completely identified itself with Hoan that its leader, Krueger, was attacked by left wing delegates at the recent Illinois convention; the "western Militants," around Andrew Biemiller, have found a resting place in the Milwaukee machine; the Massachusetts "left wing" has just held a harmony convention with the right wing.

Pessimism Among "Leaders"

Some Militants privately recognize this situation—but draw from it the conclusion that their weakness means they must still further submit to the N.E.C. To the argument that they should have built a broad caucus organization (they refused to do this because the Old Guard would seize upon it as an "issue"), with democratic election of steering committees, etc. (they refused this because it meant an open stand for a factional organization), with all decisions submitted for rank and file approval (they refused this because they didn't know what they would do the next day since they were tied to the chariot wheels of the N.E.C.), etc.—to all such arguments they mournfully answer: "Yes, we did wrong, but it's too late to change that now."

Too late! The pessimism of leaders, undoubtedly will affect part of their following, who will simply drop out of the party. And anyone who will not fight within his own party will not be recruited into another party; that is one of the lessons of 1921. No one will gain from such defeatism.

It is certainly not too late. The onward march of Fascism, the lessons of Germany, Austria and Spain, have smashed the complacency of thousands of socialist workers; and as they survey the new August 1914 being jointly prepared by the Second and Third Internationals in France, they are more ready to break with reformism than they have been for years. They want to fight the Old Guard but they don't know how.

The leftward-moving socialist workers have to learn that the way to fight is to fight on the basis of clear-cut principles. Let them seriously turn to an examination of the principles of the main currents in the labor movement, and they will find that the only revolutionary program is that of the Workers' Party. In the Declaration of Principles of the Workers' Party they will find their principled basis for the struggle against reformism and its centrist allies of today and tomorrow. On the basis of a program the cadres are built: that is the first lesson the socialist workers must learn.

Question Box

—By A. WEAVER—

N. H. BIRMINGHAM—
Question: In the "Draft Program of the Communist International" Trotsky states that the Stalinists, by the theorem of "Socialism in One Country," adopt the same theoretical ground... of the Social Democratic theoreticians as a whole" except that "they turn the Social Democratic evaluation inside out." What does he mean by this?

Answer: Basing themselves upon the formula of Marx: "No Social formation disappears before all the productive forces have developed for which it has room," and applying it to a single state, the Social Democracy claimed, in their criticism of the Bolsheviks, that the latter had no historical right to seize power in Russia since that country did not have the material prerequisites for the construction of a Socialist society. To this the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, replied: while it is true that Russia, by itself, does not have the material requirements for the construction of a classless society, nevertheless, **WORLD** capitalism as a whole does have these material forces; the revolution in Russia, whose economy is part of world economy, took place because **WORLD** capitalism broke at its weakest link. Like the Social Democrats, the proponents of "Socialism in One Country" also cast entirely aside the international perspective of Lenin, and merely counterpose to the assertion that the Soviet Union does not have the necessary material resources for the completion of a Socialist society the claim that the country does have such material forces. They therefore stand on the same theoretical ground as the Social Democracy in that they search for historical justification for the Russian revolution in the productive capacity of a single state.

D. J. E. LOS ANGELES—
Question: How can you expect the proletarians to manage a government when they cannot even manage themselves?

Answer: If one were to follow the logic of this reasoning, the capitalists would not be able to manage their state power. On the average, the members of the capitalist class, particularly today when they play practically no role in the productive process, are people of very ordinary intelligence, and because of their mode of living, are for the most part too incompetent to even arrange for their own food and clothing. Nevertheless, they rule society through special organizations whose officers are their agents and who supply for a price of one sort or another, the ability needed to perform the necessary functions for the class rule. In other words, the ruling class has its work done for it by special representatives drawn from its own and other classes.

Despite the fact that there are certain qualitative differences, the same applies to the proletariat when it becomes the ruling class. It is true that there is much ignorance, illiteracy, etc., among the proletarian masses, a condition which capitalist exploitation has fostered and developed in order to maintain and perpetuate itself, a state of affairs requiring that the proletariat also set up its special organs of class domination. The revolutionary party thus becomes a necessity in order to rule for the working class as well as to seize the power in its name.

There is a fundamental historical difference, however, between the ruling apparatus of the proletariat and of the capitalist class. The organs through which the latter exerts its rule, for example, the banks, press, chambers of commerce, etc., develop along with the system itself, as component parts of it, and no special effort, no sacrifice, which lies outside of their money making routine is required by the capitalists, in order to build up the foundations of their rule. The party of the proletariat, however, does not evolve naturally out of the development of the class itself but must be built alongside of it. Such a party can be constructed only by those who are able and willing to exert the necessary effort and make the needed sacrifices.

APPLICATION REJECTED

The West Coast District Committee of the Workers Party has rejected the application of Lillian Monroe for membership in the Party. Evidence of complete collaboration with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the San Joaquin Valley and of a disregard for the political party in the field of union activity, coupled with an unreliability have conclusively proven that her membership is impossible.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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MARCH OF EVENTS

—By JACK WEBER—

The War for Colonies

The general world crisis of capitalism of 1907 produced or rather intensified the fierce life and death struggle for colonies among the advanced imperialist countries. Each country hoped to prolong the existence of the system of exploitation at home by attaining and exploiting larger controlled markets abroad. Thus the crisis of capitalism was transformed into the first world war in 1914. This war was preceded by "skirmishes" in various parts of the globe, particularly in Africa. In the so-called Moroccan crisis of 1911, the needs of German imperialism forced the Kaiser into the notorious Agadir incident that almost precipitated the war at that time.

Now again the general crisis of capitalism has sharpened all antagonisms and posed more sharply than ever before the contradiction between highly developed productive forces and closely restricted markets. To secure access to new markets the great powers find it necessary to prepare for war, one against the other, so as to break the grip of their rivals on the more desirable colonies. Japan proceeds steadily, as yet unchecked, with plundering of China—and America looks on waiting the opportune moment for intervening. Germany looks first of all to the East of its borders, to the Ukraine and to Central Europe, for the expansion that will save its capitalism from complete decline.

Italy has turned to an African adventure in Ethiopia for its share of plunder. In a general way Mussolini's attack on this African semi-colony may well be compared with the Agadir incident as the prelude to the second world war. It is not enough for fascism to prevent revolution at home with its complete destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation by the proletariat; that represents only the political condition for the continued existence of the bourgeoisie. Fascism knows no other way to solve its economic dilemma than the same methods pursued abroad that it pursues at home. Capitalism cannot exist without resort to plunder and warfare.

Ethiopia and the Powers

Italy did not begin its wolf's leap at Ethiopia without first securing the consent of England and France. All the present sham of British opposition and its "sounding out" the other powers in the League of Nations concerning the application of economic penalties and "sanctions" to put a stop to Italy's further measures, is characterized even in the capitalist press as so much face-saving for its own masses. Of course it is also intended to wring

other concessions from Mussolini for the British lion. What these are will probably not be known for some time. But one can hazard the guess, knowing the direction of English diplomacy at this time, that England is trying to separate Italy from France in order the better to exert pressure on isolated France to split it away from the Soviet Union. A crusade against the Soviet Union would be least dangerous to England—or so its ruling class supposes—and would enable England to "recover" by becoming the workshop for supplying the needs of a war-torn Europe.

The abrupt and chilling reply of Roosevelt to the appeal of Ethiopia for the application of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris illustrates not merely that this country, under bourgeois rule, is no more interested in peace than any of the other powers, but that it is to the interest of America also not to become involved in complications in Europe and Africa when the ruling class here is forced to concentrate its entire attention on the knotty problem presented by Japanese penetration of China. Furthermore Italy's move at this time is a blow at Japan, just beginning its thrust toward Africa through Ethiopia. American capitalism is therefore somewhat sympathetic towards Mussolini.

Civilizing Ethiopia

The fascist leader, Il Duce, who found it unnecessary to hide his aims and methods when it was a matter of knifing the Italian proletariat, now employs the usual imperialist hypocrisy of carrying civilization to the conquered colony. Mussolini, enslaver of the entire Italian working class and the most hunger-stricken peasantry of Europe, will be the "Abraham Lincoln" of Ethiopia. He will "free" the large number of slaves held in bondage by the exploiting rulers of Abyssinia. He will "free" them from their present masters to place master and slave alike under the yoke of Italian capitalism. That is all that the bourgeoisie can carry to the colonies—a system of exploitation more intense, more cruel and costly in human life than any previous system. It is only the world proletariat that can bring real civilization to the colonies. When the workers throw off the yoke of capitalism at home, they will at the same time strike off the chains of the colonial peoples. The proletarian revolution will not only destroy the bourgeois exploiters at home, but will aid in the destruction of the colonial ruling classes, feudal or bourgeois. It is as much the task of the workers to accomplish the freedom of the colonial peoples as their own.

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"Progressive"

How history plays pranks on names and makes a mockery of shibboleths is strikingly revealed in a recent issue of the "Progressive Miner," organ of the Progressive Miners of America.

In it is reproduced an article by Eugene Talmadge, the governor of Georgia called the "Cruel Scarcity Policy" which is published under a picture of the Governor and the following note by the editors:

"The following from an article by the governor is charged, by some people, with being political propaganda, and by others with being an attempt to whitewash his labor record.

"We are not familiar with Gov. Talmadge's labor record, nor his intentions in writing this article; but we are absolutely sure that every word contained therein is absolutely true, and that the writer being a Democratic governor deserves a lot of credit for this clear-cut expose of the vicious un-Christian and un-American New Deal agricultural program."

Can it be that the editor of the Progressive Miner is really ignorant of the labor, or more correctly anti-labor, record of Talmadge of Georgia? Is he really unaware that the lowest textile wages in the country obtain in Georgia? Did he fail to see the headlines during the textile strike of 1934 which proclaimed Talmadge as the first governor to call out the militia against the mill workers? Doesn't he know that this southern bourbon bears the unenviable honor of being the first to introduce the Nazi concentration camp in the United States for the purpose of subduing and subjugating rebellious working men?

We can hardly believe it. Every suckling in the labor movement has marked the cross over this reactionary: labor enemy No. 1. The editor of the Progressive Miner, we are certain, is willfully closing his eyes and the eyes of his readers to the union-smashing policies of Talmadge. Opposition to militancy and left wing forces and tactics have driven the leaders of the P.M.A. into a loving embrace with the worst reactionaries in the country. They have, however, one thing in common: they pose as progressives until the issues become too hot.

And what does Talmadge say? First, a plagiarism of the facts long ago adduced in radical circles which marshall figures depicting cotton and live-stock destruction by the AAA and the consequent suffering caused by it. Then a good deal of specious reasoning which space does not permit us to deal with in this editorial. Finally, the conclusion printed in large, bold-face type:

"And the party in power should return to the principles of its founders and fulfill the promises of its platform to eliminate unnecessary and extravagant governmental bureaus and reduce the cost of government."

In short, Talmadge's is not one white better than any die-hard Tory who speaks for the Chamber of Commerce.

At least this much should be elementary for a progressive. But the Progressive Miner thinks otherwise: "we are absolutely sure that every word (in Talmadge's article) is absolutely true. . ."

And they call themselves "progressive"! What's in a name!

Shall Ethiopia Perish?

(Continued from Page 1)
tion, in other words, it is now what it was originally intended to be.

From its very inception, the League of Nations was given a high credit rating by the acting and would-be socialist ministers of the world. No less powerful a pillar of the Second International than Arthur Henderson, the leader of the British Labor Party, adorned its sessions and set its tone. Now that the Italian imperialists are preparing the brutal rape of a far weaker foe, where are the spokesmen of the Second International, the Messrs. Henderson and Vandervelde and all their political kinfolk? What is their League of Nations doing, what does it intend to do, and what do they propose it shall do?

A year ago, the Stalinists drove the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. The self-admittedly beloved leader of the world proletariat, Stalin, told Walter Duranty that the League of Nations was at least a little bump in the road that would prevent war and help strengthen the "peace-loving" countries to preserve world order. What is the Stalin-Litvinov section of the League of Nations doing to defend the Ethiopian people from enslavement to the bastard descendants of the Roman emperors? Time was when the voice of the Soviet Union was heard in the most obscure hamlets

of the world, ringing with challenge against imperialist aggression, ever vigorously articulate in behalf of the oppressed and exploited peoples, of the hundreds of millions of brown and black and yellow serfs of imperialism. That voice is now stilled! The Stalinist press is filled with delirious joy when it reports that M. Maxim Litvinov is chairman of this or that session of the Council of the League of Nations. It has not yet reported that he has uttered a single vigorous note of protest against the infamous villanies of Mussolini—to say nothing of a criticism of that ally of Fascist Italy in the Ethiopian expedition, France, which is at the same time the ally of the Soviet Union.

Neither Kellogg nor Laval, Henderson nor Litvinov, can cover up the true and quintessential nature of the League of Nations. The "thieve's kitchen of Geneva" remains what it was: an association of imperialist bandits for the preservation of capitalist slavery throughout the world. "Any impromptu activity at Geneva is improbable," writes the New York Times. "The League is in the worst dilemma of its career and sees no way out. . . Not only have the French and the British abandoned a humble fellow-member of the League to her fate, but the League itself is preparing to renew that policy of postponement and masterly inactivity that left China at Japan's mercy and the conflict in the Chaco to settle itself."

Notwithstanding, the case for Ethiopia is far from hopeless, and the prospects for the Fascist regime far from guaranteed. So far as the latter is concerned, it would be well for this murderous Bonapartist regime which seeks to solve its ever-increasing problems at home by foreign aggression, to remember Sedan, Port Arthur and . . . Sadowa. The senseless slaughter of the French masses in 1870 in the hopeless campaign of the little Napoleon to smash Germany led to the uprising of the Parisian masses and the establishment of the immortal Commune. The wanton destruction of tens of thousands of Russian peasants to satisfy the imperialist lust of a degenerate Czar was succeeded by the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905, just as Kerensky's adventures on the western front in 1917 was followed by the great Bolshevik revolution. The present lord of the Palazzo Chigi might well recall at this time the fate of his equally audacious predecessor, the prime minister Crispi, who fell from power and into disgrace when the streets of Italy were filled with embittered soldiers returned from the humiliating defeat of Sadowa and clamoring for the heads of the criminals who had sent them to die on foreign plains.

And when he thinks of Sadowa, let him remember also that this is 1935 and not 1894. Ethiopia is not weaker, but stronger. Even though it is matched against an army of far superior technical strength, its own forces have an infinitely higher morale. They are fighting for their own independence, for their national integrity. And no longer are they armed merely with primitive spears and knives. We do not refer here to the comparatively insignificant fact that the Ethiopians now have a few thousand rifles and some machine guns. They have at their command—if they will but summon them to their aid—the millions upon millions of other natives of the Dark Continent who have produced fabulous wealth for world imperialism. By themselves, the Ethiopians are no match against the Italian forces, backed as they are by the active or passive support of other imperialist powers.

But they have allies. Their allies are the Italian workers and peasants who are under the Fascist lash, but who await only the moment when their taskmasters have encountered such difficulties as will enable the masses to attack them from the rear. Their allies are the workers of the entire world, whose foe is their foe, who have cause to hate and harry imperialism with the same bitterness and vigor as their African brothers. Their allies are the African masses themselves. Before the first Italian shot is fired, the black and brown masses of the entire continent must be aroused in a sacred war against world imperialism and for their own liberation. When the Bantu in the south and the Berber in the north joins hands and masses rifle and spear with all the other imperialist slaves of Africa, then not only Italy, but France, and England, and Spain and Portugal—all the assassins and exploiters of the African peoples, will have cause to tremble for their empires and to regret the day they aroused the fettered titan.

Therein lies the hope of the Ethiopian people, on whose side we stand together with every honest and conscious working man and woman. Therein, further, is clearly implied our elementary duty. The Washington government has piously and impartially refused to furnish arms to "either side." It is, you see, neutral—that is, it will help neither the heavily armed butcher nor the virtually unarmed victim.

We are not "neutral." Heart and soul we are with the Ethiopian people in their defensive war against the Fascist invader. Heart and soul we are with the Italian masses who have languished for thirteen years in the great prison which the Fascist despots have erected, and from which they are now being conscripted to fight those with whom they have no quarrel, nor can have.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country, in every labor organization, let the voice of the American masses be heard in unmeasured condemnation of the cowardly Fascist butchers, in unmistakable solidarity with the courageous battlers against the enslavement of Ethiopia!

A Reply to Liberal Critics of Bolshevism

The Position of the Workers Party on Proletarian Dictatorship and Worker's Democracy in Light of Recent Events

(Continued from last issue)

By A. J. MUSTE

First of all we may observe that while it is true that we do not have a Fascist regime in the U.S. and that it can only be misleading and silly to talk as if we did have, those who in these days are so vociferously proclaiming the joys of life under American democracy as contrasted with the repressions and horrors under "dictatorship whether Fascist or Communist," are unquestionably unrealistic and sentimental in their view of the United States. We know that the ordinary worker and farmer does not have this sense of perfect liberty and profound happiness. Millions of them are free—free to spend their youthful powers in a few years on the chain-gang in the production line in a mass-production factory; free to eke out an existence "in the midst of plenty" by means of a public works job at the Rooseveltian "security wage" of four to twelve dollars per week; free to organize, strike, picket, vote the ticket of their choice and so on, provided they do not mind being kicked out of a job, seeing their families suffer privation, getting dubbed over the head, thrown into jail, possibly shot in the back. Consider that the economic crisis has not reached any such proportions here as in many other countries, that there is here no such daily and hourly peril of invading armies as many nations have to face, that at the moment there is no force which can remotely threaten the continuance of the existing government. Then recall that every edition of every paper brings fresh stories of clubbing, gassing, jailing, shooting, murdering of men and women trying to assert the right to organize and bargain collectively in conservative trade unions. Then ask to what extent civil liberties are a reality, and not merely a tradition or a myth in "democratic" United States. Consider the economic, political and social disabilities under which millions of Negroes labor. Consider the plight of the Jews and of "foreigners" in a nation where economic tension is as yet a far distance from the breaking point.

Freedom and Fascism

It is, furthermore, a fallacy to suppose that we can retain the measure of freedom we now possess, if only we can maintain our economic system based on free enterprise and our political democracy against both Fascism and Communism. It is precisely the attempt to maintain the capitalist system which leads under modern conditions with fatal precision to the resort to Fascism. Capitalism itself, the present ruling class, will—unless the workers and their allies prevent—in the effort to maintain itself destroy every vestige, every pretense of democracy and civil rights, will appeal to the basest racial and national prejudices, will establish an open and brutal dictatorship. Why? Simply because the time when capitalism can maintain profits and at the same time make concessions to the workers, better the standard of living, is past. Now it maintains itself only by taking away even such concessions as it once gave. It must drive the standard of living even lower. But obviously if the masses have any freedom at all, any means for protest and self-expression, any workers or farmers union, party, press—then no matter how peaceful, legal, respectable, meek they may be, they will at some point offer resistance. They will try to fight for mere existence. But this threatens the existence of capitalism. Therefore it wipes out "democracy", smashes every trade union, farmers' organization and political party, degrades the intellectuals, and hounds and destroys minority groups. It is not by maintaining capitalism that we can maintain democracy and escape dictatorship.

Those who declaim against "red terror" and present imposing lists of its victims and catalogues of its social and psychological effects need also to be reminded over and over again not only of the numerous instances of "white terror" and the abominable excesses of Fascism, but of that most colossal and obscene terror of all—war. War which in its modern form is the natural and inevitable by-product of capitalist-imperialist rivalries, which kills millions of its victims, itself abrogates all civil liberties and makes the individual the puppet of an absolutist state if indeed it does not destroy him of his reason altogether.

This is, however, only the negative side of the case. If we could indeed offer the workers, farmers and the professional and technical groups only a choice of terrors in the future, they could hardly be blamed for emulating Hamlet and clinging desperately to those ills they have under so-called democracy rather than flying to evils which they have not yet experienced. The revolutionary internationalist does offer a positive alternative to the masses—an enhance-

ment of well-being and of freedom.

The Workers' State

The Workers' State is a dictatorship. As Marxists we believe that and we do not attempt to conceal it. But it is important to understand the sense in which the term is here used, and Marxists have not always been too careful and accurate on this point. So long as there are classes, every government is in essence a dictatorship—of the ruling class over whatever other classes there may be. Whether at a given moment, however, this rule expresses itself as an open and avowed dictatorship, resorts to open and extensive terrorism, etc., depends upon whether this is necessary to the ruling class. The facts are clearly suggested in that sentence of our Declaration of Principles which says: "The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself."

The political expression of the proletarian dictatorship is the Soviet or Workers' State. Workers of all categories—industrial, agricultural, technical, clerical, professional—will be organized on a functional basis into Workers' Councils. Through the Councils functioning in a democratic manner, under the control of their membership, the workers will have a much more direct and simple way of sharing in the determination of the policies which affect their well-being than they have under the farcical electoral system which exists in the U. S. today. Furthermore, in a country with the resources and the technical equipment of the U. S. an immediate improvement of the standard of living and relief from insecurity could be provided if the capitalist brakes upon production were released, and this too would have the psychological effect of liberation on the masses now haunted by the spectre of insecurity and enslaved to fear.

Dealing with Enemies

It is true that parasites will be disfranchised in the Workers' State and that repressive measures will be used against those who conspire to overthrow the new regime and bring back the horrors of capitalism, unemployment, war—that is to say, those who want to abolish the dictatorship of the majority over the minority and bring back the dictatorship of the minority over the majority under which we now live. The extent and the character of these repressive measures, and the length of time during which they may be enforced, will depend primarily, as has been repeatedly demonstrated in revolutionary periods, upon the extent to which the new regime may be threatened with destruction from outside and upon the counter-revolutionary movements within. Life was not altogether peaceful and comfortable in the U. S. during and for some time after the Revolutionary War, nor in France during and after the Great French Revolution. It took four years of Civil War in these United States to smash the slaveholding aristocracy of the South, even after a president and congress representing a new class had been elected by parliamentary methods, and there was a considerable interruption of normal activities. It is thus that social change of a fundamental character is effected. The fact is not usually regarded as an argument for setting the clock back—if that could be done. And, in view of all that has been said, we are not among those who raise pious protests or shed crocodile tears when the Soviet Union takes whatever measures may be necessary against the class enemies, internal

or external, of the Workers' State.

(What causes us to protest and shudder—what constitutes indeed a tragic menace to the well-being of the masses in the modern world, to the entire future of humanity—is not the proletarian dictatorship, nor the mistakes and excesses which it may have committed, nor the dominant role of the revolutionary party in the Workers' State. So long as classes exist, government will be in essence dictatorship. Human beings are nowhere infallible. Without a disciplined, devoted, heroic party of the vanguard elements the accomplishment of the modern revolutionary task is inconceivable.

The crime of the Stalin regime is that it has abandoned and destroyed the organization principle on which the revolutionary party must be built and thus has corrupted the party and transformed the proletarian dictatorship into a caricature of workers' democracy. No greater crime than this can be committed, for it means the corruption of those instrumentalities by which alone the masses can be liberated and a higher stage in human development achieved.

Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of the Leninist party. Precisely because there must be the severest discipline in action and because the Party takes upon itself the role of leadership of the workers in the greatest crises, its own inner life must be free, democratic, vigorous. The clearest, straightest Marxian thinking is required; but that involves the right of criticism; and that cannot exist where there is repression.

A healthy revolutionary party which is based on democratic centralism will seek to establish its leadership over the mass organizations of the workers whether before, during or after the revolution, not by cheap political trickery, not by forced and mechanical processes, not by clever yet futile attempts to "capture" organizations, but by what may be rightly characterized as democratic methods. It gains influence in the unions e.g. by the correctness of the policies which its members set forth, by the persuasiveness with which they argue for them, by their devotion to the day to day work of the organization, by the sacrificial and heroic role they are prepared to play in strikes and similar crises. It is in substantially the same manner that a revolutionary party with a democratic inner regime gains and maintains its influence over the mass organizations, the Soviets or Workers' Councils, once the workers and their allies have taken power.

Now a vanguard party of this character is constantly subject to check by the mass organizations. It must essentially and most of the time actually serve their needs or it will be rejected. On the other hand, it can afford, indeed it will ordinarily encourage a democratic life in, will seek to educate, the mass organizations because it is well aware that in the long run it is precisely as they are enlightened that the masses will follow them. Exploiters of the masses such as the capitalists today, will do all in their power to keep them ignorant and confused. A Leninist revolutionary party will do just the opposite. Thus our Declaration of Principles can assure the masses in the U. S. that the workers' state does not mean repression, the curtailment of democratic rights for them but, while it functions as a dictatorship against enemies who may want to restore capitalism, will assure and continually extend far more democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism.

Bureaucratic Regime

By the same token, it is when bureaucracy gets the upper hand in the revolutionary party itself, when a reign of repression is established there, that corruption enters into the whole of the proletarian dictatorship; it becomes a caricature of the workers' democracy. This is the crime which the present Stalin regime has perpetrated. Party, democracy was crushed. The utterly un-Marxian conception of an absolutist party, a mystical something, standing above the working class, which could do no wrong, which needed no checks upon itself whatever, arose. In the final analysis this can only end in a personal dictatorship. That is what exists in the Third International and its parties today. But such a party, resting now upon an insecure and artificial basis, serving essentially not the working class but a bureaucracy, will crush out democracy also in the Soviets, the unions, etc.

The Stalin regime has been forced to an ever more vicious suppression of party democracy and workers' democracy, because its basic aim of building Socialism in one country is anti-Marxian and wrong. It had to attempt to crush all opposition among revolutionists both inside and outside the Soviet Union, because if the opposition had had any means of expression the emasculation of the Communist Parties throughout the world which was the inevitable result of this policy would not have been tolerated. On this, however, space does not permit us to dwell here.

We of the Workers Party who raised and raise no protest against necessary repressive acts of the Workers State against its class enemies, within and without, do raise our voices with all our might against the terrorism now being exercised in an intensified degree against revolutionists, against those who are for the Workers' State in the Soviet Union but who are political opponents of of Stalin and his henchmen. We protest against these persecutions because this policy corrupts the revolutionary party itself and so undermines the Workers' State, which has been the beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. It furthermore, casts discredit upon and corrupts the entire revolutionary movement throughout the world.

From our Leninist point of view we can also criticize, not the principle of repressive measures against class enemies, but the manner in which the principle is applied in the Soviet Union under the Stalin regime. A bureaucracy resting on an insecure foundation, maintaining itself more and more, therefore, on a basis of fear and physical force, cannot carry out such measures as the collectivization of agriculture, for example, and numerous other policies in a sound manner. It falls into entirely unnecessary excesses which give both the workers and their enemies a false conception of what the proletarian dictatorship really means.

Our Position

We of the Workers Party thus have the answer, as neither the hypocritical reactionary defenders of "American constitutional liberties," nor the liberals of various shades, nor the social-democrats, nor the Stalinists have, to the question of freedom in the modern world. The alternatives before the workers and farmers and before those artists and professionals who are concerned about freedom to create and express are not limited to Fascism and the corrupt version of the proletarian dictatorship which Stalin offers, and the sham democracy which obtains in some countries today under capitalism, but which cannot be maintained if capitalism remains. There is the other alternative of an uncorrupted and genuine workers' democracy under the leadership of a revolutionary party organized under the principle of democratic centralism and based upon revolutionary internationalism.

The road to genuine democracy is not away from, but back to Marxism and Leninism; not away from but back to revolutionary internationalism; not away from but through the proletarian dictatorship, i.e. workers' democracy. This is the road to which the masses oppressed in varying degrees under Fascism and capitalist "democracy" are directed by the parties of the Fourth International.

In pursuing this course we are also the sole effective champions of humanity, of any idealism worthy of the name in the modern world, and of world peace. For a social order in which human dignity can be maintained and not constantly trampled in the mire, in which the creative energies of mankind can express themselves and not be endlessly suppressed and thwarted, is possible only if capitalism is destroyed, and this deliverance can come only as the result of victory of the workers in a revolutionary struggle.

July Issue of New International Out

The July issue of the New Internationalist is just off the press. The long awaited article by Trotsky on Thermidor and Bonapartism in relation to the Soviet Union is printed in full. In this article comrade Trotsky revises the previously confused conception implied by Thermidor and gives terminological concreteness to the term. It is an extremely interesting study of historical contrasts between episodes transpiring today in the Soviet Union and those in the period of Thermidorian reaction during the Great French Revolution.

A very timely and penetrating analysis of Centrism is contained in the article, "Centrist Alchemy or Marxism?" which deals with the road toward the Fourth International and the centrist brakes applied thereto by the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. The fact that the S.A.P. has given lip-service to the idea of building a Fourth International and has done everything in its centrist nature to delay that process is here acidly exposed.

Of domestic significance is the analysis of the recent Supreme Court decision with regard the NRA in an article by comrade Swaback entitled "The Passing of the NRA." Also, away from the international arena for the moment, is the critical exposition of the great Toledo strike by comrade A. J. Muste. An article on the coming struggles in railroads by A. Weaver concludes that portion of the magazine dealing with internal affairs in the country today.

Of special importance is the article by John West, "The Bands Are Playing," dealing with the question of war. The article deals primarily with slogans against war. And here comrade West takes up the ubiquitous slogans: Against War and Fascism and Defend the Soviet Union and dissects them to show the positive and negative features inherent in them—as bare slogans. An article on Greece, book reviews and excerpts from the international press conclude the contents of this issue.

**SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT
BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY.**

NEW MILITANT

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NUL Calls National Caravan

Convention in Wash. D.C. to be Held Same Time

Once again the National Unemployed League is about to embark on an action that will make history for the million-headed jobless of this country. Entering a counter-offensive against the pauper wages of the Roosevelt administration, the N.U.L. will bring its protest to the front door of American capitalism: in October a mass caravan will march on Washington, D. C. Simultaneous with the caravan the Third National Convention of the Leagues will be held in the same city. The call for the National Convention follows:

NAT'L UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE
232 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio
July 16, 1935

To All Local Leagues
Dear Fellow-workers:
By action of the National Committee of the National Unemployed League, the 3rd Annual Convention of the NUL has been postponed until October. The place of the Convention has been set for Washington, D. C. The Caravan to Washington has been set for the same time.

The reasons for this action are as follows:

1) The great amount of work which has been and is now taking place in the various states must go forward to build the Leagues throughout the country and to prepare for the greatest National Convention of the unemployed which has ever been held.

The West Virginia Unemployed League held its annual Convention on June 7-8 and is now preparing for a state Hunger March.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed League held the largest and most successful convention in its history on June 8-9 and is now conducting a big organizational campaign.

The Ohio Unemployed League is undertaking the greatest task ever attempted by any State organization of unemployed. It will hold a mass Hunger March and Convention at Columbus on July 29-Aug. 2. Thousands are expected to join in the demonstration which should start the ball rolling for such demonstrations and action throughout the country as will force a complete change in relief and works programs throughout the country and make another step toward the 30 hour \$30 week.

In Indiana, Kentucky, Connecticut, New Jersey, Michigan, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Massachusetts, Maine, New York and other states the Unemployed Leagues are growing. State conventions are being planned.

At no time in the history of the N.U.L. have we had so much activity and the need of giving every possible assistance to the organizational work. The National Unemployed League is stronger today than ever before. It is by far the strongest National organization of the unemployed in the country and is becoming one of the greatest.

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Leading Oregon Lovestonite Quits; Joins Workers Party

Another important recruit to the ranks of the Workers Party comes with the application of Earl Lane of Portland, Oregon, formerly a leading member of the Lovestonite group.—Ed.

Portland, Oregon
July 12, 1935
The Secretariat,
Workers Party of the U. S.
Dear Comrades:

I recently resigned from the Communist Party Opposition and wish to apply for membership in the Workers Party of the U. S.

The pernicious policy pursued by the Third International in recent years beginning with the Kuo Min Tang policy and continuing down through the long series of disasters in Germany, Austria, the Saar, etc.,

Plans for Eight Page Completed; Now Funds!

The California Workers Party District Committee requests that a special section be set aside for news of class struggle events on the Pacific Coast in the coming 8-page weekly. The comrades will undertake to edit regularly material for this section. This is acceptable. But the first duty for the comrades on the Pacific Coast is to put their shoulder to the wheel and put over the campaign to provide the funds necessary for the 8-page weekly.

This duty rests upon Party branches everywhere. We ask all sympathizers of the movement and readers of the NEW MILITANT to give their assistance. Contributions received are still below ten percent of the total needed. The report in this issue shows \$195.48 collected at the time of going to press. The total required is \$2,000.00. From this it is obvious that much more speed in the campaign is necessary. We still await a response from the majority of the Party branches. We ask the question: What do the several thousand NEW MILITANT readers say?

Only the New York and Boston branches have recorded somewhat of a response so far. The Philadelphia and New Haven branches have each made an initial small contribution, and even as far as New York City is concerned the bigger branches are still far behind in the campaign. The Harlem branch, which is one of the smallest numerically but most active in make-up, holds the lead with \$23.98 collected to date.

Since the report made a fortnight ago, we have received the following amounts:

Contributions:	
Center Branch, N. Y. C.	\$6.50
Brownville Branch, N. Y. C.	1.00
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C.	1.25
W. Gray, Minotola, N. J.	5.00
A. Abrams, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
B. Weisbroth, N. Y. C.	2.00
S. B. N. Y. C.	1.00
New Haven Branch	2.50
West Side Branch, N. Y. C.	11.50
Bronx Branch, N. Y. C.	9.00
Boro Park Branch, N. Y. C.	10.50
Astoria Branch, N. Y. C.	4.00
Harlem Branch, N. Y. C.	12.70
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kansas	1.00
Total	72.95
Greetings	
Philadelphia Branches	2.75
Subscriptions (Club Plan)	
Davenport Branch	1.50
Philadelphia Branches	4.50
Previously Reported	113.78
Total	\$195.48

(Continued on Page 2)

'Toledo Plan' Hits Militant Union Policy

'Capital-Labor' Cooperation Intended Against Strikes

By CYRUS RIGBY

TOLEDO, July 8.—Details of another high-sounding system of government strikebreaking were disclosed in Toledo July 8 when Edward F. McGrady, assistant United States Secretary of Labor, spoke before the Toledo Rotary Club.

The new plan, McGrady said, has been dubbed the "Toledo Plan for Industrial Peace," and is to be built upon the ideas gained by the notorious Federal "meddler" during his experiences in helping "settle" the Chevrolet and Toledo Edison strikes.

But McGrady showed rare modesty when talking about the Toledo Edison settlement. He claimed all the real credit for the selling out of the Edison workers for the editors of the three Toledo newspapers: Grove Patterson, editor of The Blade; Richard Patterson, who is connected with The Times; and Carlton K. Matson, editor of The News-Bee. These three, he declared, had formulated conditions of settlement that could finally be accepted by both sides.

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Revolt Against Muir Lumber Strike Sell-Out

A.F. of L. Chief Works Hand-in-Glove With Militia

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Oregon.—The heroic strike of the Pacific Northwest lumber workers is entering its tenth week with the tempo of the struggle gradually slowing down.

From its inception the workers have been confronted with every weapon in the arsenal of the boss class from the bayonets and gas bombs of the national guard to the wily sell-out tricks of the labor fakers.

Saddled with the reactionary leadership of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which was given jurisdiction over the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union by the executive council of the A. F. of L., the workers are waging a courageous battle for the control of their union and victory in the strike.

The Northwest Convention of the S. & T.W.U. met in April and endorsed a demand for a six hour day, five day week, 75c per hour minimum wage, one week sick leave and one week vacation with pay annually, and the closed shop, and went on record to strike for these demands on May 6.

Muir's Maneuvers
Abe Muir, vice-president of the Carpenters and Joiners, who had been made Northwest organizer of the lumber workers, immediately began to sabotage the strike. He and his henchmen began a series of conferences with the employers and E. P. Marsh of the U. S. Department of Labor that were designed to sow confusion in the union's ranks and prevent the walkout from being effective in the key production centers. On the very day before the strike was scheduled to start he announced that only mills whose owners refused to negotiate would be called out. As if the time to begin negotiations was on the day when a general walkout of the industry was due to start! He even went so far as to say that he expected several mills already closed by spontaneous walkouts of the workers to reopen on the strike date.

These maneuvers were to a large extent successful for only 12,000 walked out on May 6. Four days

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Africans Called to the Colors

'Better Die Free Than Live as Slaves,' Sellassie Says

Tribesmen of all Ethiopia are prepared to drop the plowshare and seize the sword to drive back the Fascist marauder and preserve the independence of their nation.

To a man they responded to the battle cry of Haile Sellassie, who exhorted them with the appeal: "Better die free than live as slaves."

Meanwhile in Italy—
Close to two hundred thousand Italian troops are now in eastern Africa prepared to assume military operations against the legions of Haile Sellassie. Three hundred planes are being dispatched by Mussolini to overcome hazards of desert fighting. Corroding acid to burn the soles off the feet of the Ethiopian soldiers is being turned out in large quantities and shipped to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.

In the meanwhile Emperor Sellassie is preparing his troops for the coming struggle which even the most sceptical declare will in all likelihood break out in September.

In Europe the three imperialist powers most concerned, Italy, England and France, are busy finding an out for their little institution known as the League of Nations and dubbed by Lenin the "thieves kitchen of Geneva." The "thieves" seem to have come to an agreement and Il Duce, it is reported, is preparing to fly to Africa to personally supervise the impending hostilities.

It is quite likely that Mussolini's proposed flight is motivated by more than personal ambition. Reports emanating from Italian territory in east Africa declare that demoralization is setting in among the troops stationed there. The fascist chief undoubtedly reckons that his presence there will help build up a declining morale. But the swamps and mosquitoes and the heat may yet prove too much of a match for Mussolini's vocal cords.

Unquestionably England and France would much rather come to an agreement with Italy—even so far as granting it a complete protectorate over Ethiopia is concerned. Hostilities in Africa may prove too costly for both France and England. What these powers fear most is a colonial uprising that may well put an end to their imperialist domination forever.

The forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations is scheduled to take up the Ethiopian question. The attitude of England, France and Italy has already been expressed above. What will M. Litvinoff say—or do?

The notorious Harry Gannes writing in the Daily Worker complains at the Social-democratic ministers in the Scandinavian cabinets not raising the issue of Ethiopia and taking a firm stand in defense of the people of Abyssinia. Yes, it is correct to demand of those old hands at social-patriotism that they take a stand on this question.

But what about the neophytes of the Stalinist school who have taken to social-patriotism with the zeal of an infidel coming late to Christ? What about the representative of the Soviet bureaucracy in the League of Nations? Haile Sellassie has appealed to him. Has he replied? Yes—his only statement on the Ethiopian question in the League of Imperialist Bandits was lavish praise for Sir Anthony Eden's proposals!

No Share-the-Wealth Here

NEW ORLEANS.—Eight-year-old Clarabelle Newchurch and her brother Leo, aged two, are in New Orleans Charity Hospital suffering from malnutrition—for Huey Long's much advertised "share-the-wealth" plan never got around to them.

Joseph Newchurch, the children's father, told police he'd been jobless since June 15, living only on grocery orders from the Y.E.R.A. Then the orders expired, and so did the family food supply.

Third Party Meet Sows Confusion; F.D.R. Safe

By A. J. MUSTE

The chief accomplishment of the convention of the Third parties just held in Chicago with Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago as chairman and Alfred Bingham of Common Sense magazine as secretary, are to furnish some fresh evidence that Roosevelt has as yet little cause to worry over the outcome of the 1936 election and to give the Daily Worker another job of trying to make it clear that "this is not the kind of a labor party we are for."

The two hundred and fifty representatives of Farmer-Labor groups and the Farmer-Labor Political Federation, League for Independent Political Action and People's Political Alliance of Chicago, the last three all manned by the same group of liberals, who met in Chicago described themselves as "native American radicals," and "the direct descendants of the populist tradition." They aim at a new social order based on "production for use." They wish to "unite all the groups who want a change to come through the ballot box, which excludes Communists." A delegate from Idaho, with the eagerness for quick and big results at the polls which characterizes the "native American radicals" argued eloquently for the exclusion of "all members of the Communist Party and also those who do not believe in the democratic process of government" (did he mean to imply that the C. P. with the new turn does believe in the democratic process?) on the ground that each Communist included in the new organization would cost ten thousand votes and "ruin the new movement."

While not all the delegates sup-

ported these mathematical speculations, Plank Eight in the Platform for a Third Party drawn up by the group which, by the way, now calls itself the American Commonwealth Political Federation (in addition possibly to its other names) begins the declaration: "We reaffirm our faith in the democratic form of government." This is a frank statement. It might seem that it would take some courage to make such a statement in these days. At any rate, it is well to have so unequivocally on record these people who often speak of themselves as "true revolutionists," who know how really to "stop fascism" in the U. S. and who regard Marxism as Congressmen such as Lundeen and Marcantonio, who have been C. P. pets recently, are among them. And it is said that the younger, "very radical" ones, among them receive advice and counsel from the Reverend Doctor Harry F. Ward, master mind of the League Against War and Fascism.

Despite their radical talk on their playing at revolution, this outfit consists of liberals, nothing more. In such a period as the present it cannot persuade any considerable number that it has more to offer than Roosevelt. If the crisis is again intensified, the chances are that Douglas and Co. will be swept aside like chips on a raging forest, as the genuinely revolutionary forces and those of reaction come to grips. If by chance and in combination with certain labor and farmer organizations, they were to succeed in forming a sizeable party some day, it could only serve to create illusions among the masses about salvation by "democratic

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Old Guard Swamps Militants at SP Meet

Complete victory for the Old Guard, with Norman Thomas and the other erstwhile allies of the "Militant" Socialists voting with the reactionaries on every decisive issue, was the outcome of the quarterly meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, July 13-15.

As predicted by the NEW MILITANT, the N.E.C. majority elected by the "Militants" and publicly identified with them in a single bloc since the Detroit convention last June, capitulated to the Old Guard. This was the inevitable result of the systematic struggle waged by the Old Guard, while the "Militants" carried on no independent struggle but

Dismiss Indictment Against Robins-Gras

NEW YORK.—Dismissal of the indictment in General Sessions Court of July 12, terminates victoriously the Robins-Gras case which arose out of the hotel strike 18 months ago and which was one of the first important activities of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Harold Robins and Andrea Gras were convicted of slugging a non-union worker, served eight months in Sing Sing while their appeal was pending, due to Judge Valente's refusal to issue a certificate of reasonable doubt, which would have made bail possible. It now turns out that there is not even the basis of a prosecution. For the workers who sat in the "pen" and for the strikers at whom the frame-up arrest was a deliberate blow, however, there is no compensation for what they suffered at the hands of the police and courts.

After conviction, Robins and Gras appealed to the N.P.L.D. for aid. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee set up by the N.P.L.D. had the backing of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party Opposition, General Defense Committee, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I.L.G.W.U. and others.

As a result of the fight and the able brief drawn by Attorneys Abraham Abramowitz of the Socialist Lawyers Association and Louis Glickhouse, both of whom donated their services, a reversal was won. The higher court handed down a decision last December which was widely hailed as setting an important precedent. It castigated the trial judge, the late Joseph E. Corrigan, for his violent prejudice and dishonest tactics. So complete was the exposure of the frame-up engineered by the hotel owners and the prosecution, that the District Attorney finally had to drop the case altogether.

But their trust in Norman Thomas, despite the fact that Thomas has always demonstrated that he has no principled differences with the Old Guard.

By the passage of an 8-point resolution, the Old Guard won, not merely on organizational points, but on fundamental political principles.

Reformism Triumphs

1. The first point is the most important, and embodies the main demand of the Old Guard. Since the Detroit convention the Old Guard has demanded the proclamation by the N.E.C. of a broad definition defining communism. They won this; point one making party membership incompatible with holding the following views: "armed violent overthrow of the state," "dictatorship as over against democracy," "bureaucratic control of the party from the [national] center," and "underground methods."

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Survey of Ohio Strikes Shows Value of Revolutionary Party

By JACK WILSON

In the shadows of Northern Ohio's massive industrial structure with its giant rubber, steel, auto and textile factories, the working class has fought incessantly since the inception of the NRA in 1933 to establish its fundamental rights and organize itself for its historic task—the overthrow of American and world imperialism.

Workers have won great victories during this period when led by the Workers Party as in the memorable Toledo Auto-lite strike.

Workers have suffered foulest betrayals when controlled by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Witness Akron, rubber city.

The stories of the struggles have been told in the NEW MILITANT. It is unnecessary to repeat them.

New Party Gains in Holland

Fourth Int'l Vote Increases in Many Municipalities

AMSTERDAM.—The municipal elections have followed close on the heels of the provincial elections. In them the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party made an excellent showing, electing their candidates in many cities.

The R.S.A.P. now commands a total of 25 seats in various municipal administrations, an increase of 9 over the last election. Some of the preliminary results follow:

In Davenport the vote rose from 2,098 in the provincial elections to 2,624 in the municipal contest. Compared with the vote received by the C. P. in this city, which increased from 707 to 756 and the S. P. whose results remained stationary; 5561 to 5556. But the proportion between reformist votes on the one side and revolutionary votes on the other is three times as favorable for the R.S.A.P. than for the C.P. The number of votes for the capitalist parties remained quite substantial: 8870 out of a total of 17,806 votes.

Another significant incident in the voting was at Zaandam. Here the R.S.A.P. increased its total from 1,180 to 1,397 while the number of votes for the Stalinist party fell from 1,726 to 1,590. The president of the building workers union, one of the social democratic candidates was beaten by our comrade. The reply of this bureaucrat to the expulsion of four R.A.A.P. members from the union.

In Weststellingwerf R.S.A.P. votes rose from 589 to 988 while the reformists lost—2,680 to 2,192—and the Stalinists dropped from 396 to 325 votes.

Highly gratifying increases were obtained in other municipalities throughout the country.

A serious setback, however, was suffered in Amsterdam where the R.S.A.P. dropped a few thousand votes. A serious disappointment to the Dutch Party, it has had a total salutary effect in jacking up the morale of the comrades and imbuing them with the determination to build solid and strong in this center, to make the party a more effective instrument in the class struggle and a more serious factor in the coming elections.

It Pays to Be A Plutocrat

DETROIT.—It pays to be a General Motors bigshot!

For the top group of 130 directors, and executives received in 1934 \$4,990,737 for their work—or an average of \$38,389 a man.

When Chevrolet workers struck recently, the management termed their demands "unreasonable."

NEW ORLEANS (FP).—The New Orleans local of the International Assn. of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America has been organized.

EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT FIRST STEP TO DAILY

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Agriculture...

For the year ending March 15, 1935, approximately 54.1 farms per 1,000 were sold for taxes or mortgages. . . . Forbes Magazine announces a farm tractor with air-cooled, sound-proof cab, equipped with radio and cigar lighter. . . . Because few American farmers have money to buy tractors, the use of horses and mules is increasing. In Arkansas and Oklahoma human beings are forced to pull plows and harrows. . . . In Soviet Russia nearly 100,000 more tractors are available this year than in 1934 and the acreage per tractor has increased 25 percent. Food prices are approximately half of what they were a year ago and consumption has increased accordingly. . . .

Patriotism...

Adopting the slogan "Crime and Communism must perish!" the United States Flag Association adopted a new Declaration of Independence on July 4. It asserts that "United States people are normally the most prosperous and happiest on the planet. Wages of American workmen are highest in the world and the American standard of living far above any other. . . . Communists and radical forces are spending six million dollars a year in propaganda to undermine and destroy the republic. . . . The time has come when every man must declare himself and show his colors, be they red or pink, black or blue, brown or silver, or Red, White and Blue." Among the 56 signers are Al Smith, former Vice-President; Curtis Hamilton Fish, Jr.; John J. Raskob, C. R. Walgreen, Copper magnate Solomon Guggenheim and WILLIAM E. GREEN. . . . The Catholic Daughters of America, assembled in convention in Seattle, were urged by their national chairman, Bishop William J. Haffey, to combat Communism, Bolshevism, Atheism and birth control. Members bitterly attacked Margaret Sanger, birth-control advocate. . . . A recent study shows that during the past 10 years the birthrate of Catholics in Milwaukee fell 15 percent, of Protestants 5 percent. The report states, "Whether Catholic families are resorting to contraceptives or continence cannot be proved by the evidence." . . .

Capitol Hill...

The U. S. Senate passed an amendment appropriating mileage of 20 cents a mile to vice presidents. To John Nance Garner this means \$851.20 per trip from his home in Uvalde, Texas. Senators and Vice Presidents now receive free postage, free clerk hire, free haircuts, shaves and massages, free snuff and free mineral water. . . . Everett Parker, citizen of Newport, Tenn., with his wife and four small children hitchhiked to Washington to get new shoes for the kiddies. They were put out of the Senate gallery when Mrs. Parker began nursing her eight-months old baby. . . . Senator Hiram Long's recent filibuster cost taxpayers \$4,450, the speech filling 89 pages of the Congressional Record at \$50 a page. . . . The United States Weather Bureau reports that Washington is less windy than any other large city. The average wind velocity in Chicago is 15 miles per hour, New York, 13 miles per hour, Washington only 7 miles per hour. . . .

"At the very outset Franklin was plump, pink and nice," says Sarah Delano Roosevelt in "My Boy Franklin." When editor of the Harvard Crimson he showed his militant spirit by crusading against lack of sportsmanship, listless hockey practice and the small volume of cheering at football games. . . . "Until I was twelve I sincerely believed that everybody had a house on Fifth Avenue, a villa in Newport and a steam-driven, ocean-going yacht," confesses Cornelius Vanderbilt in his "Farewell to Fifth Avenue." . . .

Society Notes...

To prove that it is a pure Nordic Nation, Germany has undertaken to establish a family tree for each of its sixty-six million inhabitants. . . . The Lukens Steel Co. of Coatesville, Pa., first makers of boiler plate, recently celebrated its 125th birthday. . . . Last March, Mike Naggis, unemployed puddler who had worked for the company 40 years died of starvation. . . . "There are no more sticks, no more hicks," announces the fashion editor of a national woman's magazine. . . . Clad only in nightshirt, John Hechter of Weldon, Ark., was found wandering the streets of Dallas, Texas, at 2 A.M. It was his first visit to the city. "I went out in the back yard and there was no path leading to the place I wanted to go and I couldn't see my little house," he explained. . . .

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE
NEW MILITANT

Form United Front to Protest Deportation of Anti-Fascists

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2.—Protesting the ordered deportation of two Italian anti-Fascists, Vincent Ferrero and Porrick Salitto, a mass meeting was held here last night by the Workers Party, Socialist Party, the I.W.O., the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee, Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, the I.L.G.W.U. and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Ferrero, a resident of San Francisco for thirty years, and Salitto, who has been here fifteen years and has a motherless child of three, were charged with being anarchists, subject, as aliens, to deportation, because as owners of a restaurant they sublet office space to the editor of the English-language Anarchist newspaper, "Man". Their arrest was part of a campaign of intimidation against radical workers last year, during which subscribers to the paper were visited by immigration officials and threatened if they continued to aid it.

Salitto is now detained under \$2,500 bail on Angel's Island here, awaiting a decision on a writ of habeas corpus which is to be argued next week, and the outcome of which will also decide Salitto's fate. They are defended by Austin Lewis. Previously, after secret hearings the men were ordered deported on June 3, and the Board of Review in Washington refused to reopen the case.

The protests to Washington of many workers' organizations and the attention the case has received here has prevented their deportation so far, but they are still in imminent danger.

If deported to Fascist Italy as the government plans, Salitto and Ferrero are subject to a sentence in Fascist dungeons of five to fifteen years under a law specifically passed to cover anti-Fascist citizens who have been residing outside Italy. This makes the deportation equivalent to extradition. Recently Italians arriving from Argentina and Uruguay were immediately seized upon arrival and sentenced to long terms on the dreaded penal islands.

Working class organizations are urged to protest to W. C. McCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C. and to send notice of their action to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Marcus Graham, editor of "Man", notified the other organizations which cooperated in the protest meeting that he had requested the I.L.D. to participate also. Both of the I.L.D. expressed a willingness to cooperate but said that she would first have to take the matter up with the Communist Party. After a conference between the I.L.D. and the C. P. which took nearly two hours, Graham was informed that under no circumstances would the C. P. or the I.L.D. appear on the same platform with the W. P. or N.P.L.D. Then to further disrupt the mass protest, the C. P. organized a rival meeting on the same evening at which the counter-attraction was Leo Gallagher speaking on the NRA.

The mass meeting adopted a resolution pledging all participating organizations to conduct a mass campaign for the freedom of Salitto and Ferrero.

Revolt Against Strike Sell-Out Muir Lumber

(Continued from Page 1)

after the strike began Muir triumphantly announced that he had negotiated a "model agreement" with the Weyerhaeuser Lumber Co., that negotiations would be begun with all employees on the basis of this agreement and that the end of the strike was now in sight. This brazen sellout agreement provided for 500 per hour, forty-hour week, the recognition of the union as a collective bargaining agency and rejected the closed shop.

The fakers were given a rude shock when the Weyerhaeuser workers did not even wait to vote on this "model agreement" but walked out to a man. When the Longview local did vote on the sell-out it was rejected 8 to 1, and this large production center was soon closed down tight.

Revolt Against Muir

From then on the strike spread rapidly and soon over 40,000 were out. Although Muir and his stooges continued their maneuvers the strike ranks remained solid, except for one important break, the workers of the McCormick Lumber Co., returned to work on Muir's terms.

Revolt against Muir's leadership began to rise in the union locals, several of which wired Green and Hatcher demanding his removal, and when action was not forthcoming from these quarters a rank and file Northwest Strike Committee was set up which announced its intention of sidetracking Muir and fighting to a finish for the original strike demands.

When it became apparent that the fakers were losing control of the situation the bosses called upon their executive committee, the state governments of Oregon and Washington to take action. Ever obedient to their masters voice these organs of class rule swung into action and unleashed a reign of terror upon the workers so vicious that even conservative A. F. of L. leaders branded it as Hitlerism.

Police Terror

Picket lines were broken up at Bridal Veil, Oregon, by state police and sheriffs deputies and the workers driven down the highway at a dog trot with these armed thugs showering blows upon them with riot clubs and pick handles. Over 230 workers were arrested at this town.

The answer of the A. F. of L. leaders to this terrorism was a series of statements bristling with "radical" talk and -- a resort to the capitalist courts in an effort to obtain an injunction to prevent the police from interfering with "peaceful" picketing!!!

On Tuesday, June 18th, Clarence D. Martin of Washington, acting on petitions allegedly signed by 63 percent of the employees of the Tacoma mills, ordered the state police in Tacoma to "protect workers in their right to work."

"Ample evidence showing that a majority of the employees were satisfied with agreements negotiated with employers and want to return to work were laid before the executive office," he said.

"The state will go the limit in protecting them. Their right to work must be respected."

Proof that the statement that 63 percent of the millmen wished to return to work was false was evidenced by the fact that only a handful would pass the picket lines.

On Friday the state of California followed the lead of Oregon and Washington when pickets at Eureka were fired on and one worker murdered. Another has since died.

After the reopening of the Tacoma mills had proved a failure with only the state police on hand it was decided to loose a real reign of terror on the workers. On Monday the 24th the national guard was ordered into Tacoma. Picket lines were broken up at the point of the bayonet. Although martial law was not formally declared groups of more than two persons were declared an unlawful assemblage by the commander of the guard. A permit which the City Council had granted to the S.T.W.U. to hold a tag day was summarily revoked.

Strike Pitts Brother against Brother

By GERRY ALLARD

PORTLAND, Oregon.—Two brothers bravely carry symbolic banners of their cause on the strike front.

Two brothers man bayoneted rifles and menacing machine guns in a company of national guards.

The four brothers met the other night at their father's home in a conference asking the son for advice.

"Dad, if they call out the troops to break the strike? What should we do?" was the question the boys asked their dad.

"Stick with your gang!" the father exclaimed to his striking sons. "I believe in labor's right to organize." Thus the sagacious old father spoke, knowing full well that the strike meant a loss of family income they could not afford to lose.

For days and days the two sons continue to carry their banners before the gate of a Portland lumber mill proclaiming the right of their cause in the long strike of lumber mill workers of America's Pacific northwest.

Many strikers have been injured while picketing. Two have been killed. The strike continues. Efforts to smash the picket lines with brute, criminal force have failed. Attempts to reopen the mills floundered. The strikers are winning.

Thus another chapter—perhaps only a sidelight, but nevertheless significant—has been written of American labor's onward march to victory.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LOKE

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has, for years, been known as one of the more wide-awake and aggressive units of the American Federation of Labor. For a long time it constituted practically the only organized force in the textile industry. With the hosiery workers, the United Textile Workers—to which the A.F. H.W. is affiliated—would have been a paper organization. Its leadership, by and large, takes a right Socialist position. It is likely that the coming period will see a certain grouping of forces around the tendency which these leaders represent.

In the June 28 issue of the Hosiery Worker, the official union organ, this group presents its conception of the path which the labor movement should take if its organizations are to be modernized and strengthened. Summarized, their proposals are as follows:

Program...

1. The A. F. of L. should be empowered to order, within certain limits, the form of organization to be adopted in a given section of trade or industry to make possible the penetration of such fields as autos, rubber, armament industries, steel and food. Such a program can only be effected by a complete change in the status of the international unions. Some of their absolute power and autonomy must be taken away in order to create a more powerful central organization.

2. In line with this conception, immediate steps should be taken to unify action in the printing industry. One craft must not work while another is on strike. All agreements made by printing trades unions should expire on the same date while organization of the unskilled elements in the industry is a vital necessity.

3. Central authority should be granted to the A. F. of L. to end the confusion and the division in the ranks of the building trades unions.

4. The situation calls for an immediate organizing drive in the South, in other thinly populated areas and in steel and other basic industries. The cost of this campaign as well as legal defense expenses, etc. would be covered by a universal assessment of 50c on every member of the Federation to raise a two million dollar fund.

5. The legislative activities of the Federation should be intensified and more adequate publicity mediums should be developed. An imperative necessity is a Labor Radio System equal in range to the hook-up of Father Coughlin.

6. Establishment of a Labor Red Cross with a million dollar fund to feed strikers.

7. Greater financial and moral support to workers' education.

8. Intensification of activities among Negro workers.

There can be no disagreement with the general line of these proposals. In essence they aim toward reorganization of the Federation on a more strongly centralized basis. These proposals, if adopted would certainly make the organization and strike campaigns of the Federation more effective and vigorous. They would encourage organization of the unskilled in the basic industries. It would be much more difficult, under such an organizational setup for the large and powerful craft unions, to strangle the organizations of the workers in the mass production fields.

How??

The editorial proposes that "the questions raised . . . be taken up on the floor of all local unions, central bodies and in every type of trade union gathering. As opinion crystallizes, resolutions should be drawn and adopted and eventually brought to the attention of the Executive Council of the Federation and the responsible leaders of the movement, local, sectional and national."

Radicals and progressives in the unions will do well to keep their eyes open in this situation. The leaders of the Hosiery Workers together with such others as Gorman of the United Textile Workers, Harrison of the Railway Clerks, constitute what might be called the "moderate progressive" tendency in the Federation. Far more aggressive, honest and intelligent than the run-of-the-mill labor leadership, they are still part of the A. F. of L. machine, they play the game according to the official rules and they undertake no real fight against corruption and reaction. The textile workers will not soon forget the deal, made at the last U.T.W. convention whereby Rieve, hosiery worker chief, first declared his intention of running against Thomas MacMahon for the presidency of the U.T.W. He withdrew at the last moment after MacMahon had agreed to let Gorman run the general textile strike, a fight which he ended with a gross capitulation to the combined pressure of the government and the operators.

WASHINGTON. — Workers will not even be allowed to protest against being shut down in strikes, under the McCormack military disobedience bill favorably reported July 12 by the House military affairs committee. It is a counterpart of the Tydings bill which was slipped through the Senate.

Survey of Ohio Strikes Shows Value of Revolutionary Party

(Continued from Page 1)

speed up accompanying the upswing, the long hours, etc., workers sought to better their conditions.

Using as a basis for generalization sixty major Ohio strikes, three characteristics of them come sharply to the fore.

General Features of Strikes

1. Two thirds of the strikes, predominantly those in the basic industries, were met with flagrant violence by local, state and county police, the national guards, all under the domination of the capitalist class. But in no instance did terrorism serve its purpose. The militancy of the working class hurled back this challenge. It took other means to "pacify" labor.

2. The federal government played the dominant role in effecting "settlements" in four-fifths of the strikes. In other words, the class character of the state exposed itself in the great majority of the struggles.

3. The American Federation of Labor served as a brake in all struggles, it openly betrayed the rubber workers in three strikes, it rubbered the labor movement in rubber temporarily through its policy and it served as an effective screen for the government in many cases.

Besides the rubber industry, there are many examples which should be mentioned; the Chevrolet strike this spring, the huge gas operators strike in Cleveland last year; the Columbia Chemical strike in Barberton; the Berger Steel strike; and so on and on.

While every strike had union recognition as its prime motive, this was won clearly in only two out of the sixty strikes. Pay increases were wrung from employers in ten of the strikes, being used as a "bribe" in five cases to avoid union recognition.

Concrete Results

Labor was organized in only four of the sixty plants involved before the NRA. Less than 5,000 out of the 65,000 workers in these strikes were union members before NRA. The weight of the factor of inexperience speaks for itself.

In sixty percent of the plants, and particularly in the basic in-

dustrial plants, company unions were formed by the bosses to split the ranks of labor.

Over 21,000 of the 60,000 workers involved in major strikes in the Ohio region were auto workers who struck in six plants during this period. Of course, the Toledo Chevrolet and Auto-lite strikes were the most significant.

The betrayed Berger Steel strike and the Weirton and Steubenville walkouts drew 15,000 workers into open class struggle.

Textile strikes brought 4,000 workers on the picket line in three factories and three rubber strikes (in minor plants) had 2,500 workers.

What the paper results of the great majority of the strikes were can be summarized in the familiar terms, "Go Back to Work and Negotiate," "Called Off," "Company Agrees to Meet with Any Group of Employees," etc., etc. Labor gained little there.

The Role of the W. P.

What the working class learned from its experiences is of decisive importance. One scarcely need add we are not "mechanical" Marxists—the workers didn't learn automatically. Only where revolutionary forces drew correct conclusions and explained them to the masses was conscious progress made in the working class movement.

It is precisely in this that the Workers Party played its major and constructive role. Utilizing both an Auto-lite victory and the rubber betrayal to educate and lead the workers, the Workers Party gained in strength and influence.

Only in so far as the Workers Party is built up to play a greater and stronger role in the numerous struggles (through participating in them) will the revolutionary movement grow in America.

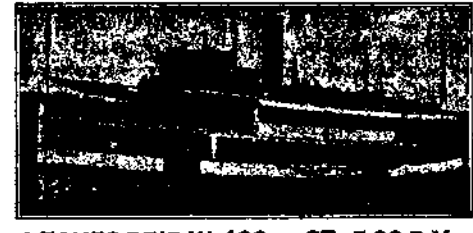
This must be one of our major tasks. Strengthen and build the Workers Party in the highly industrialized Ohio region.

A clear understanding of the nature and scope of the problem and of the prominent position strikes as a manifestation of the class struggle will play a necessary pre-requisite to our success.

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Third Party Meet Sows Confusion; F.D.R. Safe

(Continued from Page 1)

process" which bitter experience would dispel and thus to postpone the unification of all the oppressed elements of society under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist party.

As we have suggested, the Daily Worker will have to get busy again, uttering disclaimers that these "radicals" are building the "right kind of Labor Party" and furnishing another detailed explanation of just what is a labor party which is not reformist and not revolutionary and so forth and so on.

Big Guns Very Absent

As things now stand, the Roosevelt strategy has taken the wind out of the sails of such movements as this at least so far as making a considerable showing in the 1936 election is concerned. Certain incidents of the Chicago conference itself bear this out. The LaFollettes were conspicuous by their absence. Young Bob, predestined to become the presidential candidate of these Third parties when they make a bid for a real showing, does not see enough anti-Roosevelt, liberal-labor votes in sight yet. He is pursuing the "canny" course of building up a reputation as a "determined but constructive" radical and "friend of labor." He tries to get Roosevelt to go farther but votes for Roosevelt measures, when he has made his attempt to get more and failed. Governor Olson, the Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, another big man in the estimation of the Chicago dabblers in politics, sent word that he was ready to support any movement standing for "production for use," but also had other engagements and could not be present in person. Senator Nye came and made a speech as a sort of friend of the movement, but made it clear that the liberal forces must not be divided in 1936 and that in the forthcoming election it's Roosevelt so far as he is concerned. Marcantonio, the New York Congressman who succeeded LaGuardia in Washington, and who was one of the signers of the call for the conference, withdrew from the movement as did the Knickerbocker Democrats when a decision looking toward running a presidential ticket in 1936 was made. Upton Sinclair also made it clear that he is still for capturing the Democratic party for Socialism and Epic.

Conservative As Any

Nobody outside an insane asylum any longer believes that Roosevelt is going to put an end to the capitalist system and usher in the cooperative commonwealth. The Republican case against him is accordingly weak and no Republican of importance has yet shown any eagerness for the job of standard bearer in 1936. A little excitement has been stirred up about a tax program which asks a few more dollars from big incomes, about federal control of business invading states' rights, about a big spending program, about Roosevelt's hint that the Constitution might have to be amended to allow Congress to enact social legislation—but Roosevelt, the red revolutionist, does not register any more even with the Dr. Wirts.

On the other hand, unless new elements enter the picture, the liberals and the trade unions will be found on the Roosevelt bandwagon in 1936. Many jobs are dependent on the money appropriated for public works which Roosevelt has for disbursement. Liberals and union officials are subject to subtle influence from this source, being only human like the garden variety of local politicians and citizens.

Long, Coughlin and Townsend can declaim that the Roosevelt unemployment insurance and old age measures do not go far enough and that appropriations for public works are too small. They can argue that the tax program which the incomparable publicity-artists pulled out of his sleeve a few weeks ago just when Congressmen were all set to flee the heat of Washington, does not "soak-the-rich" enough. The

fact of the matter is that the program of taxing big incomes, big corporations and big inheritance does not "soak" the rich at all. It represents a feeble start toward imposing income and inheritance taxes which the ruling classes in European countries have long since had to accept as a price for keeping the capitalist system on its feet. But when all the advantages on Roosevelt's side are taken into account, what chance have any of these "extremists" of persuading the electorate that any candidate that may advance has a chance against Roosevelt or could accomplish anything more than Roosevelt will?

As for the trade unions, Roosevelt has "given" the A. F. of L. the Wagner Bill, the Magna Charta of Labor, as William Green does not tire of proclaiming. As the New Militant has pointed out, the employers will contest the constitutionality of the act, they will construct the National Labor Board, etc. In the end, the unions will realize that the Wagner Bill will do no more for them than the other Magna Charta, Section 7a. For the present, however, in spite of all the talk about a labor party and the fond hopes of the C. P. and all the varieties of the socialists, the union leaders, and that still means the unions, will stick to friend Roosevelt. They will not run any chances of a Republican slipping into office by putting up a Labor Party candidate against him.

Even if disillusionment with the Wagner Bill should come more swiftly than in the case of the labor sections of the NRA, Roosevelt has protected his position. His "impromptu" speech to the press a few days after the Supreme Court knocked the NRA into a cocked hat, will be recalled. The Supreme Court has acted on the philosophy of "the horse and buggy age." Some time in the next few years the Constitution might have to be amended if the Supreme Court persisted in such interpretations. Nothing more along

Ryan Cops ILA Gab Fest; Raises Salary

Under the slogan of "Kick the radical elements out of the American Federation of Labor" and "A square deal to square employers," Joseph P. Ryan was again elected to serve as President of the International Longshoremen's Association for four years.

The first days of the convention, held at the Governor Clinton Hotel in New York, were turned into a get-together gabfest in which talk, talk, and more talk was the order of the day. One of the first very important acts of the convention was the presentation of a gold—solid gold—membership card in the union to the present prize-fight night champion, Braddock. Then William Green opened up an anti-red barrage lasting for hours in which the red stripes in the flag were barely spared.

Harry Bridges of the West Coast delegation took the floor. For almost two hours he spoke, telling of the dock strike on the Pacific of last year, answering the red-baiting charges of Green and Ryan and generally exposing the corrupt machine of Ryan and his cohorts in the Longshoremen's union.

Bridges Outmaneuvered

On Thursday after days of speech making in which nothing of a practical nature had been taken up, days in which not a resolution had been read or a concrete motion acted on, the first item thrown on the agenda for action was the election of officers. Bridges tried to protest but he was overruled by the convention. The chairman then called for nominations for president. J. P. Ryan was nominated. After calling for more nominations for a number of minutes someone suggested that nominations be closed.

Your correspondent approached Bridges and asked him why the West Coast delegation had not nominated anybody for the office. Bridges declared: "We are pledged by the West coast membership not to nominate anybody until after the resolutions have been discussed and to vote for officers of our union by a national referendum."

So far as the delegates assembled were concerned this strategy on the part of the Bridges delegation went completely over their heads as Bridges had no occasion under the procedure adopted to explain it. Some of the delegates demanded of Bridges to run for president or nominate someone other than Ryan if he was so violently opposed to him. But Bridges had his mind made up not to play ball. Outmaneuvered by the machine in having the elections put on the agenda before the resolutions, Bridges decided on a silent boycott of the whole proceedings.

The vote was called for and Ryan

this line has emanated from the White House since this "trial balloon" was sent up. If the measures already taken suffice to retain liberal and labor support until the elections then talk about an amendment can rest and timid souls will be reassured that after all Roosevelt will do nothing rash, even though in his genial way he sometimes "says the most radical things." Should the pressure of industrialists and financiers, by means of an early adverse Supreme Court decision or otherwise, emasculate the Wagner Act, however, and labor and other elements develop a belligerent attack, then the slogan of a constitutional amendment can be brought forward for the presidential campaign and as a basis for urging the unions not to "spoil their own case by resorting to direct action."

On the part of many rank-and-filers the call for independent political action, for a labor party, etc., represents a radicalization, a consciousness that labor must pass beyond "pure and simple trade unionism." The so-called progressive trade union leaders, however, aided and abetted by the C. P., S. P., and other political groups, are practicing tail-endism in this matter. Instead of educating the masses in the need for a revolutionary political solution of this problem and rallying them around the banner of a revolutionary Marxist party, they divert thought and energy into the channel of a labor party, a program which can produce no immediate gains for labor in this period and which, insofar as it succeeds, hinders the development of an effective revolutionary party which alone can effectively guide the daily struggles now and provide clear leadership and a bulwark against fascism when the crisis again becomes intensified. For us there is no more urgent political task than that of developing an offensive against the labor party propaganda. And "offensive" is here used advisedly. Negative criticism of the labor party idea is certain to appear to the rank and file as carping against him when he has become aroused to the necessity of "doing something." His enthusiasm must be aroused for the positive alternative of the revolutionary party, for the real as against the fake solution of his problems.

Although the administration was defeated in this matter it made an undemocratic use of its majority to force through an amendment to the constitution depriving the membership meeting of the power to determine the policies of the union. This was done at the end of a six hour meeting called to act upon the report of the Dewey Committee and after a considerable part of the membership had left the meeting.

In Place of the membership meeting

was set up composed of representatives of Union groups in the schools. This measure would have been a step forward for the Union if combined with the continuation of membership meetings, but carried out after the abolition of membership meetings it became a bureaucratic distortion of democratic procedure.

Placed Hopes on LaGuardia

The administration likewise revealed its hand in the struggle of the Union with the La Guardia administration over the question of a furlough for teachers (temporary salary cut). In this struggle Dr. Lefkowitz admitted that the administration had placed its confidence in the pre-election promises of La Guardia not to cut teachers salaries and had supported him in the campaign on the basis of that promise. When La Guardia, yielding to the pressure of the bankers and real estate interests broke his promise, the administration expressed its amazement. When it had recovered from its amazement it proceeded to defend the politician of the broken promises by pointing to the financial difficulties which the newly-elected Mayor had inherited from the previous Tammany regime.

The result of the Administration's course was to strengthen the opposition. Its expulsion on proceedings, its anti-democratic measures, its position in the salary fight, its opposition to mass action which even Wall St. brokers were using, its tail ending of the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, its undercover support of the La Guardia Administration, its frequent resort to red baiting while posing as a radical leadership, its failure to give timely and adequate defense to victimized teachers like Blumberg, Begun and Burroughs, its fraternization with 59th St.—all these actions caused it to lose its own supporters en masse to the opposition. In addition, a process of radicalization due to the economic crisis, was taking place among teachers. Teachers who had been known for their conservative or liberal views became militant and radical as the crisis continued without abatement. An influx of new members from the ranks of the regular and substitute teachers only added new recruits to the ranks of the opposition.

Reports on resolutions were taken up Friday. The progressive resolutions of the West coast delegation were killed in committee. These called in the main for union controlled hiring halls and the six hour day for the industry. Other Bridges resolutions called for an endorsement of the Labor party and the Lundeen Bill. These too were defeated. The convention moved on to the body of the resolutions dealing with hiring halls and six hour day and referred the "resolves" to the local districts.

The "Practical" Ryan

Bridges argued for a national fight to unify the forces behind the proposals. Ryan replied demagogically that while it wasn't impossible to get these demands, it would certainly prove "impractical."

Another resolution calling for a convention every two years instead of four met with the same fate as the others. Ryan arguing that four years was not "too long a time for one to serve." On the resolution for a one day general strike for the freedom of Tom Mooney the convention voted to concur on the "whereas" and non-concurred on the "resolves." Meaning that in words they are for freedom but action—god forbid! A resolution presented by a Southern delegate calling for the convention to go on record not to handle company union freight shipped from Southern ports was concurred in—in spirit and recommended to the incoming executive board.

And as a fitting conclusion to a bureaucratic controlled convention of A. F. of L. machine men was the slap in the face administered to dock workers over which these corrupted and money grubbing bureaucrats rule in having the salary of Joseph P. Ryan raised from \$8,000 to \$15,000 a year. That, argued Ryan, was not "impractical."

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Reveal Background of Fight By Militants in Teachers' Union for Real Democracy

This is the second of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union resulting from the "red" investigation carried on by the Administration at the behest of William Green.—Ed.

In 1931 and 1932 the Administration's tactic was to concentrate the policy making power of the Union into the hands of the Executive Board by proposing constitutional amendments requiring a two-thirds majority at a membership meeting as necessary to override decisions of the Board. After this move had failed the Administration threw the organization into turmoil by preferring charges of expulsion against thirty-two leading members of the minority. Under pressure of protests by the members the number was reduced to five. Finally a packed grievance committee, headed by Prof. John Dewey was elected to hear the charges. The Dewey Committee brought in a report condemning the existence of minority groups and recommending the suspension of the five members for a period of one year. The suspension was voted down by the membership meeting in April 1933.

Although the administration was defeated in this matter it made an undemocratic use of its majority to force through an amendment to the constitution depriving the membership meeting of the power to determine the policies of the union. This was done at the end of a six hour meeting called to act upon the report of the Dewey Committee and after a considerable part of the membership had left the meeting.

In place of the membership meeting was set up composed of representatives of Union groups in the schools. This measure would have been a step forward for the Union if combined with the continuation of membership meetings, but carried out after the abolition of membership meetings it became a bureaucratic distortion of democratic procedure.

Placed Hopes on LaGuardia

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READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Neglect Costly in Elections

Timed with the issuance of the Linville letters came the announcement of the organization of the "Organized Union Majority" headed by Linville and Lefkowitz. This was the first time that the Administration appeared before the Union as an organized group. The leaders of the Rank and File and the Progressive Groups failed to estimate correctly the appearance of this group. They turned down the proposal of the Committee for Democracy in the Union to form a united front to combat the Organized Union Majority and to conduct a campaign for the restoration of democratic membership rights in the Union. This action of the two minority groups proved very costly for in the election platform the main plank of the Organized Union Majority was the demand for the suppression of the minority groups and foreshadowed the present investigation. In the elections for officers and members of the Executive Board the Administration candidates polled less than 60 percent of the vote while the opposition polled more than 40 percent, despite the fact that over 200 applications for membership had been purposely held up in order to prevent these members from voting. It is believed, for the opposition candidates. When it is recalled that in the elections of 1930, the Administration polled between 85 percent and 90 percent of the vote, it becomes clear why the Administration has moved its steam-roller at such a rapid pace. The hand writing of its future defeat was on the wall.

N.U.L. Calls Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

forces in the entire labor movement. 2) To hold the convention in July would mean that many local Leagues which are taxed with the expenses of their State Conventions would not be able to attend the National convention. We want every State convention and the National convention to be a success. 3) The place of the convention has been set for Washington, D. C. This means that the "Caravan to Washington" as proposed is now combined with the Convention. The "Caravan to Washington," however, will be expanded and will now include five delegates from each local League. Every local League should start preparations now for the National Caravan and Convention in Washington.

The month of October has been set because this is the time that all of the Federal administrators, including the President, return to Washington from their vacations. The Federal officials will be faced with the army of the unemployed.

The Convention Call will be issued in August, giving dates, arrangements and problems to be faced at the convention. MASS ACTION, our official newspaper, will carry a special series of articles in preparation for the convention.

Every League should help finance the convention and other work by sending in their per capita tax to the National Unemployed League of one cent per member per month as decided by the delegates at the National Convention in 1934.

BUILT THE UNEMPLOYED LEAGUES!

Make the Ohio Hunger March and Mass Convention a complete success! Mobilize the West Virginia Unemployed League Hunger March! Onward in the organizational drives throughout the country!

FORWARD TO THE NATIONAL CARAVAN AND CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON, D. C. IN OCTOBER! March On to Real Freedom and Security!

Fraternally yours, ARNOLD JOHNSON, Secretary ANTHONY RAMUGLIA, Pres.

Attention New Yorkers! PIONEER BOOKSHOP 95 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. Tel: AL 4-4950

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C.P. Warned to Stop Hooligan Tactics in N.Y.

Stalinists and Cops Break up W.P. Meeting

The following letters addressed to the Communist Party and the Civil Liberties Union speak for themselves. And what they say loudest is that the W. P. will countenance no further violence on its meetings even if it is necessary to call upon the entire radical labor movement in New York to put an end to these fascist methods.—Ed.

July 16, 1935

New York District Committee
Communist Party U.S.A.
50 East 13th Street
New York City
Comrades,

Last Friday evening, July 12, members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League with the aid of the police broke up an open air meeting held by the East Side Branch of the Workers Party, at Norfolk and Delancey Streets.

Similar actions by members of your party have been taken against meetings of the Socialist Party, Young Peoples Socialist League, Unemployed Union and other workers organizations.

We call your attention to the fact that such conduct plays into the hands of capitalist reaction. It gives the police a pretext for limiting or prohibiting all workers' public meetings. It is particularly condemnable at a time like the present when the crying need is common action of all workers' organizations against the growing wave of reaction which threatens all workers' democratic rights.

We call upon you to state the policy of your party in respect to the conduct of your members in breaking up working class meetings.

We will hold an open air meeting this Friday evening at the same corner as last week, Norfolk and Delancey Streets. All necessary steps have been taken for the adequate defense of the meetings against any attempts to disrupt it.

If members of your party continue the tactics employed last week, at this or any other meeting of the Workers Party, we plan to call on all workers' organizations to form a united front committee in defense of workers' meetings.

We urge your consideration of the above and an early reply.

Fraternally,
MORRIS LEWITT
District Organizer.

P.S. A copy of this letter is being sent to the American Civil Liberties Union. We are calling upon the A.C.L.U. to send an observer to Friday's meeting.

July 16, 1935.
American Civil Liberties Union
Metropolis Bldg.
31 Union Sq. West
New York City
Dear Friends,

You will find enclosed a letter sent to the Communist Party re the breaking up of an open air meeting of the Workers Party by members of that organization.

You will note that we intend holding another open air meeting this Friday evening at the same place as last week, Norfolk and Delancey Streets. The meeting will open at 7:30 P.M.

In view of the position of the A.C.L.U., we request that you send an observer to our Friday meeting. In case of a repetition of last week's occurrences your observer will be in a position to give an objective report.

Kindly inform us of your decision.

Fraternally,
DISTRICT ORGANIZER.

What to Attend

Saturday evening, July 20—Refresh Yourself!! Immediately after the District Discussion Meeting, at a party given by Branch 1, 420 E. 19th St. Dancing, eats, drinks.

Saturday, July 20, 9 P.M.—The Social affair announced by the East Side Branch 2 at 41 Morton St. (Normans) has been postponed from Friday, July 19 to Saturday, July 20. A good time is guaranteed. (Benefit New Militant). IRT to Sheridan Sq. 4 blocks south.

Fridays—Dram-group meets every Friday at 8 P.M., 55 East 11 St. All comrades interested are urged to attend this Friday. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League.

Friday, July 19, 8 P.M.—Sketch group meets. Aus.: S. Y. L.

Sunday, July 21, 11 A.M.—Beach Frolic to Rockaway Beach. Take IRT to New Lots Station. Take "Hammels" bus to 84th St. Meet on beach at First Aid Station. Round fare 30c. Aus.: S. Y. L.

Beginning with the next issue all "What to Attend" notices must be in the hands of the Editor no later than Tuesday noon.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

LOS ANGELES COMRADE—

Question: In R. Palme Dutt's "Fascism and Social Revolution," the author makes it appear that the Communist Party of Germany made incessant appeals to the Social Democracy for a united front to combat fascism but that the Socialists stubbornly refused. What is the truth in this?

Answer: Prior to Hitler's coming to power the Socialists were programatically forbidden to make united fronts with the Social Democracy because the Communist International (headed by Stalin) maintained that the social democracy and fascism were twins and that only a united front from below under the leadership of the Communist Party could and would be considered. On two occasions, the Communist Party of Germany, forced into this by life itself, announced in its public press its willingness to make a united front with the Social Democracy, thereby condemning as false its entire approach toward the united front, since, on the days preceding and following such public declaration, the Socialists were still "social fascists" and only the "united front from below" was possible.

The Stalinist apologists, e.g., Dutt, are today attempting to pass off as the program of the C.P.G. prior to January, 1933, those declarations by means of which the Stalinists condemned their own program (The exception proves the rule but is nevertheless not identical with it.)

If you wish elaborate quotations, see the files of the (old) "Militant" for 1932 and 1933 and "What Next?" and "The Only Road" by Trotsky. A file of the Daily Worker for this period will also show that Dutt is far from interested in truthfully establishing historical facts.

J. P. NEW YORK—

Question: Should workers refrain from striking to benefit their conditions where they are handling products destined for the Soviet Union?

Answer: By no means. Our slogan: "The enemy is at home," which applies even to the case where the United States and the Soviet Union are war time allies, surely holds during peace time.

It is only from the Stalinist concept of "Socialism in one country," which counterposes the international proletarian revolution to the economic success of the Soviet Union, that one can arrive at the conclusion that a strike, which affects products destined for that country, can be of harm rather than of aid to it.

It is true that certain economic difficulties can develop in the Soviet Union as a result of such strikes. If, however, the American workers must make sacrifices for the Russian workers, is not the obligation mutual, particularly when the fulfillment of his international duties is, in the final analysis, in the best interests of the Russian worker?

The greatest aid to the Soviet Union is the extension of the class struggle internationally, because the workers' fatherland is doomed as a Soviet state unless the workers seize power in at least several of the advanced capitalist countries.

S. L. P. BALLSTON SPA, N. Y.—

Question: How can you expect to institute a Socialist society unless you change human nature?

Answer: The peculiar thing about this criticism is that those who advance it attribute to us an "idealistic" position and then proceed to overthrow their own straw man.

We are materialists, not idealists. Our perspectives do not flow from the idea that human nature will be educated by our propaganda into becoming "unselfish," but, on the contrary, that human nature, being what it is, the masses are forced, in their own self-material-interests, under the given historical conditions and productive forces of society, to bring about a social change.

Selfishness itself, or more strictly speaking, the methods by which human beings look after their own interests, is an historical and not a fixed human characteristic, and is conditioned by the social mode of production.

Under capitalism the self-interest of the rulers of society, whose ideology is that of the society so long as this rule exists, is best served by individual appropriation of wealth regardless of, and in opposition to, the welfare of others. Selfishness, therefore, takes on the form of individualism. Under a Socialist society the welfare of the individual is best served when the interests of society are enhanced so that selfishness will take on the form of collectivism.

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DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
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Pacifism Keynote of A. Y. C.

Stalinists Adopt Social Patriotic Position - Defeat Spartacus Resolution to Oppose U.S. Imperialism under any Conditions in Next War — Whole Venture Nears Collapse - Yipsels Prepare Break

The American Youth Congress, a successful attempt at the mutilation of the Leninist united front tactic, held its second national convention in Detroit, Michigan on July 4, 5, 6 and 7. The congress opened with the singing at an outdoor mass meeting, attended by 2,000, of "America." In consideration of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ten o'clock mass was arranged at which Reverend Ward preached a delightful and most interesting sermon.

This second convention was characterized principally by its moving to the right of the New York congress (August, 1934) and the Washington "plenum" (January, 1935). Having completed its gradual capitulation to pacifism, the congress was no longer dignified by a reluctant opposition to IMPERIALIST war. Resolutions congruous with revolutionary spirit were supplanted entirely by the slogans of the pacifists. Thus, at last, the congress came out flat-footed for a program of national and international social harmony, and international peace among nations. The congress reeked from beginning to end with "peace." (Amen!)

The Stalinists, chief sponsors of the congress, blocked every formulation, motion, resolution or amendment that stood to the left of the proposed program. Every resolution introduced to the right of the program was carried with passionate enthusiasm and exhilaration. With the Y.P.S.L. they were terribly concerned about not offending pacifist and liberal elements. They were consequently little concerned with offense to revolutionary elements by passing a pacifist, liberal and non-labor program. Every left semi-left proposal was combatted by a classically opportunist argument: "Everybody knows that my organization is heartily in favor of that resolution. However it must be defeated because its acceptance will narrow the congress to purely labor organizations."

In compliance with the character of the congress, a weak, innocuous and ambiguous document, a clumsy attempt at evasion, was presented. This message of liberalism, submitted to the four seminars for discussion and "correction," was labeled "The Declaration of Rights of the American Youth." Its most radical feature was a recognition of the existence of a number of ills in present day society. The terms "capitalist," "working class," "class struggle," "imperialist war" were scrupulously avoided. The "few" ills were mentioned with liberal indignation, without explaining their origin or proposing a solution other than vague references to freedom of speech, press and assembly. The Spartacus Youth League proposed rejection of this "moral indictment" of capitalism. If a programmatic declaration, going beyond proper united front agreement on action, was to be drafted, argued, the S.Y.L. the declaration must include the responsibility of capitalism for the evils listed in the document (which should be analyzed with specific reference to the youth), and that only the destruction of this society could solve these evils. Such a program alone could be a true Declaration of Rights.

The document reads: "We propose to realize in actuality the ideal of free America." (How?) "We propose the maintenance and the extension of our elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly, with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion."

As revolutionaries we distinguished ourselves from the liberals by qualifying our interpretation of civil rights. We aim to deny these rights to our enemies. Reactionary and fascist organizations confront occasional difficulties (see New Militant, June 13, for example of Father Coughlin in Chicago). The formulation of the A.Y.C. allowed freedom of speech for the fascists—a resolution consistent with C. P. policy, as evidenced in the Father Coughlin incident. Hence, the following amendment was introduced by the S.Y.L. and met with defeat after having been viciously attacked by the Y.C.L. spokesman:

"We propose the maintenance and the extension of the elementary rights of the WORKING CLASS AND THEIR PROGRESSIVE ALLIES to free speech, press and assembly with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion. WE REFUSE TO STRUGGLE FOR OR TO DEFEND THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF THOSE MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH AIM TO DENY US (the working class) civil liberties and rights (Fascists)."

The Declaration continues: "We affirm the right of workers to join trade unions and to use the weapons of strike to advance their economic interests." At Washington

THE S. Y. L. RESOLUTION

1. There exists at present a danger in the workers movement and all anti-war organizations, a tendency to distinguish, in their struggle against war, between Fascist countries and the so-called democratic countries and lend their sympathies to the democratic country. This Congress goes on record against ANY war engaged in by American imperialism.

2. The Congress does not recognize such a thing as a "lesser evil," i.e., the idea that justifies support of one's own country, or any country, whose political form is still a so-called democratic one, against a country in which Fascism or reaction is in power. Such a war could not and would not be in the interests of the masses and to countenance this theory could only lead to creating a support of the masses to such a war.

3. The Congress recognizes that any pact engaged in by this country, would be so engaged in only to advance the interests of American imperialism, and under no circumstances can the workers movement or any anti-war movement support any pact entered into by the ruling class of this country.

stirring defense of the document, acknowledging the correctness of our criticism, but insisting that the "program of Karl Marx could not be presented for adoption at the A.Y.C." Thus, the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L. are jointly responsible for the Declaration. The document was accepted by all the seminars without one basic change.

Y. C. L. and Y.P.S.L. members, nauseated by an overdose of liberal sweetmeats, reacted very sympathetically to the position of the S.Y.L. Members of both organizations confined to us their disgust with the innocuous and pacifist character of the congress. The pressure they exerted upon their respective caucuses warranted a "basic" revision of the document. The second draft contained many fundamental changes and some improvements. But it retained the false, ambiguous character of the first—including over half of the first. The S.Y.L. voted the rejection of the second draft, along with the Proletarian Party youth.

The Stalinist chairman of this democratic conference exposed the Stalinist-control by announcing (through error, of course) that the final form of the "Declaration" was already being mimeographed while the congress was discussing its merits and presenting amendments. All amendments were defeated.

The point of greatest controversy at the entire congress arose on the

THE S. Y. L. RESOLUTION

three point resolution introduced by the S.Y.L. on the question of social-patriotism. The resolution was prompted by the growing social-patriotic sentiment in the working class movement, evidenced by the sections of the Communist International, and other centrist and reformist groups. The resolution contained three points:

1. Against war engaged in by American imperialism.

2. Against the theory of the lesser evil in the wars of so-called democratic nations against a fascist nation (i.e. refusal to support a war of American imperialism against another capitalist state with a fascist government.)

3. Refusal to support war or "peace" pacts engaged in by American capitalism.

Wars of capitalist states, whether "democratic" or fascist, argued our comrades, are profiteers' wars. To support American imperialism in a war for the conquest of fascist Germany, Austria or Italy would be a betrayal transcending that of the Second International in 1914.

The big guns of the Y.C.L. top caucus went into action against the resolution but could not keep all their members in line on their obvious non-Marxist position. In opposing this resolution, the Y.C.L. applied the Franco-Russian pact and the social patriotism of the Chechoslovakian and French C. P.'s to the American scene.

Y.C.L. members violated party discipline and voted for the entire resolution. The representatives of the Y.P.S.L. announced their support of the resolution. In the seminar on "Peace and Freedom," where the resolution was presented, it was defeated by a vote of 75 to 25.

The three points were then voted upon individually. The Y.C.L. caucus leaders even fought and voted against point 1 which read: "The congress goes on record against any war engaged in by American imperialism." Pray, tell us, what war engaged in by American imperialism does the Y.C.L. support? The answer is clear. Should the U. S. enter a multi-lateral pact similar to the Franco-Russian pact, the Y.C.L. stands ready to suspend all activity against a war waged by American capitalism with, possibly, Germany.

view, said that an office would be set up in Toledo, with a representative of the Department of Labor in charge. This office would immediately go about getting the Toledo Plan in operation, presumably before the workers could recover from their last two foul blows. A committee, composed of both capitalists and "representatives" of labor, had already held one meeting to put the scheme in effect, and another gathering has been arranged for July 16, McGrady stated.

As soon as the Rotary Club meeting was over, McGrady departed for New York by plane to help that equally famous strikebreaker, Hugh Johnson, with his plans for disbursement of relief funds.

The "Toledo Plan for Industrial Peace" is too apparently Roosevelt's answer to the organized and militant efforts of Toledo workers to gain better conditions of labor. It would be difficult to find a center where American workers have, during the past few years, used better directed fighting tactics than in Toledo. The telling effects of these tactics are evident in the pains the Roosevelt administration has taken to check them by a red herring called the Toledo Plan. But Ohio workers have another "Toledo Plan" that they know will work: their next step in its operation will be complete exposure of McGrady's fine plans for perpetual sellouts.

The start of the picketing of the Works Progress Administration under the Johnson regime occurred last Friday. Fifty-three men and women, members of local 15 of the Workers Unemployed Union picketed in front of the building under the following slogans:

"Trade Union Wages, General Johnson,—Not Your Berry Pickers' Scale!"

"Promises, Promises, Promises, Where Are the Jobs?"

"Give Us Relief From Relief, We Demand Jobs!"

"Thirty Dollars for Thirty Hours!"

After picketing for more than an hour a committee of three, Paula Aragon, Nell Harrison and Saul Steigltz presented their demands to the administration. Johnson and Francis Robinson ("Robbie") being in Washington, the delegation was received by Captain Battley, first aide to the General.

The demands presented were:

1. Jobs for all unemployed;

2. Minimum wages of \$1 an hour; with trade union wages when such are higher;

3. Thirty-hour week on all jobs;

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Holds Convention

By PAUL STURM
National Secretary

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The 17th Convention of this Society was held June 10 to June 24 in the society's main administration building, located at 714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. The quadrennial report was given by the National Secretary. The report showed that the society made a surplus of \$289,276.72 during the past four years. The solid financial foundation is evidenced by the large reserves. All funds on hand December 31, 1934 amounted to \$3,533,808.73.

The convention did not act as a "rubber stamp" for measures prepared to amend the society's constitution, but deliberated all business very thoroughly, after several special committees, elected by the assembly, had gone over the constitutional amendments and rendered their report. Many delegates participated in the debate during the plenum session, at on time, more than forty members of the convention took part in the discussion.

The main feature of the W. S. and D. B. F. to wit, to provide for payment of sick benefit to its members for a continuous period of 80 weeks was extended to a 100 weeks

period with a re-adjustment of rates. The basic monthly assessment was adjusted at 25 cents for each three dollars sick benefit provision. The death benefit in the Juvenile Department was considerably increased though the monthly assessment of 10 cents was retained. Our initiation fees which were too high for the changed economic conditions were reduced to nominal fees ranging from one to three dollars.

Since the time of organization in 1884, the society grew by the sole activity of its members. No organizers nor agents were employed, no money appropriated for such solicitation. The convention empowered the administration to employ from the ranks of the membership organizers on a temporary as well as permanent basis to gain new members for the society.

"Add those who are in distress," is the foremost characteristic of this society and the organization paid \$66,315.90 to its members in form of relief for dues and outright contributions to needy members during the our year period of 1931 to 1934. To provide for a wider scope of relief the revenues for the national relief fund were increased.

Many transactions before the plenum were of difficult nature due to the fact that the society's members live in 27 states of the Union and the laws differ so greatly in the various states. What seemed to be feasible and legal in the home state, appeared to be contrary to the statutes in Massachusetts and elsewhere. The difference in the sum of money to be taken from the death benefit for funeral expenses illustrated this vividly. Uniformity of laws was a great desire and the underlying wish of many delegates, who hailed from Mid-West, New England and the Pacific Coast.

Every section of the by-laws found suitable attention, and wherever possible, the spirit to ameliorate to face new conditions was present and put into practice.

Tom Mooney's fight for freedom was considered and a resolution passed unanimously to donate \$2,000 to the Tom Mooney Mothers' Defense Committee to help to set this victim of injustice free.

A resolution was also passed to aid the suffering and destitute miners with a \$1,000 contribution.

With hearty greetings and best wishes to the administration the convention concluded its work on June 24 after the last tunes of appropriate songs faded away.

"Defend the Fatherland" replaces "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" as the slogan of the C. I. Therein lies the significance of the Y.C.L.'s opposition to our resolution.

Sections 1 and 2 of the resolution were defeated by a vote of 40 to 30, with many Y.C.L.ers voting "aye." Section 3 was defeated by a vote of 60 to 25. Let the Y.C.L. explain its vote.

The enthusiasm that marked the New York and Washington congresses was lacking at Detroit. The futility of this giant symposium becomes clearer to greater numbers of participants. On several occasions the sessions were interrupted by delegates who demanded to know what the congress had accomplished in the year of its existence. Yipsels and Y.C.L.ers refer with skepticism to the congress. Its collapse is inevitable. It is no secret that the congress continues only thanks to the presence of the Yipsels in it.

There is however reason to believe that the Y.P.S.L. is no longer desirous of remaining in the A.Y.C. The right wing of the S.P. certainly wishes the Y.P.S.L. to break away because of its (the right wing's) reactionary opposition to the united front. The left wing wishes to break because it has begun to recognize the inability of the A.Y.C. to conduct actions, and that its broad, pacifist and permanent character acts as a detriment to the proper education of the American youth to radicalism.

The Yipsels therefore are seeking to break from the congress; but on organizational, not on political issues. They cannot break on political issues because they bear equal responsibility for its creation and permanent status. In breaking from the congress they have then this alternative before them: break on the real issue—the false character of the congress and educate the membership, so as not to duplicate another such caricature of the united front; or, break on some technicality, some small organizational question, and thereby reap no benefits from the experience—disillusion the Yipsels in the united front, and thus play into the hands of the old guard of the S. P.

It is necessary now for the Y.P.S.L., which bears co-responsibility with the Y.C.L. for this farce, and for all Y.C.L.ers to speak out. It is necessary that the inability of the A.Y.C. to serve the American youth be exposed, and that the A.Y.C. be dissolved. It is necessary to establish, wherever possible, local youth councils of action which can act as the apparatus of labor youth organizations in the conducting and initiating of united action of united action of the toiling and student youth in the United States.

Old Guard Swamps Militants at SP Meet

Continued from Page 1

Under this blanket definition the Old Guard state organizations can expel members of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, "Militants," and even those who take the Detroit Declaration of Principles seriously, or who demand that the national organization enforce discipline against the state organizations. Under the banner of "unity" Norman Thomas and other "militants" voted for this point, carrying it by 8 to 3. Only Daniel, Hapgood and Kreuger voted against.

Thomas Backslides

To support the Old Guard on this, Norman Thomas threw overboard the line laid down in his speech at the Detroit convention supporting the Declaration of Principles. Then Thomas, moving from an outright reformist position to the ambiguous formulas of centrism, declared that there were circumstances under which violence against capitalism was necessary and dictatorial methods of a workers' government were superior to the bogus democracy of capitalism. One consequence of Thomas' new attitude was to secure the issuance of an invitation to "unattached radicals" to join the S. P.; this was arranged with the collaboration of Gitlow-Zam-Goldman and resulted in their joining the S. P. under the slogan "revolutionary unity within the S. P." All this is now thrown overboard by Thomas in his alliance on principles with the Old Guard.

All other points were carried by 7 to 4, Devere Allen voting with the minority on the other points, after, as a pacifist opposed to proletarian violence, having given the Old Guard support on the most decisive point.

2. The N. Y. State organization "accepted" the Declaration of Principles, on the proviso that it can be criticized and changed at the next convention.

3. National, state and local constitutions to be enforced. This is a meaningless abstraction, to save the face of the N.E.C. which has been confronted by systematic Old Guard violations of the national constitution, which are now to be ignored.

4. Eligibility of Yipsels to party membership at 18 years to be carried out by the state organization. With point one defining eligibility, the Old Guard can keep out the leading Yipsel cadres, who are breaking with reformist ideas.

5. No vicious attacks on comrades in party press and no statements to the capitalist press.

Drop N. Y. Charges

6. The "militants" charges against New York state organization to be dismissed without implication that they are right or wrong. These charges, including the suspension of sufficient branches to enable the Old Guard to capture the City Central Committee, can now be acted upon only by the Old Guard state organization!

7. The suspended Y.P.S.L. of New York is to be reinstated without requiring from it a declaration of loyalty to the New Leader, but is to accept the direction and control of the Old Guard.

8. The New Leader is to be put back into its constitution a declaration of loyalty to the Socialist Party and to print no factional news; if this is done, the Socialist Call is to be discontinued. Since no mention is made that the N.E.C. or any other body is to decide whether the New Leader has fulfilled its requirements, this means that the Old Guard state organization is in a position to order the Socialist Call to cease publication. Another motion to take the New Leader off the accredited list of socialist papers, because of its vicious attacks on the N.E.C., was countered by a victorious substitute motion, supported by James O'neal, editor of the New Leader, to abolish the list of accredited papers!

Thus did the "Militants" reap in full measure the fruits of their policy of liquidating all efforts to build an independent Left wing, of suppressing the facts about Norman Thomas' constant support of Right wing principles, of ignoring all the signs of many months that the N.E.C. majority was preparing to come to an understanding with the Old Guard. As late as Saturday night, at a mass meeting to greet the N.E.C.—which was boycotted by the old Guard—two "militants" Aaron Levenstein and Saul Marcus, declared from the platform to the N.E.C.: "We declare our loyalty to you, no matter what you

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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do." With the "Left wing" taking such a fawning attitude—and the Old Guard harassing them and hammering away, the N.E.C. could betray their promises to the "Militants" with complete impunity.

Norman "Swears"

In a caucus held in the Socialist Call office on Friday night, Thomas and Coolidge had sworn to revoke the Old Guard's state charter. But two days later they voted solidly with the Old Guard. Why shouldn't they? They had no fear of any retaliation by their "militant" allies, who had docilely for a year done whatever Thomas ordered them to. And fundamentally Thomas, Coolidge, Allen, Krayci—all the Militants' friends—belonged with the Old Guard; they had struggled for control of the party with them, hated them for this and that; but at bottom they were as devout believers in the "democracy" of the capitalist state as the Old Guard. Under the slogan of "save the party," they voted with those whom they really belong with.

"They didn't sell us down the river. They gave us away," declared one "Militant" leader. But the "Militants" have only prepared this situation by their own course. Combinationist, unprincipled, seeking to make deals instead of fighting for the leadership of the rank and file on a revolutionary basis, it was by such a deal that they joined with Hoan to elect the majority of the N.E.C. which has now dumped them—a "Left wing," without a program, with a leadership of heterogeneous political views, always leaning on Norman Thomas or some other Personality instead of depending on the rank and file—such a policy can only lead to capitulation.

The only N.E.C. members who did not back water were those whose only standing in the party and possibilities for support are as "Left wing" candidates. Kreuger, frightened by the attacks made on him by Left wingers at the recent Illinois state convention and the fact that he was at the bottom of the list of those elected to the state committee, dropped his recent maneuvering with Hoan, and rejoined the minority. Powers Hapgood fought desperately, but paid for the policy of a bloc with Thomas of which he has been an insistent advocate. Franz Daniel, elected to the N.E.C. as the candidate of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, and with only this group to give him any standing, revealed his serious weakness when he voted for the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill on the sole ground that the A. F. of L. was for it.

Old Guard Satisfied

The Old Guard expressed complete satisfaction with the "peace pact," and declared that they would make Dan Hoan the presidential candidate (this was part of the deal?). But peace is merely the slogan under which the Old Guard and the Centrists are uniting in order to carry on war against the Left. With a blanket definition of communism as their sword, the new Old Guard-Hoan-Thomas leadership have the weapon with which to cut down every Left winger who takes his principles seriously.

The Leftward moving elements in the S. P. have suffered a serious defeat, the main responsibility for which must be laid at the door of the "Militants." The only hope of recovery from this defeat is a complete break with their past methods. The Left wing workers must hammer out a program, the only genuine foundation for a Left wing faction. Undoubtedly in the course of working out this program, they will find that many elements in the "Militant" leadership must be broken with, especially those who vie with the Stalinists in supporting the Franco-Soviet pact and a labor party, and who even after Thomas' open stand with the Old Guard, still seek collaboration with him. Without a revolutionary program and a break with the pacifists and reformists like Thomas and Devere Allen, the Left wing workers in the S. P. cannot even begin the process of building their disoriented ranks.

Already there are those in the ranks of the "Militants" who are saying that the "peace pact" is not entirely a defeat, that the Yipsels got something, etc., etc., and are hoping against hope that the ultra-reactionaries in the Old Guard camp will criticize the "peace pact" and thus give these wavering "Militants" an excuse to crawl back to Thomas. This tendency must be immediately crushed by the militant rank and file who must demand the immediate turn to the hammering out of a revolutionary program, and the conducting of an intransigent struggle for their views.

CASE OF FRAMED NEGROES TO GO TO U. S. SUPREME COURT JACKSON, Miss. (FP).—Three Kemper county Negro farmhands who were tortured and beaten into "confessing" the murder of a white tenant farmer will have their case brought to the U. S. Supreme Court, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced.

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Relief in
Dakota
CeasesWork at Slave Wage
Or Starve, Gov-
ernor Orders

The chickens are now coming home to roost for the unemployed who have been depending upon Roosevelt's relief program.

Announcement has come from Washington of Draconian measures to be taken to remove jobless wholesale from the relief rolls. In every case, irrespective of the wages offered, where jobs are available workers will be immediately stricken from the lists. They will be re-entered, says the announcement, only after the strictest check-up following a new application. This they propose to do whether or not a new job is obtainable for the jobless worker.

"It is our definite effort to liquidate relief rolls," an official declared. "While we don't expect private industry to take up the slack at once, we think that private employment will increase as the work program continues."

Thus upon the good wishes and the rainbow hopes of the relief administration the unemployed are to be given the boot, left to shift for themselves until they can find jobs. The official "thinks" that jobs are in sight but no provisions are made for the difficulties that will ensue if no such jobs can be obtained or if private industry which can be filled up to capacity although comparatively only few of its previous employees are rehired.

Roosevelt is here killing two birds with one stone. On the one hand he is cutting down on the budget, thereby saving wealthy taxpayers money and on the other hand providing cheap labor—cheaper even than the relief hand-outs—to slave-driving employers.

Without hesitating very long, officials in five states, South Dakota, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and Iowa began to carve a hole into the relief rolls in their states.

In South Dakota all relief has stopped completely.

This has been done to meet the demands of the farmers for a labor force adequate to handle the harvest. These farmers want "hands" in the field or wages at the same level or below that granted by Federal or state relief. The unemployed met this demand with what the state officials have termed a "revolt."

With perfect right they refused to apply themselves to this strenuous backbreaking toil for from 12 to 14 hours at the same pittance and hard enough to keep body and soul together, which they receive when the state supports them.

For this they are disparaged by the chair-sitting governor of the State, Berry as refusing to work "because it is . . . easier to live on relief."

Now that relief has been cut off completely the state officials look with complacency at the fate of the unemployed—the sick, halt and the blind—who are to be taken care of by the degenerating "poor laws" of the state.

On the other side the rich farmers will confront no such slave-driving ultimatums of "go-to-work-at-whatever-wages-offered," receiving all the time subsistence from the Rural Resettlement Administration and subsidies from other government sources.

Mr. Ketchum, state relief administrator for South Dakota, out of the meanness of his heart's magnanimity conceded "that the order would probably (1) work a hardship upon some (2) individuals or communities, but he said that this course appeared the only practical (3) one to follow until investigations (4) demonstrated a necessity for a change in the rule."

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'Militants' Capture
YPSL Convention

By JOSEPH CARTER

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Fresh from the crushing blows meted to them at the "harmony" meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party, the New York "Militants" won signal organizational victories at the eighth national convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League held here during the week-end of July 19 to 21.

Approximately one hundred delegates, a little less than half of them New Yorkers, were present at the convention. However, most of the delegates did not participate in the proceedings and were constantly in a state of expectancy. They did not know precisely what to expect. No pre-convention documents had been prepared. No pre-convention discussion had taken place. In many cases delegates were elected

because they and none other were able to go to Pittsburgh.

No Political Discussions

The convention was run by the New York and Chicago top caucuses. The arrangements made impossible any adequate discussions of the problems confronting the socialist movement and the Yipsels in particular. The three evenings of the convention period were devoted to public affairs, a mass meeting, social affair and banquet respectively. The rules of the convention limited speakers on resolutions to three minutes, seven minutes allotted to reporters on resolutions and a total of one hour for any one resolution.

However, even these provisions were not carried out. No political resolutions came before the convention.

Continued on Page 4

Seventh Congress of C
Opens in Moscow

The following article, by a prominent European Marxist, was written prior to the appearance of the call for the World Congress of the Third International and serves as an introduction to it. Coming issues of the NEW MILITANT will contain detailed reports and analyses of the Moscow congress now in session.—Ed.

After an interval of exactly seven years it looks as if the Seventh Congress of the Comintern will be convened after all.

It can be stated with complete confidence that had our organization not existed, had not the banner of the Fourth International been unfurled, had there not been the latest successes of our French comrades, the Third International would still be waiting for the Seventh Congress. The Seventh Congress, just as the last Congress of the French Socialist party will revolve primarily, if not exclusively, around the Bolshevik-Leninists and the Fourth International.

After Hitler's victory we proclaimed the political death of the Third International. But the example of the Second International proves that the demise of political organizations with a mass basis—in the sense of the arresting of their progressive development—does not coincide with the end of their conservative self-preservation. The Third International, despite its pitiful bankruptcy, retains tremendous reserves in the form of the Soviet Union which by itself can give it great possibilities not only for continued political existence but also for dealing heavy blows to the world proletariat. The whole question is: does the Soviet bureaucracy still need the Third International? The Soviet bureaucracy in this respect finds itself in an acute contradiction. Its present policy, par-

ticularly its foreign policy, which is assuming a decisive role, makes the Third International an obstacle rather than an aid. But should the Comintern disappear its place would immediately be occupied by the Fourth International which would result in a complete ideological catastrophe for Stalin and his clique, i.e., the bankruptcy of all falsifications and calumnies which lie at the basis of the "general line." Only on one condition would Stalin have no fear of such an eventuality: if he were prepared to come out as a consistent Bonaparte, i.e., break openly with the traditions of October and place on himself some kind of crown. Despite the growth of the "ideologic" and political preconditions for an open Bonapartist overturn there are too many risks on such a road as this. The Soviet proletariat is, at any rate, a more definite and stable political factor than the petty bourgeoisie was in France at the beginning of the last century, and corresponding with this the Bolshevik tradition is of greater weight than that of the Jacobins of that period. Stalin must hold on to the appearance of Bolshevism and therefore convene the Seventh Congress in face of the danger of the Fourth International.

War will, of course, be the basic question. Here one must be prepared for a tactical retreat. Stalin (Continued on Page 3)

Terre Haute Strikers Victimized
After General Strike Betrayal;
City Tense as Militia Holds SwayCamden Strike
Holds Up Big
Navy Program

4600 Men in Shipyard
Stop Production
for 11 Weeks

CAMDEN, N. J.—Directly challenging Roosevelt's war program, the 4,600 workers in the Camden Shipyards are now holding out for the eleventh week, militantly defying every attempt to open the yards and begin work.

The most recent attempt of the company to import strike-breakers met with disaster as the automobiles bearing the scabs were overturned and the occupants given a lesson in unionism.

Frantic is the word that best characterizes the state of mind of the shipbuilders who have resorted to every method of coercion and intimidations known in industrial disputes. In vain they have appealed to loyalty to a government which has no regard to the wages its contractors pays the workers nor under what conditions they toil. How just is the attitude of the strikers and how far they are willing to go is evidenced in their willingness to agree to the Perkins Plan for arbitration where the bosses have flatly refused to consider it.

The strike is led by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and has been conducted militantly throughout. Demands are fifteen percent wage increase, preferential union shop and abolition of piecework.

Latest in the attempts to crush the strike is an injunction which the company has served on the strike leaders. Although they refused to accept it and ground it under foot when it fell to the ground the company will go through with the action.

If the methods that have prevailed up to now in fighting strike-breakers are continued with greater intensity after the injunction, the U. S. government will have to continue whistling for its orders from the New York Shipbuilding Company's yards at Camden.

TROOPS JAIL SCORES
Labor Skates Time Treacherous Action
With Onslaught of Press and
Soldiers on Workers

For forty-eight hours, the Dream of Debs—the General Strike, not a street car moving, not a printing press turning—came true in Terre Haute itself, Eugene Victor Debs' own home town.

Then, just as suddenly but not quite as unexpectedly, the strike was called off to the great relief of the bosses.

Called off by the head of the Central Labor Union, over whose resistance the strike was declared, without advice or consultation of the strikers, without any of their demands being granted Terre Haute now waits expectantly for its resumption.

Though a surprise to the outside world the declaration of the general strike was no surprise at all to the workers of Terre Haute. For seventeen long weeks a battle had been in progress between the smelting and Stamping Plant and its employees. The workers could be quite as dogged in their resistance as the bosses. Their strike, however, had gained the support and the admiration of the workers in all crafts and unions. And where three days ago fifty-eight armed guards marched a crew of scabs into the plant, the labor movement rose to action.

Town Stands Still
A conference of unions took place and the workers left their jobs to a man. The town was tied up tight as a drum. From gasoline station attendants to retail clerks no one worked. Even the printing crafts, which with the abominable attitude that characterizes the so-called "aristocracy of labor" refused to join the swelling ranks, could not print the labor-baiting newspapers because the teamsters would not deliver paper for the strike.

No sooner was the strike declared than three agencies of capitalism went into action against the protesting ranks of labor.

First, the yellow press from New York to Oregon began to scream

Continued on Page 2

Ohio Jobless
Prepare Huge
State Confab

20,000 Are Expected
To Heed League Call
For Demonstration

In Columbus, Ohio, beginning on July 29 and continuing for three days, the Ohio Unemployed League will hold the largest demonstration in the history of the United States. Over 20,000 are expected to invade Columbus in the march of the Grand Relief Army. Labor's demands will be formulated and presented to the lawmakers of Ohio—and in no "hat-in-hand" manner.

Local leagues are already recruiting for the march, setting up tents flying the rattlesnake flag at every relief station, and keeping up in the face of sheriffs and frantic relief squads, will be relieved by first-aid trucks now being recruited. Funds are coming in from all over the state—twenty-five locals have already pledged a total of \$125.00.

The response from the locals has been even more enthusiastic than was expected. Erie County has pledged 500 marchers, Clinton and Williams County each expect 500. Putnam County pledges 300, and a total turnout of a thousand unemployed under the rattlesnake flag is expected from Athens County.

Tag days, rallies, and mass meetings are held with enthusiastic response. Brass bands are being organized by a number of locals. The marchers will press forward into Columbus flying the flag of the first American revolution, while the hands blend with twenty thousand voices in the songs of the coming revolution.

The Unemployed Leagues intend to show the legislators of Ohio that, far from tolerating the general cut in relief that the Roosevelt administration is trying to put over, they still demand the 30 hour-\$30 week. And they intend to get it.

In the official call to the convention, the O.U.L. poses the question to the working class, employed as well as unemployed: Slavery or freedom? And its answer, and that of the whole working class of Ohio, is FREEDOM. So far from being intimidated by the government, the unemployed are out to reverse the process. At the Columbus convention, the legislature will hear the voice it fears—mass action by the workers!

The O.U.L. does not pin its final goal to a "fair day's pay" policy; like all sections of the National Unemployed League, it recognizes that the battle for decent conditions can only be won when the working class controls the government, and that the present government is the tool of the bosses. And it does not pay merely respect to this fundamental fact. In battle after battle, it has fought for the rights of the unemployed, militantly and savagely.

Two years ago, the O.U.L. in a similar demonstration, mobilized 7,000. This year, there will be 20,000 jobless solid beneath its banner. After Columbus, what!

W. P. TO HOLD ANTI-WAR
MEETING IN ALLENTOWN

On Friday night, August 3rd, at 8 P.M., the Allentown Branch of the Workers Party will hold a huge anti-war mass meeting on Center Square. Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist and Sam Gorden, W. P. organizer, will be the main speakers.

Social Patriotism in Full Flower in France

French capitalism has been threshing for years now in the steel vice of the world crisis. Its foreign trade steadily decreasing with no immediate prospect of relief in sight is dealing a crushing blow to the peasantry. Unemployment is hiking on a long upward climb while wages are precipitately dropping. French financial and political hegemony on the European continent is rapidly vanishing. The full burden of the crisis must be loaded upon the working class. The way out for French imperialism is on the hide and bones of the workers.

For years the French financiers have been greedily speculating about the salaries of the state employees. They could not touch this fat plum so long as the working class organizations remained vigilant, aware of the fact that a blow in that direction could only be followed by a general slash in wage levels and living conditions. Moreover, the Chamber of Deputies was somewhat of an obstacle because of the fear of the politicians that resentment of their constituents would be aroused if such measures were approved. The deputies, however, found the way to "absolve

themselves." They agreed to the dissolution of the parliament for an indefinite period of time and granted Laval extraordinary powers which his predecessors failed to obtain.

Pierre Laval, premier of France, lost no time in using the "extraordinary powers" granted him. He applied the economy knife to the salaries of the Civil Employees—with the more extensive assault upon the living standards of the working class to follow in short order. The French imperialists with their fascist hirelings are, of course, keeping close watch upon the ease with which the government can put over the initial preparatory steps.

Striking indeed is the parallel between pre-fascist Germany and present day France. In Germany too, in preparation for Hitler, there was a series of "strong men" who like Laval, were supplied with "emergency powers"; and who likewise slashed salaries and wages without the consent of the Reichstag. Their slogan was *Notverordnungen*. And like Laval, they posed as the impartial arbiters between the camps of fascism and the working class. They slashed wages and salaries, always making a pretence at fair-

ness by ordering reductions in prices and rents. Of course, the rents and the prices were never lowered; on the contrary they kept rising. And a double burden was thus imposed upon the masses.

It is indeed significant that Laval's action followed hard upon the July 14, "Bastille Day" demonstration. 200,000 marched in the "People's Front"; a glorious parade, a unified front that included all parties, even the bourgeois radicals, and celebrating the fascist destruction by far. Laval paid his respects to it by slashing salaries. In this action is summarized the attitude of French capitalism to the "People's Front."

Laval, in one executive order, pricked the bubble of Stalinist pretension. A short two weeks before the Stalinists blew up the "People's Front" as the newest panacea which would cure all ills, meet all the requirements of the situation and deal a death blow to French fascism. Here is how P. Vaillant-Couturier, editor of *l'Humanite*, hailed it on July 1:

"Just as our party is a new party so the People's Front is something new, something which responds to a new situation cre-

ated by the economic crisis and the advent of fascist regimes in the world. We can never insist enough on its character of realism, on the ideal that animates it, on its taking what is living from the traditions of the people of France. . . . The People's Front is French because it expresses the will of a people that know how to commemorate the July 14th demonstration, who have made four revolutions to preserve and consolidate their conquests, and it has the benefit of the international experiences of those peoples who are temporarily under the heel of fascism, as well as those who are finally liberated from capitalism."

In Germany, in the face of what they called a "revolutionary upsurge" the Stalinists tore to shreds every proposal, every attempt at a united front with the social democracy, a party with hundreds of thousands of workers in its ranks and controlling a trade union movement of close to five million. In France, where they swear no pre-revolutionary situation exists—just "Trotskyist hysteria and provocation"—they are fighting like tigers "to consolidate and preserve" unity

with the petty bourgeois serfs, flunkies of imperialism, the party of Stavisky, the forgers, the stock-exchange gamblers, the fortune hunters and the parvenues—the "true sons of France." Listen to Thorez snarl to ward off the furious attack of reaction on the Radical Party. In *l'Humanite* for July 3, Thorez bares his teeth at the Fascist attempt to "Divide and Rule":

"In order to create an obstacle to the People's Front the reactionaries and the fascists hope for a split in the Radical Party. We, Communists, hope that the ENTIRE Radical Party will resolutely take to the road of the People's Front. We hope that this evening the Executive Committee of the Radical party will seal an orientation that will permit the joining together of all good will, of all energies in the struggle for a peaceful France."

Today Thorez can fight fascism only hand in hand with Deladier and no reactionary or fascist dare come between them. Yesterday this very same Deladier, then an "assassin of the people" for accidentally shooting a few fascists, fed all in a panic, abdicating the premier-

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Wed., July 31, 8 P.M.
15th St. & Irving Pl.
Irving Plaza Hall

What Next In The Socialist Party?

An Analysis of The New York National Committee Meeting of the S.P.
And the Pittsburgh Convention of the Y.P.S.L.

Speakers:

MAX SHACHTMAN
Bill Streeter, S.Y.L.

Comments
On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness
By BILL REICH

Washington Side Show...

Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation protests the extent to which Soviet Ambassador Trotsky is fettered in Washington. . . . George L. Marklan, president of the Philadelphia Board of Trade protests the President's plan to tax big incomes and inheritances. "Why kick Ford and Rockefeller? They built up this country. . . . Roosevelt's 'share the wealth' scheme would raise less than \$3 per person. . . . Important debate in the Senate last week: How queen bees can be made to conform to production controls of the AAA. The queen lays eggs at the rate of 1,000 per day. . . . Professor Paul Pearson, Governor of the Virgin Islands found four virgins there. A survey showed that 85 percent of all island births were illegitimate. To correct the morals of the islanders he imported a musical director at \$4,800 per year to produce Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. . . . Representative Trux of Ohio introduced in Congress a bill to subsidize circuses in order 'to preserve and encourage a declining national institution. . . .

Housing...

Cost of materials and opposition of realtors has forced the government to relegate to second place the PWA housing program. . . . Hundreds of children in West Virginia have never lived in a house. The miner parents were evicted four years ago and have been living in tents since then. . . . The government's duck rehabilitation program calls for the expenditure of \$2,000,000 for improving a 117,129 acre nesting zone in North Dakota. Food stations and duck-hospitals are being built. Most of the land near the reserve has been purchased by wealthy hunting clubs. . . .

High Finance...

Tobacco growers in 1932 received \$107,000,000 for their entire crop. Workers in tobacco factories received only \$60,000,000 in wages. . . . Fifteen million dollars of a \$27,500,000 RFC loan to the New York Central Railroad falls due on August 1. The railroad is unable to pay but RFC director Jesse Jones made arrangements to extend the loan until October 1, or to refinance it if necessary. . . . Despite the HOLC, Karl Jungdorf, unemployed Philadelphia tailor, and family were evicted from the home on which they had paid \$6,150. . . .

Education...

Half an hour after passing a resolution endorsing the principle of academic freedom the convention of the National Educational Association passed another to the effect that 'the NEA believes and will teach that the American system of government is the best so far devised by man'. . . . Teachers' salaries fell 12 per cent between 1929 and 1934, 250,000 teachers receiving less than \$750 annually, 54,000 less than \$450. . . . According to the Department of Labor, in July 1934 more than a third of the high school and college graduates between the ages of 18 and 29 were unemployed. . . . Two unemployed University of Wisconsin graduates set up an odd-job employment service for college graduates. 'For your odd-job get the companionship of a man who can converse in French,' they advertise. . . .

The Land of Plenty...

After two years of unemployment, 515 miners of the Oliver Mines near Uniontown, Pa., received \$1 for two weeks work. The rest of their pay was kept by the company for bills owed at the company store. Relief officials granted food orders to keep the families from starving. . . . Ten year old Lucy Cotton Thomas must get along on an income of \$60.00 a year. Her mother recently petitioned for more. . . . 'Loafing on the job will not be tolerated' stated the Montgomery, Ala., Works Progress Administration as it announced plans to work the unemployed 140 hours per month at \$19 or 13 cents an hour. . . . Mrs. George Campbell of Newboro, Pa., mother of two daughters, applied for her husband's work-relief job. He had been jailed for stealing food for the family. . . . Fourteen year old Diana Frazier has an income of \$9000 a month. Her budget includes \$450 monthly for clothes. . . . Born to Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Swarrington, on relief in Quincy, Ill., the 16th child. The oldest is 16 years of age. The relief of the family amounts to less than \$12 per week. . . . Gloria Vandenberg, aged 11, must live on a mere \$48,000 per year. . . . An examination of 82,634 children of Pennsylvania families on relief conducted by the Emergency Child Health Committee found 30 per cent suffering from malnutrition. . . .

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays

Terre Haute
Under Militia

Labor Skates Time Betrayal with Troop Onslaught

Continued from Page 1

skates placed themselves at the head of the movement to behead it at the earliest opportunity, the Indiana crowd took no responsibility for the strike, stepping in only when confusion appeared in the ranks and the reactionary whip would be most effective. . . . Full fruits of this rotten treachery are already to be picked in Terre Haute. Returning to work before a real test of strength could be made, the workers are being victimized by the bosses. In several of the plants which struck in sympathy with the Columbia Stamping Company employers are refusing to rehired workers, contending that agreements were violated. In the Columbia Plant itself, where the strike is still in effect, the original cause of the strike still remains—armed plug-uglies keep guard of the plant while scabs work inside. The bosses refuse to accept the services of Federal Labor Department in mediating the strike. On the other hand, martial law still prevails; union halls are closed; innocent bystanders are hauled before court martial and several of the most militant strike leaders and workers to the number of almost ninety are still under military 'custody'. . . . That the labor fakers are about to reap a cyclone for their betrayal can already be seen in the tenseness that prevails in Terre Haute. Resentment is rife everywhere, and the forty-eight unions in the general strike alliance are considering a resumption of the general walkout. United Mine Workers locals and the Power Plant Workers are refusing to return to the job. Indications are multiplying by the hour that they will not long be alone.

Spring Strike Enters Fifth Week

The Brooklyn and Bronx strikes involving 800 workers of two spring manufacturing companies enters its fifth week with the ranks united and determined to win. An enthusiastic meeting of the Brooklyn strikers held at strike headquarters applauded the vice-president Demar of the Inter. Upholsterers Union as he pledged the full support of the International to the strike and called for solid ranks and even greater activity on the picket line.

The strikers are not the same crowd of workers that walked out on strike three weeks ago. The same enthusiasm is there, the same high spirit, but there is a discipline and direction to the strike that was not to be found in the earlier days. The strike committee members today speak with sober assurance. They feel themselves to be part of the mighty army of labor. They have tested themselves in action and in that action have been welded together into a strong united force. They have been harried, attacked and jailed by the police. They have battled with scabs and thugs and more than held their own. Many have been arrested. Seven are charged with entering the plant and attacking scabs. They are veterans of a battle and determined to fight until victory is theirs. The plant is producing nothing. The manager, who formerly, as one striker stated, had one name for all the workers—'Hey, you,' has now addressed letters to them as 'Dear Mr. So-and-so,' urging them to return to work. 'The boss now recognizes our name but he'll have to recognize our union before we enter his factory'. . . .

Some financial support for the strikers has been secured. The International Upholsterers Union, which has been hit very hard by the depression, has contributed to the support of the strike. Other unions are urged to give financial aid. Send funds to the strike committee: Jack Gordon, Upholsterers Union, 273 Sackett Street, Brooklyn.

What to Attend

Saturday, July 27, 8:30 P.M.—Boro Park Social, 1359 43rd St., Brooklyn, Spartacus Hall. Come and hear the 'Mysterious Proletarian Tenor.' Dancing, refreshments free! Admission 15 cents.

Sunday, July 28—Outing to Coney Island. Meet at 4th St. in front of Municipal Baths at 11 A. M. Aus: Spartacus Youth League.

Friday—Dram-group of S. Y. L. meets regularly Friday evenings at 8 P.M. at 55 E. 11th St. All comrades interested in dramatics are asked to attend. Aus: S.Y.L.

IMPORTANT NOTICE!
Bronx Branch Picnic
POSTPONED
From July 28 to August 25
To be held at
Tippets Brook Park, Plot 8.

3 Members of P.P. Sect Resign After Bitter Struggle; Join W.P.

'The Proletarian Party is today hopeless; for not only is it ultra-sectarian in nature and its position completely incorrect, but there is no possibility of changing it. The existing bureaucracy is too deeply entrenched, and cannot be dislodged. There is nothing for us to do but resign.'

With these concluding remarks three leading members, Phil Lawson, Dick Landgraf and Gunther, of the Detroit local of the P. P. bid farewell to a hard-shelled sectarian outfit. Beginning with a protest at the 'unwarranted and unconstitutional expulsion of comrades Martin Larson and Stanley Novack'—booted out for challenging the dictatorship of John Keracher, P. P. secretary—they submit the policies and practices of the party to a devastating criticism on all counts.

Taking a clear stand on the international question they point out that the Proletarian Party hid for years behind the skirts of the Comintern, never criticizing it through years of bankruptcy and treachery but opposing at all times the American Stalinist party as a means of avoiding responsibility for the world movement. 'The best one can say for the position of the Proletarian Party on the Comintern,' they comment, 'is that it serves as an excuse for maintaining an organization that can never consider unity with any other.'

All of this is of a piece with the rest of the hallowed sectarianism of the Proletarian Party which raises 'educational activity' to a principle and by means of study circles, lectures, reading groups and the like it hopes to win over the majority of the working class.

With the dogma as a guiding line contempt has marked their attitude with regards the daily struggles of the working class. They spurn immediate demands, fearing to be contaminated in the class struggle, and justify this ivory tower position by tearing some quotations of

Moonlight On The Hudson

To those who love the moonlight, the cadence of dancing feet, the odor of boiling frank, we are offering the opportunity of an August evening. A moonlight sail, up the moonlit Hudson. We have charted the S.S. Islander (all to ourselves), for Saturday, August 17, 1935. The boat leaves Pier 132nd St. at 5:30 P.M. sharp for Hook Mountain. Buy your tickets early as only 300 tickets will be sold. . . . Dancing, music, entertainment, and refreshments will add considerably to the joy and merriment. . . . This affair is for the benefit of the 8-page New Militant. We urge everyone to get their tickets at once. They can be purchased at 55 E. 11th Street or the Bookshop at 36 Fifth Avenue.

Indiana Council Members Denounce Stalinist Splitting

INDIANAPOLIS, July 14.—The second conference of the Marion County Joint Conference Against Wage Cuts and For Increased Relief, held Sunday, July 14, passed a resolution holding the Communist Party and organizations close to it responsible for criminal sabotage of the united front.

The first conference was held on June 16, consisting of delegates from the National Unemployed League (one local), National Unemployed Council (three branches), Communist Party, International Labor Defense, and Young Pioneer League. There was a total of 37 delegates. A program of action against wage cuts and for increased relief was drawn up by this conference, the following being the main points:

1. Absolutely no wage cuts on FEBA;
2. Jobs for every unemployed worker, with the 30 hour week and \$30 minimum wage;
3. No unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses;
4. Right to call the family physician at the expense of the local authorities;
5. Immediate 50 percent increase in relief allowance, with \$15 a month cash for rent and utilities.

Plans were made or drawing the unions into the united front. Plans also were made for the holding of a picnic, for the purpose of raising finances for the carrying on of the Conference's program.

An executive committee of seven was elected to carry out the activities of the conference until the next conference when further action would be decided on. The representation on the Committee was: National Unemployed League, Brightwood Local, 2—Fred Sullivan, chairman of the local, and Robert L. Birchman, NUL organizer for Indiana; National Unemployment Council blocks, 4—Cecil Allen, Andy John Faune, Mohamed Ajamy, and Elsie Francis; and Charles Staidfeld, Section Secretary of the Communist Party. Cecil Allen, of the National Unemployment Council was elected chairman, and Robert L. Birchman of the National Unemployed League, secretary of the Executive Committee.

When the second conference convened on Sunday afternoon, July 14, Cecil Allen as chairman of the Executive Committee noted the fact that only nine delegates were present, three from the NUL, four from one block of the NUC, two from the Angelo Herndon Branch of the I.L.D., and one alternate delegate from the NUL. Fellow-worker Allen reported that the Communist Party representative on the Executive Committee failed to function at all, and that delegates from organizations close to the C. P. also failed to function, with the exception of several from the NUC blocks. Allen further stated that the report had come to him that the reason they wanted nothing to do with the united front was because Birchman of the NUL was secretary of the Executive Committee. They sabotaged the conference by telling the workers in organizations under their influence to stay away, he further stated. Reports and discussion by other delegates followed. . . . Robert L. Birchman, delegate from the Brightwood Local, NUL, and secretary of the Executive Committee of the conference, discussed the functions of a united front, and stated that it appeared that the C. P. did not understand the character of a united front, or want one, and that no objections had been raised to the NUL local being a part of the united front at the first conference. . . . Jules Bertman, delegate from the Brightwood local, NUL, spoke further on the purpose and function of the united front, and offered a resolution pointing out that the united front is imperative in the fight against wage cuts, etc.; that this conference was a step in this direction; and that the Communist Party be condemned for criminal sabotage in openly disrupting the united front. . . . Mrs. Faye Allen of the NUC pointed out that the county chairman of the NUC was absent from both conferences, as was also the state secretary of the NUC and that neither functioned in any way to build the united front; the state organizer of the NUC was present at the first conference, but otherwise failed to function. She stated, 'Organizations that do not function are only isolating themselves from the workers and are doing wrong.' . . . Andy John Faune, delegate from Block No. 101, NUC, of Marion County, stated: 'We should have had double the number of delegates here that we had at the first conference. The reason we haven't is that the Communist Party black-

Ride Scabs Out In Iowa Strike

Workers on March In Many Cities Of State

By PAT MURPHY

DAVENPORT, Iowa, June 18.—Twenty-five men who were imported from St. Louis, Mo. to act as strike breakers in the Des Moines, Iowa bakery strike were met at the depot by over 200 labor union members and informed that they could not stay long in Des Moines. The Des Moines workers lined up the St. Louis importations, and marched them to the labor temple and held them until train time. They then marched them back to the station and saw that they left town. . . . A. A. Ahner, head of the Industrial Investigators of St. Louis, Mo., (a company that makes a specialty of strike breaking) accompanied the men to Des Moines. . . . The six leading bakeries of the city are shut down. The unionized bakers and bakery truck drivers walked out July 13. They are demanding closed shop contract. . . . In Keokuk, Iowa, workers struck the Huggins Co., corn product manufacturers, demanding the reinstatement of seven workers who were discharged for union activity. After five days the strike was settled with the company granting all the demands of the workers. . . . In Council Bluffs the Street Railway strike is still on. There has been only one attempt made to move the trams. This attempt met with such resistance on the part of the strikers that they returned the car to the barn for repairs. The men are just as determined to win as when they walked out April 20.

The resolution was passed unanimously. The conference instructed the executive committee to prepare for a large mass meeting within two weeks, as preparation for a demonstration against wage cuts, against cutting any worker off from relief, and for the 30 hour week, \$30 minimum wage. Jules Bertman, NUL delegate, was elected as an additional member of the Executive Committee. . . . Plans were also developed for the Workers Unity Picnic which the first conference decided to hold. The date selected was August 11. The program included games and two speaking programs, one in the afternoon at which representatives of the different unemployed organizations will speak, and in the evening a symposium of representatives from all political parties on what their party is doing and will do for the workers in the fight against wage cuts, etc.

The resolution adopted follows: Whereas the workers, unemployed and employed in Marion County are faced with a new offensive on their living conditions including new wage cuts and discriminations; And whereas united action of all workers' organizations is imperative; And whereas this conference is a step in this direction; And whereas the Communist Party and organizations close to it have sabotaged this fight; Be it therefore resolved that this gathering of workers for united action hold the above parties responsible and condemn them for criminal sabotage. Signed: MOHAMED AJAMY, National Unemployment Council, Marion County, Block No. 101. ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN, National Unemployed League, Marion County, Brightwood Local. ANDY JOHN FAUNE, NUC, Marion County, Block 101. FRED SULLIVAN, NUL, Marion County, Brightwood Local. FAYE ALLEN, NUC, Marion Co., Block 101. ANNIE HOLLME, Angelo Herndon Branch, International Labor Defense. MARJORIE KIRTLLEY, Angelo Herndon Branch, I.L.D. CECIL E. ALLEN, NUC, Marion County, Block 101. JULES BERTMAN, NUL, Marion County, Brightwood Local. Delegates to the Second Marion County Joint Conference Against Wage Cuts and For Increased Relief.

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An Outline History of Class P resecution
'Criminal Syndicalism Laws,

Prosecutions of militant workers which have occurred in Sacramento and elsewhere are proceeding under laws passed during the post-war labor struggles. As the rising tide reached the heights of the general strikes of Winnipeg and Seattle, laws were hurriedly passed to curb the labor movement. From 1917 to 1920 21 states and two territories passed criminal syndicalist laws. . . . In sixteen states the law is worded exactly alike. The California law of 1919 is typical. It defines criminal syndicalism as

"any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which term is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property) or unlawful acts of force and violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change."

Any person, who by word of mouth or by the circulation of literature, advocates the principles of criminal syndicalism, or any person who knowingly joins an organization which advocates similar principles, is guilty of a felony and subject to imprisonment for from 1 to 14 years. . . . Originally the criminal syndicalist laws were directed chiefly at the I.W.W. But as the revolutionary movement developed the courts used the laws against all militant workers.

Three other types of laws were already on the statute books as weapons against labor: criminal anarchy, incitement to insurrection, and seditious laws.

Reviving Dead Laws

Criminal anarchy is defined as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force and violence or by assassination—or by any other means." New York, New Jersey, and Washington passed such laws after the assassination of King Humbert of Italy and President McKinley, but for twenty years they remained unused. They were revived in New York for the purpose of prosecuting Larkin, Giltow, Ruthenberg and others. The defendants, as Communists, were not opposed to "organized government," and were opposed to individual terror. Nevertheless, they were convicted and the New York Court of Appeals sustained the conviction. A minority (Pound and Cardozo) dissented because the statute was directed against the doctrines of Tolstol and Kropotkin and not of Marx and Lenin.

Judge Anderson in Federal District Court concluded similarly in interpreting our deportation laws which were originally directed specifically against anarchists. However, this acquaintance with some of the rudimentary differences in radical philosophies has left no impress on the law. In fact, the only person who seriously accepted these distinctions is that well-known student of Lenin, William Randolph Hearst, who has recently cried out that our deportation and syndicalist laws are creaky, antiquated instruments inadequate for a 20th century capitalist reaction. Others do not feel the need of new laws, for the courts have shown remarkable ingenuity in extending existing laws to any philosophy or activity of which capitalist courts disapprove. The criminal anarchy laws are now being used in Arkansas against organizers of tenant farmers.

Dusting Off the Civil War Another example of the ingenuity of the courts is the use of the "Incitement to Insurrection" laws passed in the Southern states during Reconstruction days. The Georgia laws says that: "Any attempt or persuasion or other means used to induce others to join in any combined resistance to the state, shall constitute an attempt to incite insurrection," which is punishable by death, unless the jury recommends mercy; in that event, the punishment shall not be less than five nor more than twenty years. This type of statute does not penalize membership in radical organizations, but requires proof of an actual attempt at incitement to insurrection. However, in the hands of a vicious prosecutor, together

with a handpicked jury, it is an effective weapon for the suppression of radical activity—a Civil War musket, slightly rusty, but still usable—as the conviction of Angelo Herndon shows.

Finally, there is a fourth type of law commonly known as the "Sedition Law." Rhode Island punishes "language intended to incite—disregard of the Constitution or laws." Connecticut punishes "public advocacy of any measure or doctrine proposed or propaganda intended to injuriously affect the government."

Terror in California

The criminal syndicalist laws have been used mostly against union organizers. In California up to 1924 there were 531 indicted of whom 504 were actually apprehended; 292 dismissed without trial; of 212 who were tried, 164 were convicted, of all of whom were members of the I.W.W. except three who belonged to the Communist Labor Party.

Anita Whitney was one of the three. Daughter of a former Supreme Court judge of California, she had played an important role in the defense of members of the I.W.W. She was convicted so soon after the organization of the Communist Labor Party that the state had little evidence except some speeches made at the Chicago convention. As part of its platform, the party had adopted a resolution recognizing the historical significance for militant unionism of the I.W.W. The judge ruled that the Communist Labor Party had thereby endorsed the I.W.W. and that evidence as to the activities of the I.W.W. was admissible to show the character of the Communist Labor Party. Whitney was convicted, as were all the others, solely on the basis of membership in a radical organization.

"The Usual Story"

Immediately upon the passage of the criminal syndicalist laws the I.W.W. had eliminated from its platform all references to sabotage as a tactic in class struggle. But this was of no avail. Pre-war documents were used to convict Wobblies. Two stool pigeons appeared at trial after trial with the same evidence, which was so much a matter of rote that the Appellate Courts often refer to it as "the usual story."

The California prosecutors have developed a technique for confusing the juries. Evidence is introduced—not as to the defendants' activities—but to show that the organization the defendants belong to has advocated certain doctrines. Since, however, juries have often shown themselves not ready to send workers to jail merely because they advocate and organize unions, the prosecution resorts to embellishments: long extracts from Lenin on religion, taken out of their context and badly distorted, followed up with a parade of bogies, such as nationalization of women, destruction of the American home and fireside, etc. The prosecutors have also been accustomed to prove with perjured evidence that Communist meetings are opened with a ritual which starts by kissing the Red Flag, trampling the American flag underfoot and ending with the collegiate cheer, "Bolshevik, Bolshevik, bang bang bang!" Prosecutors have also introduced fake evidence of sabotage, terrible tales of arson, emergency dust in machinery, systematic destruction of property, etc.

Everything Goes

Where convictions have been obtained on such evidence, the defense objections against the evidence have been agreed to by appellate courts—which, nevertheless, sustain the convictions! How? The California law, for example, provides that even improper evidence may be overlooked by the appeal court, unless "the Court shall be of the opinion that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice." So, no matter how raw the patriotic antics of the prosecutor, no matter how little evidence is produced, the upper courts have often succeeded in convincing themselves that there was no "miscarriage of justice."

In both the Giltow case (1925) and the Whitney case (1927) the U. S. Supreme Court sustained the convictions. Thus the highest court in the land has blessed these vigilante laws. The post-war wave of prosecutions was finally defeated, not by reversals in higher courts, but by failure of the juries in lower courts to render verdicts. As the red scare faded, fewer and fewer juries could be found who were amenable to the prosecution's frame-ups. The struggle for civil rights began to have its effect on the juries, and there were many split juries. In desperation, prosecutors and judges even resorted to the use of injunctions against radicals—for the violation of the injunction could be punished by the judge himself without a jury. This method was too raw, however, and was dropped. The splitting of juries under the pressure and persuasion of the struggle for civil rights brought to an end the post-war prosecutions.

MUSIC DANCING
MOONLIGHT SAIL
S.S. ISLANDER TO HOOK MOUNTAIN

LEAVES PIER W. 132ND ST., 5:30 P.M.
SATURDAY AUGUST 17, 1935
BENEFIT 8 PAGE NEW MILITANT
TICKET \$1.00
ENTERTAINMENT REFRESHMENTS

Stalinists in Van of Social Patriotic Peoples Front

Bureaucrats Dismayed at Rising Tide of Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

ship, when a few canes tipped with razor blades were waved in the attempted coup of February 6, 1934. But that was before the Stalin-Laval pact. Today Daladier is the very pillar of the "People's Front," worthy indeed to march side by side with Thorez himself, leading the Bastille Day demonstration.

And on the platform of the "People's Front" none other than Herriot thunders his undying opposition to "fascism of the right as well as fascism of the extreme left." For he too fights for the "common cause." The keen Thorez knows the true merits of the man: "Is it not evident," he declares, "that we can come to an agreement to safeguard peace with a party whose most eminent leaders and notably, President Herriot, have never ceased to say and to prove their friendship for the Soviet Union, considered by them, as well as by us, as the great force for peace in the world?" (L'Humanite, June 30).

On July 14, Herriot, Daladier, Blum and Thorez marched in the vanguard of the first "People's Front" parade bearing high aloft "the tricolor flag, the emblem of French revolutionary traditions, and the Red flag." (L'Humanite, June 28).

The Stalinists have traded in the revolutionary struggle for power for a respectable program of haggling for "immediate demands." In a period such as this, concessions can be wrested from the bourgeoisie only if its power itself is challenged. Otherwise the new immediate demands will not be granted and instead the old ones will be drawn. While the fascists are preparing the noose, the Stalinists are hamstringing the workers so that the bourgeoisie can bleed all resistance out of them.

Painting Up the Radicals

What is this monstrosity, the "People's Front"? Is it an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie? The middle classes, who can have no program of their own, will follow the most resolute camp in society. While vacillating in despair between the revolutionary proletariat and the fascist gangs, the middle classes are presented by the Stalinists with the shoddy "People's Front." This constellation is intended to refurbish all the Daladiers and all the "democrats" in whom the middle class is fast losing all confidence and hope. Its only result can be to throw them into the arms of fascism.

The "People's Front" is the unholy offspring of the Stalin-Laval pact. It is social-patriotism in full flower. It is intended to be—and it is—an alliance with the bourgeoisie itself.

Each new day brings into bolder relief the social-patriotic aspect of Stalinism. In May, the new recruiting sergeant for French imperialism, Vaillant-Couturier, plows the trumpet:

"The fatherland? Why not? We want to conquer it. . . . We do not want to conquer the fatherland after it is laid low, ruined and devastated by war. While waiting for The Day we must do everything in our power to protect it against the capitalists, the destroyers of the machine, and the fascists, the destroyers of culture, its material wealth, its moral and intellectual riches accumulated by generations of the toiling masses of France. We are proud of the revolutionary traditions of France. . . ." (L'Humanite, May 15)

L'Humanite beats the drums: "What could be more natural than the fact that our comrade Stalin, upon the request of Laval whom he received in the presence of members of the government, should have declared his approval of the military measures taken

in France? Did you want him to make a declaration to disapprove them? That is not serious. . . . What is important is that the interview led to concrete results for the defense of the U.S.S.R."

And further on, "the communists do not plant their banner in mud. They do not condemn the army as such. They do not misconstrue the idea of the fatherland. They want to conquer for the toiling masses the right to their flag, the right to their army, the right to their fatherland. The Communist party is a young, realistic, honest party, a government party, which has already conquered one-sixth of the globe, one-fourth of China, and which in France by its successes is about to augment its prestige to a considerable degree." (P.V.C. writing in L'Humanite, May 17)

Small wonder the died-in-the-wool social patriots can raise their heads high. At last their betrayal of 1914 has met with the sanction of Moscow. So, Evrard grows lyrical in Populaire, organ of the French Socialist Party:

"Stalin, the great Stalin, the supreme leader of the Third International, has proclaimed before the entire world that the task in France is not to allow in any way the weakening of its instruments of national defense."

"And as he goes on, he becomes more emphatic."

"Stalin adds that he understands and fully approves the policy of national defense carried on by France to maintain its forces at the necessary level of security."

"These declarations of their deity have descended on the skulls of the French Communist leaders like so many hammer blows till they see stars by the thousands. They are waiting the order—to dilute their wine with a little water and to prepare their minds more and more for a new conception of Communist duty in the event of war—but they were many hundred miles removed from the thoughts that Stalin would personally take the liberty to proclaim that Flandin and Laval were right in reestablishing the two years' term of compulsory military service, and that their duty was to continually strengthen French armaments that our people must bear up under their burden, and the opponents of this policy must be cast into prison."

"I confess that today I would have cause for laughter if I were in the mood."

"But I will refrain because the facts are indeed very serious."

"Still, since Stalin has avenged me against the sarcasm heaped on me by the French followers, I have decided to thank him for it, to present him with a ceremonial offering. In fact, I intended to send him a drawing depicting the communist leaders Thorez, Duclos, Thiepaut, Quinet, Darguesse and the rest as doughboys, with a pack on their shoulder, a musket

in their hand, oozing sweat and blood in military exercises under the severe and imperious command of colonel Marcel Cachin. With myself seated in a corner watching them, while re-reading the theses and conditions of 1920, and the articles and speeches of Cachin and Thorez on revolutionary defeatism."

"And over the drawing, this heading: 'Ones must never swear to anything.'"

"Below, an inscription: For France, for Russia, let us prepare quickly and well." (Populaire, May 23.)

Cachin, the prodigal son, has returned to the fold and Evrard externally cannot refrain from chortling his happiness.

Organic Unity

Now that Stalin has trampled under foot the last vestiges of Leninism there is no barrier any longer between himself, Blum, Zyromsky and all the other Evrards. Le Populaire has expressed its entire agreement on the united ("People's") front and on the national

defense policy of Stalin. The committee for Organic Unity (merger between the S. P. and the C. P.) is working overtime. L'Humanite drives for organic unity as the task of the hour. Zyromsky is happily agreed to the Stalinist formulation in the draft program for unity (see L'Humanite, June 8, 1935), where "no national defense in an imperialist war" has been substituted for "no national defense in a capitalist regime" in harmony with Thorez' oath that a war against the U.S.S.R. would be no imperialist war. Piatnitzky, high priest in the C. I., will be shortly in France to officiate at the social-patriotic wedding.

True, the Stalinists have one condition: the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists. This time, however, expulsion will not prove so easy, for the Bolshevik-Leninists already control over one-fourth of the strongest district in the S. P., i.e. Paris, and they have a strong following elsewhere as well. The original nucleus that entered last October has turned from a propaganda group into a revolutionary

factor of the first order. Foaming at their mouths, the bureaucrats had to recognize this fact by granting the Bolshevik-Leninists one regular representative and one alternate on the C.A.P. (the S. P. equivalent of a Political Committee) and one representative on the Administrative Board of the organ Le Populaire. The machinations of the bureaucrats behind the scenes will now be forced into the open through the medium of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

The reporter for the semi-official organ of the government, Temps, in covering the Mulhouse Congress of the S.F.I.O., expressed only too well the emotions of Blum and Co. in stating that "they (the leaders) regret having accepted them several months ago."

In the meantime, while unity with Blum hangs fire, the Stalinists are also involved in fervent negotiations on the trade union field, seeking an alliance with Jouhaux, the Bill Green of France against the revolutionary elements, particularly against the Bolshevik-Leninists whose influence in the movement is growing. Had the C.G.T.U. (Red Trade Union Center) entered the C.G.T. (the reformist organization) as a revolutionary opposition, trade union unity would have been already achieved. The Stalinists, of course, were instead interested in "prestige" and in securing for themselves a proper share of sinecures. Point Seven of the C.G.T.U. declaration that made possible the resumption of negotiations with Jouhaux reads as follows:

"(7) Freedom of opinion and the exercise of trade union democracy must not entail the formation of bodies that act as factions in the trade unions. Each trade union-

ist has the full liberty to belong and work in political and philosophical organizations of his own choice, he, however, can belong to the trade union only in the capacity of a trade unionist. . . ."

Thus at the end of the Stalinist trade union rainbow we find the Siamese twin of the "People's Front": unconditional capitulation to the labor lieutenants of the French capitalist class.

But within the ranks of the C. P. itself, despite the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, the barracks-room discipline there is a seething ferment. Opposition to the Stalin-Laval pact in Jura, Montlucon, Anrillace and elsewhere broke into the open. The Auxerre district demanded the expulsion of Stalin, the social-patriot. The workers are no longer being taken in by the specious arguments of the bureaucrats that "everything remains as before, nothing is changed, Stalin is a Leninist and is leading the bourgeoisie by the nose."

Outside the Stalinist ranks opposition to social-patriotism is taking an organized form. An initiative committee of revolutionary minorities already functions. The Bolshevik-Leninists, Pivert (one of the leading figures in the Paris District of the S. P.), Doriot together with several other groups and trade union organizations held a meeting on July 10 in preparation for a national conference set for August. Elsewhere in this issue we print the resolution of the preliminary conference against a repetition of the 1914 betrayal.

For the first time, after more than a decade of crimes, betrayals and defeats, the revolutionary proletariat is rising in France to take to the road the October victory.

The Manager's Corner

The Chicago branches are now getting their forces together to help put over the campaign for the eight-page weekly. A special committee of fifteen, composed of the most active comrades, has been set up, elaborate plans are worked out and practical results in a big way should follow soon. An initial installment is recorded this week. But so far the Boston branch still holds the lead with a total contribution of \$38.00.

Among the New York branches the competition to show best results has brought a small change this week. The West Side branch has taken the lead over Harlem which was ahead last week. Contributions from the West Side branch at the time of going to press were \$33.00. Still this is not such a good lead since this sum represents contributions from only five members and on the West Side we have one of our larger branches. In comparison the smaller branches like Harlem and Flatbush, the former with a total of \$29.43 and the latter with a total of \$20.00 have done better when measured in real terms. The larger branches are still behind in this sense. For example the Bronx branch, which has a membership of about 60, has contributed only \$13 to date and the Center branch, also with a large membership, has contributed only \$24.25. There is still a long way to go to reach the quota accepted by the New York district of \$1,000.

A number of individual contributions have been received from NEW MILITANT readers and friends. Amongst them T. C. Glasheen from West Virginia informs us that he received a copy of the NEW MILITANT from a friend and became particularly attracted by the articles in defense of Ethiopia. He says: "I read carefully the little paper and I love the stand it took on the side of right against might and truth against falsehood. I pledge to give my strong support to this paper and you will find enclosed \$1.00 for my subscription and 50 cents for a donation."

Needless to say we receive quite a few of such notes of support and it augurs well for what we have been convinced of from the outset: We will put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top. Since last week's report we have received the following amounts:

Contributions
West Side br., N.Y. (Wright) \$10.00
Flatbush branch, N. Y. C. . . . 3.25
Bronx branch, N.Y.C. . . . 1.00
Harlem branch, N. Y. C. . . . 2.50
H. Zuckel, Detroit . . . 2.00
Newark branch . . . 3.00
Philadelphia branches . . . 50
Guilford, Miss. branch . . . 1.00
Minneapolis branch . . . 20.00
Glasheen, W. Va. . . . 50
Anne Collins, N. Y. C. . . . 1.00
Center branch, N. Y. C. . . . 6.75
Paterson branch (Giordano) . . . 1.00
Dave Warren, Brooklyn . . . 1.00
Lars Larsen, Brooklyn . . . 1.00
Helen Grey, Brooklyn, N. Y. . . . 50

Total . . . \$55.00

Advance Subscriptions
Goodman, Philadelphia . . . \$ 2.00
Semington, Chicago . . . 2.00
Thomas, Philadelphia . . . 1.00
Subscriptions (Club Plan)
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C. . . . 1.50

West Side Branch, N.Y.C. . . . 1.50
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C. . . . 1.50
Chicago branches . . . 7.50
Harlem branch, N. Y. C. . . . 3.00
Greetings . . . 2.00
St. Louis branch (Burbank) . . . 4.03
Philadelphia br. (Thomas) . . . 195.48
Previously reported . . . 195.48

Grand Total . . . \$276.51

This amount is still only a little better than ten percent of the total necessary to lay a secure foundation for the eight-page weekly. We must build that foundation right away.

BUNDLE ORDER SETTLEMENTS

Last week we published a resume of the branches and bundle agents who have been put on the list of delinquents in regard to remittances due to the NEW MILITANT and the NEW INTERNATIONAL. Of course they were only the worst delinquents. There are a number of others whose accounts are also overdue for payments but there is still an opportunity for them to catch up before they will also be entered on the delinquent list.

Some of the branches mentioned last week have since made a serious effort to get in good standing. The Minneapolis branch forwarded \$15.00 payment on the NEW MILITANT account and \$9.00 payment on the NEW INTERNATIONAL account. The New York Spartacus Youth League made a similar effort. But the most important point is that practically all accounts are far overdue and the branches and the bundle agents must take serious steps to remedy this situation.

AUGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL ALMOST READY

Among the valuable material that will appear in the August issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, will be an Open Letter to the French Proletariat by L. Trotsky, the first installment of a discussion with Max Eastman on some Marxian Fundamentals, a Survey of the Third Party Movement, a review of Olgin's pamphlet on Trotskyism, an analysis of the British-German Naval Agreement and an article by L. Trotsky on Rosa Luxemburg and the Fourth International.

For a change the NEW INTERNATIONAL will appear on time. The August issue is now almost ready and will be mailed about the first of the month. Henceforth it will appear regularly every month and on time. But, and this is urgent, agents must now rush their remittances. We can no longer afford to let the accounts lapse. The indication given above shows the character of the rich material to appear in the August issue. Therefore no delay in settlements. Get ready to distribute the August issue.

Incidentally the combination of \$2.00 for a yearly subscription to the NEW INTERNATIONAL and the NEW MILITANT both, still holds good. But it will hold good insofar as the price is concerned only for the next few weeks. With the appearance of the eighth page weekly the price will change. Take advantage of this offer while it is still good.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

C. E., BROOKLYN—
Question: According to Marx the value of commodities is determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in them, and yet we observe everywhere that one capitalist employing a certain number of men makes much different profits than another employing the same number. Does this not contradict the Marxian economic theory, since apparently the workers should be adding the same value in each case?

Answer: As a rule, commodities, in capitalist society, do not sell at their values, and it is this fact which gives rise to the suspicion that the concept of socially necessary labor-time as the determinant of value is incorrect. What we have here however, is not a refutation of the law of value but its further development. What actually occurs is that value is determined by the socially necessary labor-time embodied in commodities, but the surplus value extracted from the workers is proportioned among the different capitalists according to the amount and power of the capital that each controls and not according to the number of workers that each directly employs.

Under competitive capitalism this proportioning is brought about by the tendency towards the creation of an average rate of profit for all capital. As an illustration let us assume three industries as follows which are selling commodities at their value: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$500,000; selling price \$2,000,000; rate of profit 33 1/3 per cent. (2) Constant capital \$2,000,000; variable capital \$500,000; surplus value, \$500,000; selling price \$3,000,000; rate of profit 20 per cent. (3) Constant capital \$900,000; variable capital \$100,000; surplus value \$100,000; selling price, \$1,100,000; rate of profit, 10 per cent. (We assume for the sake of simplicity that the entire plant wears out in a year so that its entire value is transferred into the value of the commodities.)

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries is thus \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities is \$6,100,000.

There would now be a tendency for capital to flow from the industries with a lower to those of a higher rate of profit so that overproduction, forcing down the prices below their value would occur in the latter and underproduction and a raising of prices above their values would take place in the former. This process would tend to continue until an average rate of profit was brought about for all industries and the three industries taken as examples would then have the following compositions: (1) Constant capital, \$1,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$330,000; selling price, \$1,830,000 (\$170,000 less than its value); rate of profit, 22 percent (11 percent less than before). (2) Constant capital, \$2,000,000; variable capital, \$500,000; surplus value, \$350,000; selling price, \$3,050,000 (\$50,000 more than its value); rate of profit, 22% (2% more than before). (3) Constant capital, \$900,000; variable capital, \$100,000; surplus value, \$220,000; selling price \$1,220,000 (\$120,000 above its value); rate of profit, 22% (12% more than before).

The total surplus value extracted from the workers of all industries remains, as before, \$1,100,000, and the total value of all commodities remains, as before, at \$6,100,000. What has happened is that the competition between capitals has brought about a redistribution of the surplus value among the various capitalists so that the capitalists of industries (2) and (3) are exploiting, not only their own workers but those of industry (1) and this occurs because the latter sells its commodities for an amount below their value equal to the amount above their values for which the commodities of the other two industries are sold.

Under monopolies the same process occurs except that it is the monopoly which makes it possible for certain capitalists to sell commodities above their values and even above the price which would realize the average rate of profit. Monopoly capital is thus able to extract wealth from lesser capitalists as well as from the workers. To answer the many questions bearing on this subject we should like to go more fully into the matter but we are here able to merely present an extremely simplified example of why prices do not correspond to values, since a complete analysis of the question would require a complete review of "Capital." Your editor thinks it appropriate however to call to the attention of those comrades whose questions indicate that they believe Marxian economic knowledge to be exhausted by the concept of labor as the determinant of value, that, besides volume I, there are volumes II and III to Marx's critique of capitalist economy.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

7th Congress Of C.I. Opens

(Continued from Page 1)

undoubtedly did not foresee the extremely unpleasant response to his communique. The leaders of the French party immediately went to Moscow in an almost panicky mood. Leon Blum lectured to them learnedly: you mustn't at present waste all your patriotic powder or else you will be morally and politically disarmed at the outbreak of the war. In parliament the Stalinists have already refused to vote for military credits. The reasons? There are Fascist officers in the army. The army of imperialism is to be democratic, a people's army, i.e. it must correspond to the principles of the "People's Front" (remember that the speeches of Noske in the Reichstag on the attitude toward the Hohenzollern war always had this tone). Something in the same spirit will be decided by the Seventh Congress. The sense of the decision will be approximately as follows: it is not necessary to today openly to support French, Czechoslovak and other imperialisms but rather to prepare the workers gradually and carefully for the defense of imperialism at the time of war. In other words, the strategy for the obliteration of the elementary principle of Marxism will for a time be substituted by a strategy of seige. After all Stalin will succeed in carrying out his will as expressed in the communique—we can only be grateful to him for this. This would be too great a gift for the proletariat and for us.

One can be confident that not one of the "leaders" commanding at the Congress will have the courage to pose the question of Zinoviev's

fate. Out of the six congresses heretofore known in the history of the Comintern, Zinoviev presided over five. At present he languishes in a prison cell for the alleged intention of restoring capitalism with the aid of terrorist acts against the Soviet bureaucracy. The alarming turn of the Soviet bureaucracy finds its clearest expression in the personal fate of Zinoviev. But can any Cachin or Pleck find any interest in this? So long as they have a post and a salary, why should they be concerned whether Zinoviev presides over a revolutionary congress or is confined to jail as a counter revolutionist? But the question of Zinoviev must be posed by us, particularly in connection with the 7th Congress.

Who will now make the big speeches and write the long resolutions? Manulsky and Kuusinen are now in decline. Perhaps Bela Kun? He is most suited for it, particularly if we remember Lenin's famous speech at the plenum of the E.C.G.I. on the eve of the Third Congress. The speech was devoted almost entirely to Bela Kun and its last motif was the brief formula: "Bela Kun's stupidity." Not by accident did the Comintern reach Bela Kun's level.

Another candidate—Dimitrov. His present, entirely unexpected career, was caused exclusively by his conduct at the Fascist trial. We all applauded him, particularly in comparison with the conduct of the chairman of the Stalinist parliamentary fraction, Torgler. But we

PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS IN SIX WEEKS STRIKE

The Fruit Clerks Union struck the Blue Ribbon Market six weeks ago. The demands are: (1) a 63 hour week, (2) \$17.50 minimum a week, (3) union recognition. It is rumored that the Blue Ribbon Market is in a bad condition financially and can no longer get credit in the wholesale market as a result of the strike.

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FOR THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party; Answer New Betrayal of 7th Comintern Congress

Open Letter to All Revolutionary Working Class Organizations & Groups

Hitler's assumption to power, which did not meet with the slightest resistance on the part of the two "mighty" working class parties—one of them, moreover, basing itself upon the U.S.S.R.—has exposed decisively the internal putrefaction of the Second and Third Internationals. In August, 1933, four organizations (International Communist League, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Independent Socialist Party—both of Holland, and the Socialist Workers Party of Germany) formulated for the first time in a programmatic document the new historic task: the creation of the Fourth International. The events that have transpired since that time have been irrefutable confirmation that there is no other road.

The annihilation of the Austrian proletariat has demonstrated that victory cannot be gained by issuing a last minute call for insurrection to the masses, disoriented and drained by opportunism—after the party had been driven into a blind alley. It is necessary to prepare systematically for victory by means of revolutionary policies in every sphere of the working class movement.

The very same lesson immutably flows from the annihilation of the Spanish proletariat. Under all conditions, especially during a revolution, it is impermissible to turn ones back upon the toilers for the sake of a bloc with the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to expect and demand that the duped and disillusioned masses will fly to arms upon the belated call of a party in which they have lost confidence. The proletarian revolution is not improvised by orders of a bankrupt leadership. The revolution must be prepared through incessant and irreconcilable class struggle which gains for the leadership the invincible confidence of the party, fuses the vanguard with the entire class, and transforms the proletariat into the leader of all the exploited in the city and country.

Following the ignominious downfall of the principal section of reformism—the completely corroded German social democracy—the "left wing" of the Second International went down in ruins in Austria and Spain. But these fearful lessons passed by without leaving a trace; the leading cadres of reformism

within the party and in the trade unions have degenerated to the marrow of their bones. Their personal interests and their patriotic views bind them to the bourgeoisie and they are utterly incapable of resorting to the road of the class struggle.

Social Democracy Bound to the Chariot of the Bourgeoisie

The parties of the Second International calmly reconcile themselves to the fact that their Belgian president, at the very first beck of finance capital, joined hands with the Catholic and liberal middlemen to salvage the banks at the expense of the toiling masses. In the wake of Vandervelde there followed de Man, the vainglorious critic of Karl Marx, the originator of a "Plan"; nor did the "left" centrist Spaak fail to betray the socialist opposition in return for the livery of a minister.

Mindful neither of lessons nor warnings, the French Socialist Party continues vainly to clutch at the railcoats of the "Republican" bourgeoisie, and it pins greater hopes upon the friendship of the Radicals than upon the revolutionary might of the proletariat. In all other countries, in every part of the world, in Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, the Social Democracy, despite the decay of capitalism, continues to remain the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class and reveals its utter inability to mobilize the masses in its own

Introduction to the Open Letter

The Workers Party of the U.S. participates this week in an action of the greatest significance for the international proletariat, viz. the publication of the Open Letter on the Fourth International. Signing this letter in addition to the W.P.U.S. are the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (K.S.A.P.), the International Communist League, the Workers Party of Canada and the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Of course the signature of the I.C.L. implies that of its other sections also, Russian, South African, Chilean, Cuban, Chinese, etc.

The signature of the Open Letter by the W.P.U.S. was authorized, depending upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, by the June Plenum of the National Committee of the party. The chief conditions were that the S.A.P. (Socialist Workers Party of Germany) should be given a month's time to join with other signers, the S.A.P. having been one of the signers of the Declaration of Four in 1933 where the concept

of the Fourth International was proclaimed; that the headquarters of the Provisional Contact Committee provided for in the Open Letter be Amsterdam; and that certain paragraphs dealing with the Franco-Soviet pact and with the situation in the U.S. and other American countries be included.

The S.A.P. expresses sympathy with the movement to build the Fourth International but asks that parties such as the W.P. join the I.A.G. (London-Amsterdam Bureau of centrist parties), a condition which the W.P. plenum rejected.

The other conditions laid down by the W.P. have been fulfilled.

In accordance, therefore with the action of the June Plenum of the N.C. the Political Committee of the Party has ordered the publication of the Open Letter in our official organ as the official proclamation to the world labor movement of our concurrence in the Open Letter and renewed evidence of our determination to pro-

ceed as rapidly as possible to the building of the Fourth International.

In this hour of mounting war danger and on the other hand of renewed evidence of capitulation of the Second and Third Internationals to social patriotism, the W.P.U.S. joins with joy, pride and hope in raising higher the banner of the Fourth International. We call upon the workers and intellectuals throughout the world, and especially here in the United States, to whatever organization they may today belong, to read and study the Open Letter and in the light of its contents and the present world situation to determine where their allegiance belongs. We have no time to lose in deciding how the working class may be saved from fresh betrayals and defeats, under what banner and how the vanguard and the masses may be rallied for the revolutionary victory over capitalism and the building of a workers' world.

A. J. MUSTE,
National Sec'y, W.P.U.S.

imperialism, publicly renounced the American Communists. This party, corrupted by a decade of unprincipled maneuvers and liquidationist experiments with parties (Farmer-Labor Party) which have nothing in common with proletarian parties either in their composition or program—this Stalinist party, upon orders from Moscow confines itself to the role of a radical-intellectual movement which functions in the United States as the valet of Stalinist diplomacy. But the deep-going crisis of American capitalism is awakening wide layers of workers from their semi-provincial slumbers, gradually dispelling bourgeois and petty bourgeois illusions, impelling the proletariat towards large scale class actions (Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco) and creates for the revolutionary Marxist party the possibility of gaining a wide spread and profound influence upon the development and organization of the American working class. The historic roll which accrues to the Fourth International and its American section not only within the confines of the Western hemisphere but on the world arena as well is of exceptional importance, since the smashing of American imperialism is of extreme significance for the world proletariat.

In Austria and Spain, the Communist International, despite extremely favorable circumstances, failed not only to create an organization in the least influential, but systematically compromised in the eyes of the workers the very idea of the revolutionary party. The Saar plebiscite is evidence that the German proletariat lost every vestige of confidence not only in the social democracy but in the Communist party as well—the party that so ingloriously capitulated to Hitler. In Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia, on both American continents and in the Orient the sections of the Communist International, burdened by twelve years of fatal policies are unable to emerge from their obscurity.

True, after the German debacle, the Communist International substituted the capitulatory policy of the united front at any price for the adventurist policy of the "third period." However, the experience in France, where this latest turn has attained its greatest development, demonstrates that the Communist International, with all its contradictions and zigzags, manages to retain its function of being a brake upon the proletarian revolution. Rejecting the creation of a workers' militia in face of the immediate fascist danger, substituting its program of immediate demands and a policy of parliamentarism for the struggle for power, the Communist International is the sower of the worst illusions of reformism and pacifism, gives actual support to the right wing in the Socialist Party against the Left, demoralizes the proletarian vanguard, and clears the road for a fascist overturn.

Finally, the founder of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been completely crushed during the last few years by the uncontrolled bureaucracy which has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the conservative absolutism of Stalin. By means of persecutions, frauds, amalgams and bloody repressions the ruling clique strives to nip in the bud every manifestation of Marxist thought. Nowhere in the world is genuine Leninism bounded so bestially as in the U.S.S.R.

Stalin Has Signed the Death Warrant of the C.I.

The most recent opportunist surrenders of the Communist International (Continued on Page 3)

The Frightful Wreckage of the C.I. Over the World

In the meantime the Third International does nothing except squander the remaining shreds of influence and authority acquired during the first five years of its existence.

Manifesto of the W. P. U. S. on Anti-War Day

For the working class the greatest tragedy in connection with the World War of 1914-18 was its betrayal by the Socialist leaders and the trade union leaders under social democratic influence. These leaders who had ostensibly been engaged in the struggle against imperialist war capitulated at the outbreak of the war to the capitalists and militarists, voted the war credits demanded by the various governments, and made it possible for these governments to lead the workers of one nation to slaughter and be slaughtered by the workers of another nation.

The greatest tragedy which threatens the workers of the world

on this twenty-first anniversary of the outbreak of the first World War, which finds all the capitalist powers engaged in war preparations on the most extensive scale, is not only fresh betrayal by the social democracy but betrayal also by the Third (Stalinist) International and the Communist (Stalinist) parties throughout the world and by the Stalinist bureaucracy which controls the Soviet Union today.

The most urgent task of the advanced workers is to expose the utter and abject surrender of the Stalinist parties to social-patriotism; to expose the so-called "peace policies" of the present Soviet leadership as leading not to peace but to capitulation in war, not to the defense of the Soviet Union but to the breakdown of its best and only defense, namely, the world revolutionary movement; to smash the influence of the Stalinist parties over the workers and their allies throughout the world; and to raise aloft the banner of the New, Fourth, International, under which alone the uncompromising revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and against imperialism can be carried to a victorious conclusion.

Fervent War Preparations
At this very moment when the children who were born during the period of the Great War, are of age for military service, all the capitalist nations are engaged in war preparations on the most colossal scale and the "coming war" is no longer something that may or may not appear in the remote future. The diplomats of the Great Powers discuss cynically not whether war is to come but when it will break out. In portions of Asia and Africa the armies are already being drawn up in battle formation.

Hitler Germany has defied the Versailles treaty, introduced universal conscription and begun the rebuilding of a navy to make her a dominant sea power once again, at least in the North Sea.

Fascist Italy has announced its intention to subjugate Ethiopia and is daily transporting thousands of armed men to that country's frontiers.

Once more the fuse has been lighted that may blow up the pow-

der barrels of the Polish Corridor, for which Germany is now renewing its claim, and of Memel, where the antagonism between Germany and Lithuania is only a superficial expression for a deeper rivalry among all the rival imperialist powers of the Old World.

The hegemony of France over Continental Europe, temporarily secured by the Versailles treaty, is now threatened; and France must

Green Dodges Convention of Auto Workers Rank and File Determined to Form International

By BURKE COCHANE

DETROIT, Mich.—The unofficial date for the convocation of a constitutional convention of delegates from the present federal unions to set up an international in the automobile and auto parts industry, is supposed to have been set for August 26. This unofficial notice has already engendered a tremendous enthusiasm among automobile workers throughout the country. The response has proved again that the time is doubly ripe for the establishment of an international and will undoubtedly become a major factor in the organization of the workers of this key industry.

President Wm. Green, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and Francis Dillon, head of the National Council of the United Automobile Workers Union, however, have not yet broken their silence with regard to the proposed convention. Nobody in the Dillon office at Detroit, knows what arrangements have been made for this convention, where it will be held or anything else about it. None of the locals have yet received instructions with regards to the convention, on what basis delegates will

(Continued on Page 4)

slip back unless she reasserts herself and goes forward—that is, unless she is a victor in another war.

The economic contradictions in which the Japanese ruling class finds itself continue to drive Japan toward expansion in China, Manchukuo, Mongolia, all along the borders of the Soviet Union, and finally past them, in Siberia.

British interests are threatened by the adventures of Italy and Japan and the economic expansion of U.S. capitalism, so that at the very moment when a poll of British citizens records a ninety percent vote for universal disarmament the British government launches a colossal naval building campaign.

Terrorism Grows

As capitalism everywhere in spite of its most frantic efforts, finds it more and more difficult to satisfy the most elementary needs of the masses, as it further depresses the standard of living even in relatively favored nations such as the U.S. and as the discontent of the masses seethes and boils over, expresses resentment against misery and war preparations, the capitalist nations establish ever more repressive regimes and by unlimited terrorism seek to establish the "national unity" which will enable them to lead the masses to war in an attempt to resolve the crisis. Hitler is today compelled to resort to terroristic methods even against those very lower middle-class elements which helped to bring him into power (the persecutions of Catholics and Protestants, the Hitler press attacks on small business men). The Hitler regime has not been able to fulfill its demagogic promises to these elements; he is already in danger of losing their support. Thus we are shown that the German economic crisis is so severe that Hitler may be compelled any day to embark upon war. At

the same time the masses in other countries are reminded that it is but a question of time until there is too capitalism, either in preparation for war or in the conduct of it, establishes an equally brutal and barbaric terrorism.

All of these war preparations of the imperialist powers are in reality directed also against the Soviet Union, though only some of them have this avowed aim and some capitalist governments even profess to be eager to help "defend" the Soviet Union. Capitalism cannot live peacefully side by side with the workers' state which is laying

(Continued on Page 4)

10,000 Rally for Tom Mooney In Frisco on 19th Year of Arrest

SAN FRANCISCO, July 28—10,000 workers filled the Civic Auditorium here today, on the nineteenth anniversary of the framing of Tom Mooney. The all important and immediate purpose of this mass meeting was to signalize attention to the continued imprisonment of Mooney on the rankest frame-up conspiracy ever perpetrated by open shop employers against active militant trade unionists.

Harry Bridges, militant maritime labor leader, was one of the principal speakers who emphatically protested against continuing this monstrous injustice.

Leo Gallagher, former attorney for Mooney, commented at length on the legal aspects of the Mooney case; and Melvin Jackson who represented the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee spoke on the role of youth in the struggles of labor for a place in the sun and in the fight for Tom Mooney's freedom.

Kanjo Kato, Chairman of the National Trade Union Congress of Japan, brought a message of peace and friendship from the workers of Japan, and expressed international solidarity in the demand that Tom Mooney be freed. He delivered his oration entirely in Japanese and at intervals passed so that his interpreter could translate for the audience what he had said.

The entire program of three hours was broadcast over radio station KROW, and the only unexpected occurrence was during Rev. Alexander's speech, when he asked for a demonstration by the audience for the special benefit of Tom Mooney who was listening to the meeting over the radio from San Quentin. The radio station immediately cut him off the air, and the announcer explained to the radio audience that it was a federal offense to communicate with a prisoner inside a penitentiary by radio.

The sponsors of the meeting, those who helped to make it a huge success, included the International Longshoremen's Association 38-79, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Ship Stewards 38-100, the Communist Party, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union No. 8, the I.L.A. Auxiliary, the Workers Party of U.S., the Waiters Union, the Waitresses Union, the Auto Mechanics Union, the Carpenters Union No. 518, the Painters Union No. 1158, and the Machinists Union.

Tom Mooney on this August 2 will have been a continuous active member of the International Molders Union for thirty-three years, and the unions of San Francisco supported him loyally in this mighty demonstration of solidarity.

Move for Omaha General Strike In Support of Tram Workers

OMAHA, Nebr.—General strike sentiment in Omaha in support of the striking streetcar men has risen so strongly that the executive board of the Central Labor Union has agreed to place a general strike call before that body Aug. 2.

The executive board's action followed pressure from the streetcar men's rank and file strike committee of 13, who demanded that the C.L.U. endorse a call for the general walkout within two weeks.

A conference of all organized labor in the city has been called for August 6 to form a general strike committee. At that time the date for the strike will be definitely set.

On the following day there is to be a conference of unaffiliated and unorganized workers and farmers to form a supporting committee of action.

The aggressiveness of Omaha labor was aroused by the continued delay of C.L.U. officials, by the vicious "red baiting" and spitting tactics of the daily press, and by open threats by bosses of wholesale firing of union labor.

In a press release, James C. Perkins, strike leader, called upon all groups to support the program of unity and militant action as the only means of winning the strike.

Should the general walkout take place, some 35,000 Omaha families

will be affected. Strikers followed the recent Terre Haute general tie-up with keen interest, and it is felt that the Indiana situation has been a great influence in creating general strike sentiment here.

In support of the streetcar workers, the Omaha and Council Bluffs Central Labor Unions and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have issued 70,000 circulars explaining the strike, to be distributed in every home in Omaha and Council Bluffs. Organized labor contributed the stock, members of the printing crafts donated their labor, and the Farmer-Labor Press of Council Bluffs gave the use of its press.

The leaflet emphasizes the fact that the streetcar strike is the same one which was called April 20, 1934, and has been repeatedly interrupted by conferences, only to have the company ignore all decisions of such conferences. Some weeks ago, Gov. Roy Cochran forced an agreement after compulsory arbitration only to have the company violate it by ignoring the seniority decision.

The local C.L.U. calls attention to its offer of "free-ride cars" identified by red and white stickers, a convenience developed by organized labor for the citizens to enable them to boycott the streetcars.

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Brides...

From the New York Times, July 22: "Mrs. Ottilie Stufmann Umbach, 28 year old bride, drowned Saturday near Washington Bridge when a torrent of rain water swept her down a drain in which poverty had driven her and her husband to seek refuge. . . . The couple had moved to New Jersey about a month ago, police said, after Umbach had lost his job, and they had no living quarters. With a crude tent, they camped in Fallades Interstate Park by night, hiding the tent by day, until the rains of last week forced them to seek other shelter. Then they moved to the mouth of the drain, a concrete tunnel about four feet in diameter." From the same issue of the N. Y. Times: "Jim (a polar bear) will bring his mate to one of the finest dwellings to be found in any zoo, with the latest and most modern improvements. At least fifty feet long, the ground is slanted, with a drop of about thirty feet from the top of the stone cliffs to the semi-circular swimming pool below. A narrow waterfall separates the two cliffs under one of which is a roomy and comfortable den."

Housing...

The courts have ruled that land may be condemned to build railroads, arsenals, military camps and public buildings. . . . The circuit court of Louisville, Ky., has denied the power of the government to condemn land for housing workers. . . . Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Sonnes, transient workers, occupied the Barnesville, Ohio, fairground stable during the birth of their baby. . . . The HOLC up to July 15 had started foreclosure proceedings against 712 home owners who failed to meet payments on loans granted to save their properties from foreclosure. . . . The government has appropriated a half million dollars to plant in the heating and ventilating in the Statue of Liberty. . . .

New Deal...

John Dickinson, former counsel for the Sugar Trust and most vocal opponent of the Securities and Exchange Act, has been appointed Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust suits. . . . The U. S. Shipping Board sold 146 ships, some of which cost as much as \$2,500,000 for \$4,600 each. The company that purchased the ships made a profit of \$35,000 each on the steel alone, selling it to Japan for munitions. . . . In 1933, 80,539 corporations reported incomes below \$100,000 and 284 above \$1,000,000. The aggregate income of the big corporations exceeded that of the small. . . . \$25,000 has been appropriated for a photo-electric eye to check examination papers for the Civil Service Commission. It will displace 100 clerks. . . . Figures compiled by the FEBA show that 29 percent of the employed heads of rural households have shifted from their usual occupations, most of them going one or more steps downward on the occupational ladder. . . . Dr. I. M. Hargett, Methodist minister, criticizes Roosevelt's policies: "I wish the President would not make such a pleasure day of Sunday."

Prosperity...

Last February General Charles Daves predicted that prosperity would return by July, 1935. . . . Apple growers in Illinois are permitting their fruit to rot for lack of a profitable market. . . . Eight children in Fresno, Cal., were poisoned from eating contaminated garbage. . . . Household workers in Harlem place themselves on the public auction block and sell themselves to the highest bidder. . . . The home of Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Dall Boettger near Ossining, N. Y., is being sold to foreclose a mortgage. . . . Huey Long's newspaper, The American Progress, has curtailed its staff from 22 to 16 and doubled its subscription price. . . .

Royalty...

When Haile Selassie was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, the King of England presented him with a one tone Angel Food cake. The King of Italy sent 500 bottles of Chianti. . . . John D. Rockefeller, at 90, has 19 of his own teeth. . . . The monarchist Austrian State Council approved a bill to restore Hapsburg property the income of which, estimated at \$200,000 per year, has since 1919 been used to aid crippled war veterans. . . .

Book Review...

Walter Pitkin of the Columbia University School of Journalism, in his "Capitalism Carries On": "Who are the Coolies? Hundreds of thousands sweatshop workers. They live in squalor that a fastidious animal would shun. . . . How grotesque to ask scientists and engineers and administrators to spend their lives supporting such repulsive. His solution is sterilization. . . .

The Role and Position of the Various Groups in the Struggle Occurring in the Teachers Union

Below is the third of a series of articles on the situation in the Teachers Union, its background, the policies of the groups within it, and the struggle for union democracy as occasioned by the recent attempt of the administration to drive minorities from the organization.—Ed.

In 1928, a small group of Union teachers organized the Progressive Group based upon a program designed to make the Union a more effective force among the teachers. The Union then had within its ranks less than 1,000 members out of a teaching body of over 30,000 and was making little progress in organizing them. Two years later certain sections of the left wing within the general labor movement adopted a policy of seeking to build a new national trade union center in opposition to the A. F. of L. The influence of this policy was soon reflected within the ranks of the Progressives, which resulted in a split into two groups, one retaining the name of the group and the other group representing this new influence adopting the name of Rank and File.

The Progressive Group based its policies on building the Union as the sole economic organization of the teachers and was opposed to all independent activity outside the Union. Although it has been in opposition to the Administration and fights it on many issues on the floor of the Union, it does not seek to oust the Administration from the leadership—it seeks to reform it in a progressive direction. It takes the position that at present the Administration is much to the left of the great mass of teachers—hence what is needed is not a new leadership but a reform of the policies of the present one.

Bertram D. Wolfe, one of the leaders of this group, declared at one of its meetings that it would be disastrous to the Union or the present Administration to be replaced by a left wing leadership because the latter would be so much out of touch with the point of view of the majority of the teachers as to cause a collapse of the Union and the ruin of many years of hard work in building the organization.

Ben Davidson, the chief of the Progressives, declared that if Dr. Lefkowitz should resign as legislative representative of the Union, he believed it would go to pieces. With this defeatist point of view as its guiding line, it becomes clear why the Progressives did not put out a full election slate until 1933, offering until then no candidates in opposition to Lefkowitz and Linville. It also becomes clear why the Progressives centered their main attack during this period upon the Rank and File for its dual-unionist policies, and not upon the Administration, thus giving the latter fuel for its attack upon the entire opposition. That is why the belief has existed among many teachers that the Progressives are simply a pseudo-opposition.

After the formation of the Unemployed Teachers Association in the spring of 1931, upon the initiative of the Rank and File, the Progressives, in the fall of the same year, sponsored the organization of the Association of Unappointed Teachers as a rival organization of unemployed teachers—thus splitting the movement at the very outset. This policy it has maintained until the present despite the fact that there does not exist any legitimate reason for two organizations in this field.

The leaders of the Progressives—Davidson, Wolfe and Wittes—voluntarily promised that as soon as the Rank and File group abandoned its dual unionist position, liquidated its Classroom Teachers Groups, etc., it would propose a merger of the Progressive Group and the Rank and File and other opposition groups. In this event it further promised to merge the Association of Unappointed Teachers with the Unemployed Teachers Association and strive for the eventual entry of both into the Teachers Union. Despite the fact that the Rank and File has changed its policies in this respect—despite the dissolution of the Classroom Teachers Groups—the Progressives leader refuse to carry out their promises and hide their opposition to the long overdue merger under various untenable pretexts.

Policies of Rank and File Group. The Rank and File group, as stated above, came into existence as a result of the movement, during 1929 to 1934, for the building of a new national trade union center, and as a result of a split within the Progressive Group. The Rank and File is officially allied to the "Rank and File" movements in other A. F. of L. unions, such as the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance. Its official organ is "The A. F. of L. Rank and File". The Rank and File, under the leadership of Isadore Begun, originally took the position that it was hopeless to seek to reform the union and have it adopt and carry out a

progressive or militant program.

In accordance with this orientation, it initiated the organization of the Committee to Protect Salaries (1931) ostensibly for the purpose of organizing school salary committees to fight the then proposed salary cuts, but actually for the purpose of laying the basis for a rival organization to the Teachers Union.

After this attempt had failed, it initiated and organized the Classroom Teachers Groups on a similar anti-Union basis and used this organization as a means of attacking the Union from the outside. Attempts by members of the Rank and File to correct this policy proved of no avail; they were simply dropped from the group, received no notices, were refused the floor, etc.

Similarly, the Rank and File undertook the organization of the Unemployed Teachers Association in 1931, which was a correct move in itself due to the refusal of the Administration to organize or permit the organization of the unemployed teachers under its auspices. But the Rank and File leadership (Begun, Citron, Levine) misused their influence within the U.T.A. to lead it into anti-Union channels. Within the U.T.A. a struggle was carried on by a group of leading members to correct this false course. The result was the same as in the Rank and File: the opposition was removed from the Executive Board and ostracized within the organization.

The leadership of the Rank and File proved in action that in addition to steering a dual unionist course, it could outdo the Lefkowitz-Linville faction in anti-democratic measures against those who disagreed with them in their own organization. Through these destructive activities the Rank and File leadership played into the hands of the Administration which used their tactics as arguments to confuse the membership and to prevent the adoption of mass action policies by the Union.

A Bankrupt Maneuver

After the liquidation of such dual organizations as the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, etc., the policy of the Rank and File also was changed. At first it proposed a united front of the Classroom Teachers Groups with the Teachers Union (June, 1934). When this maneuver failed, it proposed that the Teachers Union call a conference of all teachers' organizations for the purpose of uniting, although the Rank and File leaders knew perfectly well that the only organization that would respond to such a call would be its own controlled Classroom Teachers Groups. This maneuver was designed to cover the bankruptcy of its own policy and to act as a face-saving device while a change of policy was being effected, likewise failed. The Rank and File leaders were compelled to order the liquidation of the Classroom Teachers Groups, thus substantiating the charge that its intent was to create a rival to displace the Teachers Union.

In spite of its false policies, the strength of the Rank and File has increased considerably during the past year, a contradiction which not

only does not justify its past anti-Union course, but serves to emphasize how much greater its strength might have been had it followed a pro-Union course. In the last few months of the school year it strove feverishly to bring in as many members as possible into the Union from among its followers which it had previously kept from joining the Union. But the Administration made good use of the Rank and File's previous blunders to win in the elections of 1935. This soon made it possible for the Lefkowitz-Linville faction to block the rapid growth of the opposition by closing the books of the Union against the entrance of new members.

The Committee for Democracy

Because the leaders of the Rank and File refused to reform their policies in a pro-Union direction, because they refused to organize a broad and non-factional united front movement together with the Progressives and other independent elements to restore democracy in the Union, because they resorted to expulsion and ostracism against those of its members who advocated these changes—the Committee for Democracy in the Union came into existence. Disaffected members of the Progressive Group and independent members likewise joined the committee. The aim was not to create a third opposition group with a complete trade union program but to develop a non-partisan movement to restore the democratic rights of the membership to determine the policies of the Union.

The program of the Committee consists of the following:

1) The restoration by constitutional amendment of the right of the membership to determine the basic policies of the Union.

2) The democratization of the Delegate Assembly, which will then constitute the working body of the Union between membership meetings.

3) The reduction of dues to the Union, with full membership rights and at nominal dues, of unemployed and unappointed teachers of the city.

4) The reduction of dues to facilitate an organizational drawing into the Union of the great mass of teachers who are still outside it.

The Committee for Democracy in the Union, in the brief period of its existence (Nov. 1934) engaged in a remarkable amount of constructive activity in a hostile atmosphere created by a highly factionalized situation. In this brief period it issued a program for the liquidation of the Union. Six bulletins explaining this program were issued to the membership. It sounded the alarm and called for a united front when the Organized Union Majority was organized and when Dr. Linville sent out his unauthorized letters to the membership attacking the right of minority groups to exist in the Union.

Predicting that these moves were preliminary to the renewal of the Administration's campaign to crush the opposition groups by ousting them from the Union, the Committee pointed out the dangers and appealed to the Rank and File and to the Progressive Group to form a united front with it on a limited program of restoring and extending democracy (Nov. 1934). Both of these groups refused to heed the appeal, each denying that an immediate danger of expulsion existed and each setting forth ultra-realist demands which made a united front impossible. They were soon to learn how costly their blunder would prove.

Party Grows In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—The recent liquidation of the Branch of the Workers Party began its organizational and agitatorial work with a bang here Wednesday night, July 24, through the medium of an open organizational meeting attended by approximately fifty workers. The meeting had been well advertised at several open air meetings held during the week at Public Square.

Harry Thurman, branch secretary, in opening the meeting gave a short report dealing with the great need of an organization of the type of the Workers Party in Cleveland and showing the necessity for such an organization nationally. He also brought out the necessity for every class conscious worker to be in its ranks. After this preliminary report the floor was thrown open for discussion. The majority of the questions asked dealt with the difference between the Workers Party and the C.P., and S.P. They also stressed the necessity for a united front of all political working class organizations against the common enemy—capitalism.

As a result of this meeting fifteen workers who attended signed applications for membership in the Party. Besides holding these open meetings, the downtown branch plans to help in the organization of an Unemployed League.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—"C. A. Hathaway was responsible for my resignation from the Communist Party and my intention to join the Workers Party," Harry Thurman, young C. P. member answered in

response to a question from the District organizer of the C.P. as to why he was leaving the Stalinists for the Workers Party. Thurman, a member of the Communist Party for two years, became convinced of the bankruptcy of the Third International after reading statements of Thorez, leading "theoretician" of the French C. P., in which he attempted to explain away the entangling alliance the Soviet Union has just concluded with France, which forces the French C.P. members to act as recruiting sergeants in time of war. Other members of the C.P. and Y.C.L. in Cleveland announced their intention of leaving the Stalinists for the same reason.

CHELSEA, Mass. (FP).—A unique decision closely affecting the labor and radical movements was recently handed down when Judge Samuel R. Cutler of Chelsea district court found the Western Union Telegraph Co. in contempt of court and fined it \$500 for accepting, transmitting and delivering protest telegrams against the arrest of two defendants appearing before his court. If this decision is upheld, it will deprive the great majority of the people of the right to inform public officials of their opinions, and bring mass pressure to bear on reactionary officials.

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Lumber Strike Ends; Obtain Few Demands

Labor Skates Expel All Rebellious Locals from Union

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., July 31.—The great Northwest lumber strike virtually ended in this important lumber production center when on its 80th day the Sawnmill and Timber Workers local voted overwhelmingly to accept a compromise settlement of 50 cents per hour minimum wage scale, a 40-hour, five consecutive day week, no discrimination against workers who participated in the strike, re-employment as soon as each department re-opens, and collective bargaining between the individual employers and employees in the individual mills. The workers in each mill are to be represented by a committee elected by them. The original strike demands were: 75c per hour minimum wage scale, 30-hour week, one week's sick leave and one week's vacation annually with pay, and union recognition.

The bosses were reluctant to grant even the meager concessions contained in the final settlement, and only did so after the workers had flatly rejected a proposed agreement that would have left the operators free to discriminate against the militants in the union's ranks and put the matter of re-employing the strikers off into the nebulous future, "whenever it is possible to do so." In the case of the militants "whenever it is possible" would with a creativity have been never. Another concession forced by the union was the five consecutive day week.

Concessions Inadequate

In spite of the fact that these concessions were won the settlement must be considered a defeat. The fact that the workers in two plants were not included and were left to settle with their bosses by themselves, was a serious departure from true union solidarity. But the gravest defeat is the splitting up of the union into separate mill locals, thus preventing the presentation of a united front to the attacks of the bosses which are sure to follow as soon as they feel themselves strong enough.

In the face of the fact that the strike has virtually ended in every other important center, the workers in Tacoma and Aberdeen are still out, the Tacoma local having rejected a compromise settlement last Saturday night.

Abie Muir, with the support of the top leadership of the A. F. of L., is continuing his campaign to smash the militant locals of the S. & T.W. U., using the same charter revoking tactics that are being used against the Minneapolis militants.

Green injected himself into the struggle to smash local 2504 which has been fighting Muir and his sell-out policies. In a telegram to Hutcherson, reactionary president of the Carpenters and Joiners, he threatened to revoke the charter of Longview-Kelso Central Labor Council if they did not unseat delegates from 2504 and completely disassociate itself from the militant local. The federation executive's threat is contained in this message sent to P. W. Dowler, general representative of the Carpenters and Joiners.

Green's Papal Bull

"Just received following telegram from President Green. 'Have dispatched a letter with seal attached thereto to officers Central Labor Council, Kelso and Longview by airmail instructing them to disassociate themselves from suspended local 2504 from affiliation with central body and also writing organizer Watson Longview and if necessary revoke the charter of the central body in order to enforce compliance with my instructions.' Wm. L. Hutcherson."

Thus we see that the labor fakery will not hesitate to use any methods, no matter how vile, to smash militant unionism.

Promote the Struggle
Although the workers fell short of winning their original strike demands, and agreements such as the ones concluded in Portland represent some definite gains, nevertheless some real setbacks can be recorded. Wage increases were won, the company union (4L) has been smashed in the largest production centers, and although its ranks are infested with such rats as Muir, a bonafide trade union has been established.

The Northwest lumber workers must guard themselves for a struggle to cleanse their ranks of the fakery and build a strong rank and file movement that will wage a determined struggle for better living conditions.

Above all the workers must realize that labor fakery, the bosses, and the government are one big union of exploiters which the workers must unite to banish from the earth or gradually sink back to the level of the serfs of the Middle Ages. Join the ranks of the Workers Party. Onward to the goal of a classless society.

The Manager's Corner

The realization of the eight-page weekly is now assured by the enthusiastic response given to the call for the strengthening of the party press. The figures of total contributions received to date for this special purpose would hardly seem to substantiate our claim. But these figures do not tell the whole story. So while we have now reached only a little less than 20 percent of the \$2,000 set as a goal for the campaign to launch the eight-page weekly, the real situation is that we are building up a solid economic foundation for our press, and above all, we are really beginning to extend its circulation.

Our appeal was not in vain. The party branches and the bundle agents are undertaking in a serious manner to pay up on their accounts, regular subscriptions are rolling in, subscription renewals are given attention and advance subscriptions for the eight-page weekly are appearing.

Comrade Lloyd Lassen, from far away Arizona, writes to us: "The NEW MILITANT overshadows any other publication in the field already. Organizational gains are bound to flow from a larger and even better paper." Many similar messages arrive.

Postponement Unavoidable

When we announced our campaign for the eight-page weekly we set August 3 as a tentative date for its appearance. Many comrades undoubtedly expected this issue to be it. But we were a little too rash in our estimates. We did not fully realize that because we had been so badly remiss in the past, resulting in so many frightfully delinquent accounts, there was so much to be done before a sound economic basis could be assured. In addition we were ourselves so much delayed in getting the campaign underway. And let it be clearly understood, we have no interest in making a show of progress that is not real and does not rest on a realistic basis enabling us to maintain every gain and to march forward. Our aim is not merely to add to the pages of the NEW MILITANT, rather it is to make the kind of advance that will produce a vastly improved party organ and produce a worthy spokesman for the militant workers.

Since last week's report the following amounts have been received:

Contributions

Newark branch	\$12.00
Boston branch	6.00
Harlem branch, N. Y. C.	4.05
Guilford, Miss. Branch	5.00
Kansas City branch	3.00
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	6.00
Herman Kressig Brij, N. Y.	1.00
Workers of Bangor, Maine	2.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	1.25
Bronx branch, N.Y.C.	6.00
Paterson branch	1.00
Center branch, N.Y.C.	8.50
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Total	\$56.80

Advance Subscriptions

New Haven branch (Gendeman)	\$ 2.00
Philadelphia branches (Goodman)	7.00
Subscriptions (Club Plans)	
Chicago branches	3.80
Boston branch	1.50

Greetings

Philadelphia branches	6.00
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	5.00
Kansas City branch	3.00
California District Committee	1.00
Libby Rockhill, Brooklyn, N.Y.	.25
Previous total	\$276.48

Grand Total

\$362.86

What to Attend

Friday — Dram. group of S. Y. L. meets regularly Friday-evenings at 8 P.M. at 65 E. 11th St. All comrades interested in dramatics are asked to attend.

Sunday, August 4 — Come boating and swimming with the Spartacus Youth League. Meet at Pelham Bay Station at 10:30 A.M.

(Bronx east side Pelham Bay line to last stop). Cost per day per person, boat 25c. Bring lunch.

Friday, August 9, 8 P.M. — Special lecture: "The Third International Meets at Last." Speaker: A. J. Munte, 1776 Pitkin Ave. Ausp: Brownsville Party, W. P.

Saturday, August 10, 8:30 P.M. — Brownsville Package Party and Dance, 7176 Pitkin Ave. Adm. 15c with package. Free refreshments, songs; Spartacist Ballet.

Attention—moonlighters, comrades and sympathizers. The preparations for the Moonlight Sail are going full steam ahead. We have engaged the services of a well known New York music maestro for those who like dancing in the moonlight. There will be entertainment and games galore. Don't wait until the last moment to purchase your tickets. Only 300 tickets will be sold and those who wait too long will find it impossible to obtain them. Tickets can be bought at 55 E. 11th Street, and at the Bookshop, 96 Fifth Avenue.

Moonlight On The Hudson

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Five Organizations Issue Call for New World Party

(Continued on Page 2)

Fight Hitlerism!

Out of the hell-holes of German fascism, the concentration camps, and the illegal activity once again comes the imperious cry of the revolutionists for assistance. Faced with tremendous obstacles such as were unknown since the days of Czarism, which seems mild and heavenly in comparison with the Nazi inferno, the German internationalists are carrying on in spite of all. At the risk of life and limb they are circulating their literature, educating the workers anew and preparing for the day when they will be strong enough to throw off Hitler's yoke. Many are thrown into prison, others are mauled beyond description by the Brown sadists and still others make the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the revolutionary movement.

These comrades have appealed to us directly through their friends in Paris. Their organization, the International Communists of Germany is affiliated to the I. C. L. with which the Workers Party is in fraternal relations. They give instances of the arrest of several of their best fighters as quoted in Nazi papers and their condemnation to death and three years in the concentration camp. Such cases exist by the hundreds. Yet the work continues; each case of persecution only spurring on the members of the I. C. L. to greater activity.

They speak in their communication of the dreadful shambles that once was the proud Socialist party and the Communist party; how the youth are looking for a new road after the shameful collapse of both these parties in face of the Hitlerite aggression. Disillusionment has not only spread to the adherents of working class parties but also to large sections of the middle class—for whom the Nazi promises have all turned to dust. Possibilities for revolutionary activity are greater in view of the lot down of espionage among large sections of the populace that previously acted as stool pigeons for Hitler.

Although the political advantages and opportunities of the International Communists have increased because of the disillusionment that has spread in both old parties, nevertheless they operate under tremendous handicaps. While the Stalinist and reformist parties command huge sums of money wherewith to carry on their illegal activity, the revolutionists are forced to rely on the meager pennies and nickels of their comrades and the occasional contributions of sympathizers.

Up to now the International Communists have refrained from making public appeals for funds for fear of jeopardizing the physical safety of those comrades in the clutches of Fascist "justice." Changed conditions however have obliged a change in this policy and through us they are appealing for aid. A committee has been set up in Paris to forward such funds as are received for the purpose of smuggling literature into Germany, distributing it in the Reich and helping those comrades fleeing from the Fascist butcher and so on.

All funds should be sent to: Jean Meichler, P. B. 14, 248, rue des Pyrénées Paris (18).

Money orders to: Jean Meichler, Paris 1258 14.

YOUNG SPARTACUS OUT

YOUNG SPARTACUS has come out after a lapse of a couple of months and its contents compensate for the delay. Articles on the Y.P. S. L. convention, the A. Y. C. congress, and Tom Paine, and excerpts from a manifesto of the Bolshevik-Leninist Youth of France make the paper interesting reading.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

WORKERS

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$380 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

Monthly assessments from 46c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office: 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

International is intimately linked up with the Soviet turn in foreign policy towards the League of Nations and the military alliance with French imperialism. The ruling bureaucracy of the U.S.S.R. has definitely arrived at the conclusion that the Communist International is impotent to afford it any assistance whatsoever against the war danger and at the same time, it hinders the work of Soviet diplomacy. The humiliating and truly servile dependency of the Communist International upon the Soviet upper crust is expressed in a particularly glaring light in connection with the recent declaration of Stalin, approving the national defense of French imperialism.

Through the medium of an imperialist minister the leader of the Communist International passed the order to the French Communist party to conclude a patriotic truce today with the French bourgeoisie. Thus the Third International whose congresses have not been convened for almost seven years has now officially gone over from the internationalist position to that of the most outright and servile social patriotism. Whether or not the Seventh Congress, so continually postponed, convenes—the Third International will not be reconstituted. The Stalin-Laval communique is its death warrant.

A New Slaughter and a New Betrayal Imminent

Meanwhile, the destructive forces of capitalism continue their hellish work. The disintegration of world economy, the unemployment of tens of millions, the ruin of the peasantry put imperiously on the order of the day the task of the socialist revolution. The toilers, embittered and aroused, are seeking a way out. The prostration, collapse and putrefaction of the Second and Third International leave the proletariat without revolutionary leadership and impel the petty bourgeois masses on the road of despair. The bankrupt leaders seek to shift the responsibility for the triumph of fascism on the "passivity" of the proletariat; thus political betrayal is supplemented with calumny.

Thrashing in the grip of insoluble contradictions, capitalism is preparing to plunge the peoples into a new slaughter. Ministers and diplomats openly speculate whether the outbreak of the war will come in one or in three years from now. All the governments, vying with one another, are preparing the most destructive instruments, and thereby from every side they are hastening the explosion which may be immeasurably more frightful than the war of 1914-1918.

The leaders of the so-called working class parties and the trade unions sing loud the praises of the beauties of peace, they babble about "disarmament," exhort their governments to make peace among themselves, arouse the hopes of the working masses in the League of Nations, and at the same time swear fealty to the cause of "national defense" i.e. the defense of bourgeois rule with its inevitable wars.

Under cover of the "united front" and even of "organic unity" Soviet diplomacy is preparing, behind the backs of the class conscious workers, class peace between the sections of the two Internationals and the bourgeoisie of those countries which are in military alliance with the Soviet State. Thus the outbreak of a new war must lead to a new betrayal which will eclipse that of August 4th, 1914.

We Are Stronger Today

Than the "Lefts" in 1915

The betrayal of the cause of the international revolution by the Soviet bureaucracy has thrust the world proletariat far back. The difficulties that face the revolutionary vanguard are incredible. Nevertheless its position at the present time is incomparably more favorable than on the eve of the last war. At that time capitalism appeared to be all powerful, almost invincible. The patriotic debacle of the International came utterly as a surprise, even to Lenin. Everywhere the revolutionary elements were caught unprepared. The first international conference—very small numerically and its majority indecisive—took place more than a year after the outbreak of the war. The formation of revolutionary cadres proceeded slowly. The possibility of proletarian revolution was rejected even by the majority of the "Zimmerwaldists." Only the October victory in Russia in the 40th month of the war produced a change in the situation, providing a mighty impulse for the formation of the Third International.

Today the internal weakness and

The Signers of the Open Letter

The following is a brief resume of the history of the five organizations that have signed the open letter for the Fourth International and have joined the Provisional Contact Commission which is initiating the concrete activity, practical and theoretical, towards the formation of the new International:

WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.: Formed by the fusion of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, the founding convention of which was held in December, 1934. The Communist League originated with the expulsion of Cannon, Shachtman and Abern from the Communist Party in 1928 for supporting the Russian Opposition led by Trotsky and was affiliated to the I.C.L. until the fusion with the A.W.P. The latter organization emerged from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Its first convention was held in December 1933.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS SOCIALIST PARTY OF HOLLAND (R.S.A.P.): On March 3, 1935 a unification congress between the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party resulted in the formation of the above-mentioned organization. The Revolutionary Socialist Party affiliated with the I.C.L. in 1933 and was led by H. Sneevliet, one of the outstanding trade unionists of Holland. The Independent Socialist Party (O.S.P.) began as an opposition in the Social Democratic Party and was expelled for its oppositionist views. With the removal of the right wing of the O.S.P. it began to evolve in a Marxist direction and fusion was made possible. The new party numbers some 4,500 members, publishes a bi-weekly paper, "Nieuw Fakkel" and a monthly theoretical organ, "Internationale." P. J. Schmidt and H. Sneevliet are its outstanding leaders. It has strong influence over an independent revolutionary trade

union movement of about 15,000 members, the N.A.S. (National Workers Secretariat)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE (I.C.L.): This organization, with groups and members in most of the countries of the world, had its inception with the struggle of the Russian Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1923. Its outstanding leader, who has headed this movement throughout the years of repression by the Stalinist bureaucracy is Leon Trotsky. Until August 1933, after the full effects and the meaning of the defeat in Germany had become clear it was called the International Left Opposition, the name then changing to the I.C.L. It ceased to be a faction of the Comintern and directed all its energies toward creating the Fourth International.

BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST GROUP IN THE S.F. I.O. (French S. P.): Previously the Communist League of France, it entered the Socialist Party as a faction in the Summer of 1934 in order to carry on a fight within it for the ideas of the Fourth International. It propagates its program of revolutionary Marxism through its paper "La Verite" and its action within the party. At the recent Congress of the S.P. at Mulhouse, it was the butt of attack by all the reactionaries in the leadership but nonetheless gained several thousand votes for its outspoken Leninist position and succeeded in electing one member to the Political Committee of the S. P. They have further been instrumental in organizing and leading the fight against social patriotism in a congress recently convened.

WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA: Affiliated to I.C.L., it formed its independent party in the fall of 1934, having up to then been part of the Communist League of America. It issues a twice-weekly paper, "The Vanguard."

Revolution Alone Can Eliminate War

The war danger which is a life and death question for the people is the supreme test for all the groupings and tendencies within the working class. "The struggle for peace," "the struggle against war," "war on war" and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The only method to overthrow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault.

As against the reactionary lie of "national defense" it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, as a stage toward the United States of the World.

Marxists irreconcilably reject the pacifist slogans of "disarmament," "arbitration," and "amity between peoples" (i.e., between capitalist governments) etc., as optimum for the popular masses. The combinations between working class organizations and petty-bourgeois pacifists (the Amsterdam-Pleyel Committee, and similar undertakings) render the best service to imperialism by distracting the attention of the working class from reality with its grave struggles, and beguiling them instead with impotent parades.

The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the job of any sort of special "committees." The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the job of working class parties and of the International. The Marxists pose this great task before the proletarian vanguard, without any frills. To the everlastingly slogan of "disarmament" they counterpose the slogan of WINNING THE ARMY AND ARMING THE WORKERS. Precisely in this is one of the most important dividing lines between Marxism and centrism drawn. He will never find the courage to solve the revolutionary tasks who dares not utter them aloud.

The 4th International Stands on the Shoulders of its Forerunners

During the year and a half that has elapsed since the publication of the first program of the Fourth International, the struggle for its principles and ideas has not abated for a single day; the revolutionary national sections and groups have grown in number; some of them extended their ranks and influence, others attained to a greater homogeneity and cohesion; organizations within the same country have united

Move to Oust Lackey in British Unions

LONDON, England—Two of England's largest and strongest unions have rejected a call from the Trade Union Congress executive to expel radicals.

At the recent convention of the National Union of Railwaymen, whose membership numbers around 400,000, delegates voted 44 to 35 to reject a demand from Trade Union Congress headquarters that no Communist be allowed to hold official positions in the union. Shortly before that the Locomotive Engineers Union rejected the same order on the ground that it throttled the

democratic movement in the trade unions.

Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the congress, has been severely criticized by his own Electrical Trades Union for accepting a knighthood from the national government.

Passing a motion of regret that Citrine, one of Britain's most prominent labor leaders, had seen fit to accept a knighthood from a government of "hunger and war," a branch of his union called for expulsion of Citrine from the trade union movement on the ground that "he has brought ridicule on our movement."

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. V. NEW YORK—

Question: When the social-patriotic position of the C. I., and the fact that it is opposed to revolution in the capitalist countries, is called to the attention of Stalinists, they reply that this means nothing since the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union only stands to gain by extending the international revolution and that therefore the whole thing can merely be a maneuver to outwit the capitalists. How do you reply to this?

Answer: It is extremely difficult, of course, to discuss with people who refute facts with "theory," and the argument of the Stalinists really means that, regardless of the evidence, they do not want to believe anything which may smash their "ideals," or interfere with their sinecures, or social and personal connections.

However that may be, even their "theory" is untenable. A conclusion such as theirs can be drawn only by identifying the interests of the bureaucracy with that of the Soviet State, which is false. While the workers' republic stands to profit by an extension of the world revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy does not.

To clarify matters, let us consider some analogies, bearing in mind the points of difference. Logically, it might appear, Green, Wolf, and Co., would be better off if the A. F. of L. were several times its present size, since they would then have at their disposal larger dues payments, more jobs, etc. To build up the A. F. of L., however, it is necessary to set the workers into motion against the capitalists which could mean nothing else than the end of control of the A. F. of L. by the reactionary bureaucracy because of the latter's ties with the capitalists. In other words, under present day historical conditions, it is not in the interests of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to really build the trade unions.

An extension of the world revolution would set into motion the Russian workers as well as the proletariat of the world. To the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union this would mean the end of their special privileges precisely because the latter are conditioned by a decline in the revolutionary mood of the masses resulting from international proletarian defeats (China, Germany, British General Strike, etc.).

Consider dialectically, therefore, the Stalinist bureaucracy will not benefit by an extension of the world revolution. This is merely another way of repeating our thesis that Stalinism is reactionary and a brake on revolutionary progress.

Question: What evidence is there that the Soviet bureaucracy enjoys the "juiciest" steaks and "Rolls Royces" to which Trotsky has referred in his pamphlet on the Soviet Union?

Answer: The Stalinist bureaucracy does not oblige us, of course, with statistics of the amount of national wealth which it consumes, but we do get an occasional glimpse behind the curtains.

Here, for example, is an account of a "dinner recently given by M. Dolitsky, the general manager of Tass, the official Soviet press agency, for Kent Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press, and Karl A. Bickel, general manager of the United Press.

"Among those who attended were ambassador Bullitt, L. M. Krestinsky, Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs; leading member of the Soviet press and correspondents for the American newspapers.

"This banquet, which was called a dinner, was held in the vast mansion of a former textile magnate named Morosoff, the rooms of which are decorated with carved oak and light blue paper decked with fleur de lys, which is the crest of the royal house of the Bourbons of France. In this dignified setting the sixty guests sat down before long tables with glasses, plates and cutlery from the Czar's palaces.

"Twenty white clad waiters served caviar on ice and chilled vodka. Then followed hors d'oeuvres, cold and hot. Then came borscht, a soup with sour cream, and white Caucasian wine.

"Then salmon with white French wine. The next course consisted of roast pheasant and turkey, with red Crimean wine. This was followed by sweets and fruits with French champagne, in accordance with the Continental custom. The fruits were not so lavish from the American point of view—oranges, pears and apples—but they were accompanied by ice cream worthy of America." (Walter Duranty, New York Times, March 22, 1934.)

Imagine, if you can, capitalist agents being fêted like this under the regime of Lenin and Trotsky.

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Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 10, 1935

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President Roosevelt -- Strikebreaker No. 1

Fierce Class War Tears Loose in France
Against Laval's Starvation Decree LawsTROOPS SLAY 5
"Dignity" Advice of
C.P. In Fusillade
Of Bullets

Five workmen gave their lives in France in the first battle of the coming civil war which will paint the nation either with the black of fascism or the red of proletarian revolution.

Breaking through the dead weight of passivity which fettered the ranks of labor since the establishment of the "united front" of inactivity the sailors and workmen in the great naval armories of France struck the first blow at Laval's decree laws, thereby pointing the road of struggle to their brothers in the rest of the country.

In Toulon, Brest, Cherbourg, Lorient, St. Nazaire and Havre the luxurious sea palaces of the French line are lying idle in the harbors while pitched battles between the troops and the workers stain the streets with the blood of the dead and the wounded. Beginning in Brest where clashes between the notorious Mobile Guards and strikers resulted in the loss of life of one of the workers the struggle spread rapidly to all the government's armories. In Toulon the conflict assumed its sharpest form.

Workers Storm City

Here the police, the Mobile Guards and the most ferocious of French imperialism's colonials threw up barricades to stay the marching strikers. Their devices unavailing against the determined militants, the troops fired volley after volley into the columns of the strikers, killing five and wounding two hundred. Newspapers report that the powder plant workers were armed and returned the fire of the soldiers. Their fury at the starvation decrees of Laval and the murderous action of his armed minions impelled the workers into tempestuous action, storming the entire town.

First results of the action in these cities are already to be seen in the conferences summoned by premier Laval to "enforce" his decrees on the one hand and on the other to make them more "palatable" to the people by "distributing" the burden more evenly among all classes. How striking is the contrast between the militant struggle in the seaports and the armory towns and the flamboyant parades of July 14 in commemoration of the taking of the Bastille.

As was pointed out in a previous issue of the NEW MILITANT so scornful was the capitalist class of the Bastille Day marches with its waving of the tricolor, its singing of the Marseillaise and its patriotic speeches that two days later Laval kicked the working class in the face with his decree laws. The Toulon action, on the contrary, with its resistance to the troops, its armed encounter and its slugging of our song, the Internationale, has given the Bonapartist premier pause, and has halted the rapidity of his anti-working class action.

C.P. for "Peace and Dignity" Every indication points to the fact that the strikes and the resultant actions were to a large extent spontaneous, that the trade union and the party bureaucracies of the C.P. and the S.P. had nothing to do with them, except to hamstring and restrain militancy of the workers. An A.P. dispatch reports that Stalinist leaders urged the

Continued on Page 4

Iron Workers
of Minneapolis
Reform RanksTeamsters local 574
And W.P. Members
Help Raid Scabs

By Northwest Correspondent
MINNEAPOLIS, August 5.—The strike of the Ornamental Iron Workers, Local 1313, which is now in its fourth week here, is roaring along. About 250 men are out in seven or eight shops. The union's demands are: increases to bring wages up to 45-67½ cents an hour; a 40-hour week; time and a half for overtime; seniority rights; and union recognition and shop committees.

Though the strike is small, it is unusually rich in lessons because of the political developments which have grown out of it. The three parties involved are the Communist Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the Workers Party.

The leadership of the union has been drawn largely from the Stalinists. Before the strike was called the membership of Local 1313, through its representatives, asked several of the local unions for help. A delegate from the Iron Workers appeared before Local 574 and asked that the General Drivers give two men to sit in on the strike committee. The request was of course granted, and Local 574 pledged its full cooperation to its struggling brothers.

A Slave-Driving Boss

The two largest shops affected were the Olson Company and the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works. Almost from the first the Olson shop has showed a willingness to negotiate. Yesterday this plant agreed to accede to the demands of the strikers, and some 40 employees of Olson will go back to work tomorrow.

The Flour City plant, employing about 80 workers, has followed a different policy under the management of Walter Tetzlaff, Citizens Alliance man, a boss who has for years held a contemptible labor attitude in his plant. For the past 25 years Tetzlaff has made it a

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Doomed to Life of Poverty
Ozark Tiff Diggers Rebel

Writer Describes Misery of Men, Women and
Children Suffering Untold Horrors
In Effort to Earn Livelihood

(By Special Correspondent)

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—What promises to be the most sensational strike of the year for the Middle West is the action of the brutally exploited "tiff" miners of Washington Co., Missouri, which has just begun.

"Tiff" is the colloquial appellation given to a mineral, the trade name of which is barytes. It is used extensively in the manufacture of paint and other lead products. It likewise has its uses in the rubber tire industry and last, but not least, for the sealing of oil wells when "over-production" threatens.

The strike is a protest against wage and living conditions always low but which with the recent rise in prices of foodstuffs are no longer tolerable. These miners of the Ozark hills, comprising as they do the descendants of the heroic and self-sacrificing first settlers of the Middle West are today the neglected and the "forgotten" men of the barium sulphate industry. Reduced to a standard of living, little if any, there was nothing else left to do. And if early indications speak for anything we think they will do it well.

Fighting for Life
The fact that they are organizing is phenomenal in itself, after decades of suffering and privation in silence. But organizing they are and their first act was to stop not only the mining of the "tiff" but the transportation of the reserves which the company has piled up for just such an event as this. The forethought of the company will do them little good because these grim, determined men of the Ozarks are fighting not merely for an increased standard of living; they are fighting for life itself.

With families of six and eight and incomes of \$2.50 a week the picture of the suffering rivals any previous expose of social conditions ever made. A survey made by the Post-Dispatch reporter reveals that among 2,800 miners more than half of whom are on relief, there are whole communities without medi-

cal attention, subsisting on a starvation diet and living in houses which makes the miserable hovels of the Southern sharecropper and the West Virginia coal miner seem almost grand in comparison. Many of the miners live in company houses located on the property of the National Pigments and Chemical Co., a subsidiary of the powerful union-busting National Lead Co. Still others occupy "houses" furnished by individual producers, a description of which would defy the English language. From the standpoint of protection from the bitter, wet, cold climate of a Missouri winter they can be compared only to a pig sty or a corn crib.

In such a shack of two rooms about ten feet square were found 16 people—three families. Families of six, seven and eight were ruled rather than the exception, and deemed to live in these one and two room houses. Children and adults eat, live and sleep in the same room, except in cases where the children are crowded into the "loft" to sleep within a few short inches of the roof made miserably hot by the mid-summer sun. Some houses were without floors, most of them without windows and all of them dilapidated beyond description. The best houses in the entire district were the generations old log houses built by the descendants of the early French settlers led by Pierre La Cade and Henri Choutain nearly two centuries ago.

Nor were any apologies offered by the profit-hungry bosses for these housing conditions. Their own ill-gotten gains mean more than the welfare of thousands of workers and their families who slave to produce these profits. It was pointed out that the houses were already there when the land was bought two decades ago by the Lead Co. and they have not been touched since. In such a way did the National Lead Co. bring "culture" and "civilization" into the backwoods of Missouri.

Malnutrition and the diseases arising from it are rampant. Of the State's 17,000 cases of trachoma, the dreadful eye disease that strikes at America's army of the underfed, it is estimated that a large percentage of them comes from the poverty-stricken homes of the Washington County tiff miners. One worker told a Post-Dispatch reporter that he hadn't had a doctor in three years and even as he spoke there came the wails of two sick babies from the corner of the room, the youngest of a family of eight.

With families of eight the relief is set not to exceed more than \$3 a month for any family. A dollar a month per person! For the rest they have to depend on the "truck gardens" which hang on despairingly on the sun-baked, drought-bitten hillsides. Two meals a day must suffice them for they dread the long winter months when even the truck gardens will be gone. In the homes boxes are used for furniture and tin cans for cooking utensils and dishes. Kerosene lamps are useless since they cannot afford the oil to burn in them. What the most lowly paid city laborer would count as commonplaces would be regarded as luxuries by these serfs of the National Lead Co.

Code "Sidetracked"
When the N.R.A., "the Magna Charta of American Labor" came along the tiff miners thought they were going to get a break. But alas! The lead bosses in conjunction with the code authorities managed to work out a code for the lead industry which put millions into the pockets of the manufact-

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Full Report of C.I.
Congress Next Week

A comprehensive article on the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, by Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, will appear in the next issue of the NEW MILITANT. Full treatment will be given to the decisions of this congress to participate in bourgeois governments, to support imperialist governments in alliance with the Soviet Union—all these new betrayals will be exhaustively discussed. Watch for the next issue!

150 Delegates
Attend I.W.A.
ConventionMovement Toward
Left Shown in the
Proceedings

By CYRUS RIGBY

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Aug. 3.—The second annual convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance opened August 3 at Springfield. About 150 delegates from all parts of the state attended.

Militancy of the Illinois unemployed workers was demonstrated several weeks ago when Gerry Alard of the Workers Party led the Hunger March on the state capitol. This convention reaffirmed not only that militancy but also the confidence the workers have in W. P. members who are also members of the I.W.A.

One element of surprise of the first day and throughout the convention was the definite and unmistakable moving to the left of American workers during the past year. Known communists were not the only ones who talked about a workers' world: unemployed delegates belonging to reformist parties and workers without any political affiliation spoke one after another of the working class revolution. Not once was the epithet "red" hurled at speakers who dared to call for the overthrow of capitalism and all its trappings. Rather the delegates to this convention deemed being called "red" more of a compliment than an insult.

On the evening of the first day five movies were shown in a public park in Springfield. These movies were taken by W. P. member Hank Mayer, Educational Director of the I.W.A., and showed the lights and

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Orders Striking WPA
Workers Off ReliefTrade Unions Stand by Men Demanding
Living Wage; Flying Squads Formed

Several thousand skilled workers struck on New York City Works Project Administration jobs this week demanding the prevailing union rate of wages. Flying squadrons which have proved such a popular and effective weapon in recent labor struggles set to work immediately to spread the strike throughout the city, and indications are at the time of his writing, that it will become general, affecting all of the WPA jobs.

This is not the first example of a strike on relief project works; but it is the first real sign of the determination of the workers to maintain the union standard of wages gained after decades of bitter struggle. This is the issue involved, and the trade unionists made no mistake in putting it bluntly. Long ago it became clear to the trade union movement that the efforts to establish the Roosevelt relief wage ranging from \$19.00 to \$38.00 per month on relief projects could mean nothing else but a signal to employers everywhere to force down the existing union scale. The workers who are involved in the New York strike understand the issue this way.

Forces Clash
Before Rubber
Union Confab

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Aug. 5.—Issuance of a call for a rubber workers union convention tentatively set for Sept. 12 to form an international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. has spurred progressive elements to form a block to take control away from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and has brought sharply into light the forces which will clash at the coming convention.

Coleman C. Claherty, rubber organizer for the A. F. of L., and his assistants, are uniting reactionary forces throughout the country in an effort to keep their stranglehold on the rubber workers, as per instructions from his boss, William Greene, who has announced he will attend.

Leading "industrial unionists" in the A. F. of L. bureaucracy probably including John Lewis, United Mine Workers president, and others are quietly encouraging a few mislead workers in the hope that they can control the Akron delegates to the next national A. F. of L. convention.

The Stalinists are concentrating their entire Akron strength to gain control of the progressive bloc and thereby make an entry into rubber and keep out the Workers Party from exerting any influence. The usual run of slander and lies against the Workers Party is the only weapon the C.P. has to accomplish their latter aim.

The Akron branch of the Workers Party is working steadily to counter the C.P. propaganda.

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West Coast Marine Workers
Fight for Class Struggle Union

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 11.—Determined to smash the solidarity of the marine workers of the Pacific Coast, evidenced by the formation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, refusal to handle scab cargo, and the ousting of such reactionary officials as Scharrenberg of the International Seamen's Union, the waterfront employers have launched a drive that has as its goal the smashing of every marine union on the West coast and a return to the intolerable conditions prevailing prior to last summer's strike.

The present agreement expires September 30, and the employers state they will not renew it unless all strikes (including sympathy strikes) are barred for the duration of the agreement, and on the condition that the militant leadership of the San Francisco local of the International Longshoremen's Association headed by Harry Bridges be ousted.

International Solidarity
Time after time during the past year the longshoremen and seamen have demonstrated their working class solidarity by refusing to handle scab cargo and work ships loaded by scabs. During the Northwest lumber strike the longshoremen consistently refused to saw picket lines established by the Sawmill and Timber Workers Union, thus aiding the lumber workers

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Protest Persecution of Chinese
Bolshevik-Leninists - W.P. Call

Recognizing the Draconian measures taken in China, as the article below reveals, against the Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists), the insufferable oppression and the brutal persecution leveled at them by the butcher Chiang Kai Shek who at the same time complacently watches and tacitly supports the Japanese invasion and partition of that country, the Political Committee of the Workers Party of the United States wholeheartedly endorses their appeal for funds and will do everything in its power to raise a movement of protest against the imprisonment of the best elements of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists. Further information on this campaign will follow in subsequent issues of the NEW MILITANT.—Ed.

Comrade Liu Jen-abin, known internationally as Niel Sih, and four other leading comrades of the Communist League of China (Bolshevik-Leninists) were recently arrested and are now prisoners of the Kuomintang military authorities in Nanking. These arrests marked the third wave of repression directed against the Bolshevik-Leninists in China.

In 1931, virtually the whole then-existing Central Committee of the organization was destroyed and in 1932 a similar blow was struck

when Comrade Chen Tu-hsiu and ten others were taken and sentenced to long jail terms in Nanking. The most recent arrests coincided with the revival of the organization's activity, especially among the Shanghai workers. It was the reappearance of our literature and the activity of our comrades on a considerable scale in the industrial districts which drew down upon us once more the heavy hand of the terror.

Comrade Niel Sih's record dates back to the very beginning of the modern Chinese revolutionary movement. As a student he played a leading role in the famous demonstration of May 4, 1919 in Peking when the new youth rose against the corrupt Peking Government which was preparing to sell the country to the Japanese. This demonstration marked the starting point of a new revolutionary epoch in China's history and as the tide swept forward Comrade Niel Sih remained in the front ranks. In 1920 he joined the newly-born Chinese Communist Party and in the following year was a delegate to the party's first national congress. Subsequently he represented the Chinese Communist Party as delegate to the third and fourth congresses of the Communist International. During the revolution of 1925-27, Niel Sih was studying

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL KETCH

MENA, Arkansas.—The earnings of 2,600 tin miners in the foothills of the Missouri Ozarks average \$2.50 per week. Tin is a hard, white rock containing barium which serves as a base in the manufacture of paint pigment. The National Pigment and Chemical Co. purchases practically the entire supply, paying \$3.50 per ton for rocks, the gathering of which represents hours of arduous toil.

Most of the miners eke out a living from scrawny gardens and many must receive supplementary relief in order to subsist. This is another example of an industry being subsidized by the government; it is not the miners who actually receive the relief but the industry which thereby is enabled to pay wages lower than subsistence level. The men have recently banded together to form an independent union. The first demand is an increase of \$2 a ton for their product. "God put you men on earth to live, not to starve," cried a leader at a recent meeting on a wooded hillside attended by more than 600 desperate workers.

The men voted to strike on August 12 if their demands are not met. Meanwhile they will continue to dig tin and pile it up but will prevent it from being moved, by force if necessary.

New Deal Heaven...

The aristocratic plantation owners and gimple hill folk of the South have been celebrated in song and story. The largest single group in the South, tenant farmers and share-croppers, remained unknown to the world at large until a few months ago. They have come into the limelight because of thousands of evictions of their number due to the plow-under policy of the AAA, because of their militant efforts to protect themselves through a union, and because of the vicious counter-offensive of the landlords.

It is hard to imagine living conditions lower than those of the sharecropper. His miserable one or two room shack of unpainted boards stands in the middle of the thirty or forty acres that he tends. There are no sanitary conveniences and during the rainy season the shack often stands in a typhus infected mosquito breeding puddle. In many sections the landowners are taking advantage of FEIRA generosity by having sanitary privies built on the plots. No attempts have been made by the landlords or the government to provide decent homes for the workers.

The usual garb of the sharecropper is a pair of patched denim overalls and blue shirt. Women and children wear clothing made of flour sacks and burlap bags with cheap "store clothes" for Sunday. Winter or summer the children seldom wear shoes.

The pay of the Arkansas sharecropper is 50 or 75 cents a day. He is rarely paid in cash however but must take his pay in credit at the commissary store where prices are marked up and accounts are kept with a "crooked pencil." His diet consists of beans, fat-back meat and corn bread with "poke salad" (the boiled leaves of the poke-berry plant) and turnip greens in season. Relief is hard to get in spite of the obvious poverty and hunger. In many counties relief has been cut off entirely during the growing and harvesting season in order to force all able bodied persons to work in the fields. Men, women and children must hoe and pick cotton.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union spread like wildfire among these exploited people. But the planters are not asleep. They have enlisted every possible means to fight the menace to their continued exploitation. Organizers are kidnapped, beaten and intimidated; tenants are forced to sign yellow-dog contracts; members of the union are evicted and discriminated against by relief officials; meetings are forbidden and broken up; religious and racial prejudices are fomented. A virtual reign of fascist terror exists.

The Commonwealth...

Commonwealth College, situated in the Ozark hill country, not far from the cotton belt, plays an important role in furthering the interests of the downtrodden croppers. Students and teachers venture on numerous organizational and educational forays into the region, while leaders of the union attend the school to obtain theoretical background for their movement.

Landlords recognize the danger of such an institution in the state. Two bills were introduced in the last session of the Arkansas legislature which would in effect abolish the college. A special legislative committee was appointed to investigate the teaching of "communism, atheism, nudism and free love." The school was saved by the mass protest of friends from all over the nation.

"Impartial" St. Louis Cops Bust a Record--and Heads Strikebreaking is a Pastime

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Trotzky once said that "a policeman in the service of the capitalist class is no longer a worker but a bourgeois cop," or words to that effect. And if Trotsky had been in St. Louis during the spring and summer of 1935 he would have found more evidence of his assertion than in any other six months of his eventful career.

St. Louis cops are not only expert strikebreakers but are jealous of their reputation. News of police brutality elsewhere stirs them to new zeal and energy. They do not believe in neutrality either in theory or practice. The bosses, yesterday, today and forever, is their slogan. And they do not discriminate. Women who violate the first commandment of the bosses creed, "Thou Shalt Not Strike" are given as liberal portions of the night club as the men. "Equal reward for equal militancy on the picket line" is their motto.

No Discrimination
In the Forest City garment workers strike radio cars and patrol wagons were used as scab convoys. Pickets were arrested wholesale without the slightest provocation. Arties Wilson, overworked, underpaid and brutally exploited garment slave was picked up and literally thrown in the wagon and was then hauled into the capitalist court on the charge of assault and battery. The writer of this article was given the same dose. Thus the discriminatory character of the police was established. A woman and a man had received equal punishment for an equal "offense"—being on a picket line.

In the Forest City strike Leo Durocher "hero of the pennant winning" St. Louis Cardinals also used his car as a scab convoy. Doris Smith, low paid, part time employee of the Forest City Co. and mother of several children, was arrested and fined \$250 in court on the testimony of Durocher and a cop. St. Louis labor has put a boycott on the Cardinal team. (Incidentally, Sam Breadon, owner of the Cards, is also a stockholder in Forest City.)

The Gas Workers Strike
In the Gas Workers strike the police department established a new record in showing the partiality it feels for the bosses.

Cops were put on twelve-hour, seven-day assignments. They were withdrawn from school crossings. Scabs were more important than working class children.

Wholesale arrests were made, as many as seventy in one day. The charges were "suspicion of affray" which necessitates a common law bond, the highest feed bond for ordinary labor "disturbances."

A. A. Ahner, stoolpigeon, ex-labor spy, renegade from the labor movement of about 1920, gangster and nominal if not actual boss of every stick-up man in town was hired to break the strike. The most depraved criminals recruited from the underworld of America's largest cities were imported. The brave and handsome St. Louis police force were sent out for "protection" for these killers and cutthroats.

A nine year old boy was cursed and threatened with arrest for watching some scabs attempt to do some work which only experienced union men knew how to do and laughing at the clumsy efforts of the scabs.

A "Crime" and Criminals

A fourteen-year old girl was arrested for protesting against the brutal and insulting Gas Co.'s gangster-workmen and was hauled before the court for juvenile "delinquents." This child is to be branded as an "enemy to society" in order that Chicago Blackie and Omaha Red may be safely returned to their old haunts, the underworld dives of the respective cities. This is important. The bosses may (will) again have use to these vicious and depraved killers.

A mother, babe-in-arms, was narrowly missed by the flying bullets of cops who went berserk in an alley because some scab thought he saw a flying squadron of Gas Workers' pickets.

Many dozens of women were cursed and manhandled for refusing to let the dope fiends and petty thieves whom the Gas Co. had hired as "meter readers" into their homes.

This article would be incomplete without an account of Brother Lang's experience. Lang was a striking gas worker. He was arrested and charged with beating up a man. The victim of assault not only refused to identify Lang but bawled the copper out for trying to frame a gas worker. The cop looked Lang up anyway, insisting that "he must be guilty of something." When Brother Lang protested that his constitutional rights were being violated the cop growled: "Aw, you reds give me a pain in the neck."

Thugs, "Legal and Illegal"

In February, the employees of the Commercial Foundry came out in a body in protest against a wage cut for molders from \$6.80 to \$5 a day and for labor from 40 cents an hour to 25 cents an hour. Al Ahner

was hired to break the strike and the police department to protect Ahner. Again arrests on a mass scale took place.

A few "molders" were secured. These "molders" didn't know anything about molding and did not care anything about it. They were hired to break a strike. Literally thousands of tons of worthless scrap was the result and J. C. Brite the owner had to close shop. The molders' 50 picket line led Mr. Brite straight to the Bankrupt Court. The scabs at the plant went on a rampage in May and tried to run the picket line away. They were not successful but since the cops busted all previous records in this affair it must be told. Let Martin Dillman, editor of the Labor Advocate tell the story.

"Try to picture policemen stationed at a strike-bound shop to maintain 'order' who stand picking their teeth while 75 rats march out of the plant in a body with gas pipes, clubs and other weapons for a riotous attack on strikers' headquarters and to assault pickets."

"At about 1:30 P.M., May 22 a mob estimated at from 75 to 100 of Brite's strike-breakers suddenly marched out of the foundry in a body armed with a varied assortment of weapons and made for strike headquarters where they staged a Wild West raid, driving a few unarmed, far outnumbered strikers from the place. The bullies then proceeded to make the rounds of nearby stores in search of strikers. One was sighted and set upon by the mob and several union men barely escaped serious injury or worse. One storekeeper resented the invasion and assault upon an offhensive striker, in fact he emphasized his displeasure by grabbing a radio attachment and bringing it with a firm downward motion on the scab's head whereupon the sluggers beat it from that place—"too hot."

"A riot call brought a good supply of cops who perhaps anticipated another wholesale pinch of strikers. But it was scabs who were the duly qualified candidates for the lock-up this time. Oh! that's different. Were the rioters arrested? Don't make us laugh."

"The rioting scabs were simply escorted back into the shop by these uniformed minions of 'law and order.' Neighborhood merchants protested so loudly that Superintendent and Harry Schneider, leader of the raiding bullies, was arrested but released on bond."

These scabs were tried and two of them drew \$50 fines. The case was appealed and the fine was of course never paid—at least so far as we know.

With the words of the Labor Advocate I am willing to close: "Three rousing whippers for St. Louis' 'impartial' cops during strikes!"

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE
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Protest Persecution of Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists - W.P. Call

(Continued from Page 1)
in Moscow and there became acquainted with the views of Trotsky and the Left Opposition, particularly in the questions of the Chinese Revolution. He soon became an Oppositionist and upon his return to China brought with him the first documents of the Left Opposition ever to reach this country.

Niel-Sih Tortured Daily

He was arrested in Peking in March of this year together with his wife and two infant children. Only the most strenuous efforts on the part of relatives and friends secured the release of the two children, but all efforts on his behalf and for his wife proved futile. Both were subsequently transported to Nanking where Niel Sih is now being subjected to daily beatings in an effort to force him to sign a statement repudiating his Communist views. The release of his wife has been made contingent upon the publication of such a statement. As a result of the treatment which he has suffered, he has fallen seriously ill. The authorities have refused to give him any medical treatment and his condition is believed to be critical.

Despite this, and despite the importunities of a relative of his who holds a post in Chiang Kai-shek's own headquarters, Niel Sih has steadfastly refused to repudiate his views as a revolutionary or to betray the names of any of his comrades.

In sharp contrast to the conduct of most of the Stalinist functionaries who have been arrested in recent months, all our comrades have displayed unswerving fidelity to their convictions. The other four comrades, See Chao-sing, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-shang, and Liu Chia-liang, were arrested in Shanghai in April and all refused

Before Rubber Union Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

vince workers of the correctness of our policies and bring them into the Party, not only because correct perspectives must be given before and at the convention but because our primary task is to build the Workers Party.

It is doubtful that any one force will have a commanding position at the convention. But the workers must become more alert and understand more clearly the numerous underhanded methods being used to swing them behind the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and also the Stalinists. Claherty is spending his time and money creating small locals in out-of-town plants so he can have mechanical control of the convention. His story about the Youngstown local is an example. He reported a large mass meeting and a good local after a trip there to organize a minor plant. Actually, less than a dozen workers joined!

Flattering letters from the Lewis are used by these reactionaries to subtly win the progressives to their banner and thus give them more control in the A. F. of L. A few misled workers seem to fall for this. All the reactionaries really want is not a strong union, but votes to oust Green so they can take his place and then continue his betrayals.

The Stalinists tell rubber workers that the C. P. has 20 presidents of the autoworkers unions with them and that they are going to run the autoworkers convention to form an international next month! So the rubberworkers are supposed to believe their only hope lies in uniting with the C.P.!

We let the past record of the Workers Party here speak for itself. The only leadership, the only warning of impending betrayal, the first call to progressives to unite after the Claherty had Green sealed out this spring was given by the small but active group here!

As the Workers Party first agitated for a strike; first brought to Akron the lessons of Toledo and Minneapolis strategy in strike, so we are trying again to give the rubberworkers correct perspectives. We want to repeat for emphasis. Only insofar as the rubberworkers understand the nature of the forces contending in the industry and adopt the ideas of the Workers Party, will the labor movement in Akron progress.

CORRECTION

Our Canadian comrades have asked us to make the following factual correction of an error which appeared in the "Greetings to the Vanguard" in the NEW MILITANT for July 27: Instead of, "Of special interest to the organized workers in the United States is the platform of the progressives in the Industrial Dressmakers Union (I.L.G.W.U.) for unity in the ranks of the I.L.G.W.U."

Minority Groups in Teachers Union to Wage United Fight To Save Union at Convention

In April, 1935, the leaders of the Rank and File suddenly woke up to the fact that the Administration was preparing the expulsion of the opposition forces.

Instead of proposing a genuine united front movement to include all opposition groups on the basis of a limited program acceptable to all, the leaders of the Rank and File staged a "united front from below" meeting of its own membership and adopted a program to promote its own factional interests. Then it invited the Progressives and the Committee for Democracy in the Union to join its so-called "united front."

When the groups including various independent members refused, the Rank and File was forced to yield and accept a genuine united front program and organizational set-up. The United Committee to Save the Union, which was formed, adopted a program calling for the struggle against expulsions and for the complete democratization of the Union. All groups agreed that this program would have the widest possible appeal.

No sooner had the United Committee settled down to work when the majority of the Executive Board of the Union threw a bombshell into the organization by serving the opposition with an ultimatum that they must dissolve their groups, discontinue their activities or face an investigation by the Executive Council of the A.F.T. Lefkowitz boldly announced that the aim of his move was to expel the opposition groups from the Union. The prediction and the warning issued by the Committee for Democracy in the Union in November, 1934 and the whole course pursued by it since then had been vindicated at the end of May, 1935!

Bowing to Prejudice

The brutal and cynical manner in which the Administration decided upon the "investigation" called forth the protests of various independent elements, including the Militant Socialist teachers group, headed by Hendley and Miss Tulchin. This group was opposed to expulsions as well as to the investigation, but was likewise opposed to the program of democratizing the union proposed by the United Committee. They also refused to join the united front on any terms.

To induce the Militant Socialist teachers to join, the representatives of the Progressive Group proposed that the entire democracy section of the program be eliminated and that the fight be waged solely against the investigation and against expulsions. That this was a violation of their agreement did not concern the Progressives; they desired to have the Militant Socialists in the united front even on an anti-democratic basis. The Rank and File, the largest and dominating group in the United Committee, argued against the elimination of the democracy part of the program, but finally capitulated to the Progressives' demand instead of forcing it to carry out the agree-

ment or assume the responsibility for breaking the united front. The representatives of the Committee for Democracy took a firm and consistent position, arguing that the fight to remain in the union was bound up with the struggle to democratize the union. They argued that the Administration would be quite willing to let them remain in the Union if that was all they demanded. The struggle against expulsions acquired meaning and could be used to effect changes only when it was bound up with the struggle for the right of the membership to determine the policies of the union.

These arguments were not heeded by the other forces in the United Committee; they were determined to court the Militant Socialist teachers even at the expense of emasculating their minimum program. But even after this decision was made, the Militants refused to join the united movement on any terms. They refused to be associated, they declared, with the other forces in the movement because of their previous record. They have since organized their own little independent protest movement in an effective manner.

Committee Active

The United Committee to Save the Union undertook and carried out a certain number of actions useful to the campaign. It staged a large protest meeting on June 7 which was attended by over 700 union members. The Executive Committee of the College Teachers Section of the union has gone on record against the investigation because of the activity of the United Committee. It was effective in stirring up such a protest sentiment that at a meeting of the Delegate Assembly, although the official vote on the investigation was 80 in favor and 77 opposed, the unofficial count showed that 81 were recorded against the investigation! No wonder the Administration refused to permit a recount by roll call! They realized that they had been

defeated even in the Delegate Assembly which they control.

The United Committee has also circulated the various locals of the A.F.T. and prominent members of it, informing them of the conditions in Local No. 5 and appealing to them to support the opposition in the coming National Convention which will be held in Cleveland beginning August 28. The Committee is also organizing a mass delegation to the convention to support its position. It hopes to convince the majority of the delegates that the interests of the union demand defeat of the machinations of the Lefkowitz-Linville clique to split the union in order to save themselves from defeat by the membership.

Save the Teachers Union

The Administration of the union is determined to effect a "reorganization" of the union at all costs. It will stop at nothing—not even a split. Only the overwhelming defeat of the administration proposals at the convention and the intervention of the membership of the A.F.T., aided by the protests of the progressive locals in the A. F. of L. can defeat these wrecking operations.

The progressive trade unionists throughout the country must realize that the struggle now being waged inside the A.F.T. for the preservation of Local 5 is part and parcel of the struggle which they are waging within their own unions for democracy and clean, effective, militant unionism. They must help this struggle by sending resolutions to the Executive Council of the A.F.T. urging it to condemn the arbitrary and undemocratic policies of the Administration of Local 5 and its red-baiting statements as a menace to the reputation of the A.F.T. as a progressive trade union organization; as a menace to the jobs of the union teachers. They should request the Executive Council to recommend to the National convention that it go on record in defense of the democratic rights of the membership of the various locals to determine the policies of the organization, to defend the right of minorities to function legally within the locals of the A.F.T. including Local 5.

Resolutions should be addressed to: Executive Council, American Federation of Teachers, 506 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

The Manager's Corner

This weeks report brings the contributions received for the eight page weekly up to \$425.46. But this is only a little better than 20 per cent of the total sum needed. Still to be collected is \$1,574.54. How soon can we make it?

Judging from present indications this should be a matter of only a very short time. Now the campaign is getting into full swing. The Chicago branches have a big affair scheduled. The Philadelphia branches will have a picnic Sunday Aug. 18 and the Allentown branch will have a picnic on the same date. All proceeds are for the benefit of the eight page weekly.

But in order not to be outdone the New York branches are now going in for a real concentration in the campaign and doing it in a big way for the remainder of this month. The district committee has assigned one of its members to each branch to be personally in charge. Contributions, subscriptions for the eight page weekly and greetings will be solicited. The branches are going in for a hot competition, each having a definite quota assigned and keeping a record of the activities of its members.

The trade union fractions are getting special assignments in the campaign, and the moon-light excursion on the Hudson for the benefit of the eight page weekly promises to become a successful affair. In point of contributions made including advance subscriptions secured for the eight page weekly (None of the regular subs or renewals are counted in this column) and greetings collected the Boston branch still leads the field with a total of \$52.50.

Harlem Leads

In New York City the Harlem branch is back in the lead with a total contribution of \$50.38. Next follows the West Side branch with a total of \$38.00 and the Center branch with a total of \$32.76. After that the other branches have a record as follows: The Flatbush branch \$22.50, the Bronx branch \$21.00, Boro Park branch \$14.00, the Astoria branch and the East Side branches have contributed \$5.00 each and the Brownsville branch \$3.50. It is not altogether the smallest branches that are in the lowest columns; as a matter of fact, compared to membership proportions the Harlem and the Flatbush branches have by far the best record.

Outside of New York City the Boston branch has already been mentioned. After that follows the Philadelphia branches with a total contribution of \$29.78. One gratifying feature of this contribution is that a goodly portion were submitted in new subscriptions to the eight page weekly. The Minneapolis branch is next in line with a contribution of \$23.00, the Chicago branches with a total of \$17.05, the

Newark branch sent in \$15.00 to date and the Los Angeles branch \$10.00. The other branch contributions we will not mention until they become more substantial. But we do wish to say to all of them, and this goes also for all our individual sympathizers: Hurry your contributions. The sooner we complete the campaign the sooner the first of the eight page issues will be in your hands. During the rest of this month we must have real speed and we should be pretty near to our goal.

During the week we have received the amounts listed below:

Contributions	
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C.	\$16.85
Philadelphia branches (Lee)	2.00
G. Krakofski, N.Y.C.	1.00
Boston branch	6.00
R. Herman, Chicago	1.00
Los Angeles branch	4.00
Selame, N.Y.C.	.75
Scott, Wash., D. C.	1.05
Youngtown branch	6.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	1.25
Bronx branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
M. G. Massachusetts	5.00
Total	48.85

Advance Subscriptions	
Paul Graves, Detroit	4.00
Subscriptions (Club Plan)	
Los Angeles branch	6.00

Greetings	
Pittsburgh branch	2.00
Chicago branches	3.75
Previous total	\$382.96

Grand Total\$425.46
One of the contributors listed above, Comrade Scott writes: "You may be interested to learn that after subscribing to and supporting the G.P. press for five years I have this day cancelled my sub to the Daily Worker. Forward to a daily NEW MILITANT!"

SETTLING BUNDLE ACCOUNTS

This month we did it. Not only have the current amounts for bundle orders been met but we have succeeded in reducing slightly the total outstanding accounts. That, in the first instance, is due to the very good response made by some of the branches who were far in arrears. The example set by the comrades in Minneapolis and Boston we already mentioned in our last issue. But we still have altogether too large delinquent list.

The Chicago branches still have the dubious honor of heading this list, owing on August first a total to the NEW MILITANT of \$45.93. The Allentown branch owed on the same date a total of \$27.50, the Pittsburgh branch \$26.00, the Philadelphia branches a total of \$23.80, the Detroit branch \$17.20, the Charleston, W. Va. branch \$15.05, the Columbus branch \$14.40, the New Castle branch \$11.20, the St. Louis branch \$10.70. Since August 1 the Pittsburgh branch has remitted a partial payment.

enemies of the future and has therefore wasted no time in trying to deal us a mortal blow; and indeed, the loss of these comrades is of no small consequence to us, since all were sterling fighters. China today stands on the brink of further dismemberment, imperialist aggression and militarist wars.

Redouble Efforts

The economy of the whole country is all but bankrupt, plunging the masses of workers and peasants into ever-deepening misery. In these circumstances our ranks stand in need of every firm revolutionary capable of holding up his head in days when the prospects seem so dark for our movement. Such comrades are these five men, now tight in the grip of the Kuomintang's talons. But these arrests will only cause us to redouble our efforts to rebuild the Chinese revolutionary movement, to create a new revolutionary party on the ruins which have been left to us as the heritage of Stalinism.

We appeal to our comrades and sympathizers throughout the world to demand the release of our imprisoned comrades. Let the millions of the Kuomintang know that the men they hold are rich in their relations to the firmest Bolshevik currents in the international revolutionary movement! Organize delegations to call upon Chinese diplomatic and consular officials to protest against the imprisonment and maltreatment of our comrades. Write letters of protest, address them to the Executive Yuan, the Judicial Yuan and the Central Military Headquarters at Nanking, China, demanding the release of Liu Jen-chin, See Chao-seng, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-shang and Liu Chia-liang, and of all other class war prisoners now in the prisons of the Kuomintang, including our comrade Chen Tu-shu.

For a Soviet China!

For the Fourth International!
Long live the World Revolution!
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF CHINA (Bolshevik-Leninists)

Skeletons Out of the Daily Worker Closet

A Few Telling Quotations

By HENRY THURMAN

In the Daily Worker of April 3, 1935, and also in the issue of May 11, is printed the following correct Leninist policy on the war question: "It is difficult to forecast the shape in the next imperialist war. But it is very probable that such a war would start either as an attack upon the Soviet Union or as Stalin said would be rapidly transferred into a united attack of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R."

"But whatever the exact circumstances in which the hostilities would begin, the French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism and their own imperialists. It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war...."

But the Stalinist editorial board was caught napping. Only a few months before it had printed a front page article vehemently denying that there was, or could be, any truth in the rumors of an impending military pact between Stalin and La Belle France. The gentlemen of the editorial board did not know (?) that Stalin had lost all faith in the international movement, and no longer considered a militant proletariat, fighting against their own national bourgeoisie at home, to be the best and only true defense of the Soviet Union. They did not know (?) that Stalin wants desperately to get rid of the embarrassment of the Comintern, as a chameleon snake at a broken tail until it rides itself of the useless member. They had not adapted themselves as yet to the sorry spectacle of a bureaucracy renting out the International in the manner of Abraham renting out his wife Sarah.

A "Little" Correction

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the Communist Party of France, cleared up matters, as the following quotation in the June 12, Daily Worker shows:

"And here I shall answer a question which has been put to me: 'In any war unleashed by Hitler against the Soviet Union, would you apply your slogan: Transform the imperialist war into a civil war?'"

"Well, no! Because in such a war it would not be a question of an imperialist conflict between two imperialist gangs. It would be a question of war against the Soviet Union."

"Maochen fur alle, indeed!" as Lenin would have said.

Now let us consider the matter from the viewpoint of internationalists. In a war of Germany against the Soviet Union and France, we want the German workers to turn the war into a rebellion against Hitler's regime—yes? Correct. See them gazing with pained anxiety over the line to see if their comrades on the other side remain loyal to internationalism. What are the German workers to do if the Com-

munist International eggs on the French workers to support the war? Stalin, Thorez, and Hathaway, have you forgotten the German masses in your considerations?

Monstrous Indeed

Thorez tells us that "it would be monstrous to consider a side imperialist which included the country of socialism, the country of the working class." So if France fights on the same side as non-imperialist Russia, that makes France also non-imperialist for the time being. The French bourgeoisie will fight, not for the maintaining of the Versailles Treaty but for—the defense of the Soviet Union, pure and simple? Well—yes.

Yes, it would be "monstrous" to think of France as an imperialist nation with the "Communist" Party supporting it in a war. But France is imperialist, and the act of Thorez, in chaining the French party to the chariot wheels of the national bourgeoisie is—monstrous!

Thorez borrows the very arguments of the social-chauvinists of 1914, for he brings in the example of Marx's attitude toward the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, which was one of the social-patriots' favorites. Lenin answers Thorez.

Lenin on the Stalinists

Lenin wrote: "Whoever refers at present to Marx's attitude towards the wars of a period when the bourgeoisie was progressive, forgetting Marx's words that the workers have no fatherland, words which refer to a period when the bourgeoisie is reactionary and has outlived itself, to the period of socialist revolutions, is shamelessly distorting Marx and substituting a bourgeois viewpoint." (Socialism and War.)

Since Lenin wrote those words, the workers have gained a fatherland, the Soviet Union; but we are still in the age when the bourgeoisie is reactionary, and the real defense of the Soviet Union is identical with the struggle against our own national ruling class, for its eventual overthrow. The struggle of the French workers against the French master class, for example, is the best guarantee of a successful struggle of the German masses against Nazism.

Thorez brings up another point in defense of a position that a Marxist-Leninist cannot defend. He refers to the fact that Lenin accepted the aid of French officers who were willing to blow up railroad tracks to keep the German troops from advancing upon the Bolsheviks. Obviously this agreement in 1918, in which the Bolsheviks accepted aid but did not aid French imperialism by handing over the services of the French working class, and which did not renounce the Leninist policy of fomenting revolution against the French bourgeoisie, has little in common with the present traitorous pact.

150 Delegates Attend I.W.A. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

shadows, the contrasts and contradictions of capitalism in decay. There were shots of working class families living in hovels not fit for human habitation. One family in the opulent state of Illinois was seen actually living in a cave. Factories, mills and other engines of plenty, if the workers would but take them over, were shown. Jim Shipley explained those pictures not covered by subtitles on the screen.

On the second day of the convention resolutions were passed: for any workers' security bill that might be presented to Congress with the same principles as the Lundeen Bill; endorsing the Labor Party; against Hearst; condemning war and pointing out that it is an inevitable result of capitalism; against Mussolini and his imminent raping of Ethiopia; for youth relief; and for a slogan of union wages and conditions to promote the ideals of a 30 hour-\$30 week. This last-named resolution was altered several times before being finally toned down to more of an appeal than a demand.

Two W.P. members, Cyrus Rigby, secretary of the Utica (N.Y.) Unemployed League, and Leighton Rigby of Dixon, Ill. asked for permission to address the convention. They were refused the floor on grounds that the business before the assembly allowed no time for guest speakers who had not appeared before the proper committee on the first day. Dick Harrington, national chairman of the Unemployed Councils, however, had gone through with the necessary formalities and was allowed to speak. He spoke on "working class unity" and specifically advanced the C. P. program of a united front by calling for such "unity" between the I.W.A.

and the I.U.C. When this C.P. program finally came to a vote it was overwhelmingly defeated; a resolution was passed condemning the Stalinist tactics used in Illinois in the past, particularly during the Hunger March.

A resolution for affiliation of the I.W.A. with the Workers Alliance of America was passed without serious opposition. This plan was not opposed by W.P. delegates to the convention because of the party's expressed and proved stand against splitting organized workers, whether employed or unemployed—this in spite of the raw tactics used recently by the national leadership of the W.A.A. when Lasser invaded N.U.L. territory in what could be interpreted as nothing else but an effort to chisel away fragments of the N.U.L. membership. The understanding of I.W.A. delegates who voted for the national affiliation was that the Illinois unit must remain a rank and file organization of the workers, as opposed to one mechanically dominated by Lasser and Rasmussen and the S. P.

Among others two W.P. members, Jim Shipley and Charles Fearn, were elected to the Executive Board by the convention. Hank Mayer was continued as Educational Director and commended on the fine job he has done in propaganda and workers' education in Illinois during the past year. Other comrades were assigned duties towards building an organization to include all the unemployed workers of the state of Illinois.

Philadelphia PICNIC
For the benefit of the eight-page weekly New Militant
SUNDAY, AUGUST 18th, 1935
in Fairmount Park,
west of 33rd and Cumberland Sts.
Arranged by Philadelphia Br., W.P.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

By A. J. MUSTE

War clouds become thicker and blacker. Daily occurrences and speeches furnish conclusive and final proof that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union and the Comintern have capitulated to French imperialism, sold the revolutionary integrity and soul of the Third International for a mess of pottage. Under the circumstances Socialist workers in the United States and elsewhere—those of them who have abandoned the fallacy of classic Social Democratic reformism and who claim to be "revolutionary"—are more and more insistently confronted with the question: How and under what banner may the revolutionary elements in this period be welded together into a powerful, international, revolutionary party, under whose leadership all the forces of the working class and its allies may unite, not merely for defense against Fascist aggression but for the counter-attack to destroy capitalism.

Socialist party members in the United States in evaluating their own party and their own responsibility in the face of this question must make up the balance sheet of the party development during the little over a year that has elapsed since the Detroit convention of the S. P. and the adoption of the Detroit Declaration. This development has been reported and provisionally analyzed in the NEW MILITANT and the New Internationalist and it is not necessary to review it at length.

The Detroit Turn

At Detroit, in 1934, a National Committee was elected which the Militants claimed to dominate. The Detroit Declaration was far from a Marxist one. It represented, however, a certain turning away from reformism. In other words, it was a Centrist declaration. The election of the N.C. and the adoption of the Declaration were hailed by the Militants, on the one hand, as a climax of their work over a period of years, as representing a decided turn to the left, and the vindication of their contention that the S.P. could be made a "revolutionary" party. On the other hand, they stated that this was the beginning of a vigorous and more rapid move toward the latter goal. On this basis "unattached radicals" were invited to join the S.P. and "Communists" such as Goldman, Gilroy and Zam accepted the invitation. Those who were not convinced that organizations such as the A.W.P. and the C.I.A. should be liquidated and join the S.P. were put down as hopeless sectarians.

The Old Guard in the S.P., and especially the New York section, promptly took the offensive. Organizationally it defied the N.C. Politically it declared that the Detroit Declaration was "Communism" if it meant anything and that the Socialist Party must stand openly and unequivocally on a gradualist and democratic basis, that is, on reformism. At the Boston session of the N.C. as a result of this course the Old Guard again proceeded promptly to follow up this opening and further baited the N.C. The Militants on their part, as well as their "allies" such as Norman Thomas, realized that the Old Guard was gaining ground and that they must put up a much more determined fight if they were not to be routed. So the Socialist Call was projected and established, and talk that those who had hoped to be able to avoid a split in the party were wrong and that the Old Guard must be kicked out began to be heard.

The First Blow

At Buffalo three months later the Thomas-Allen, etc. group made a gesture of attack on the Old Guard, laying down certain requirements which they must meet within a given period or (presumably) be kicked out. At the same time a much more decisive attack, however, was made on the left wing by means of the resolution which declared "advocacy of armed insurrection" as incompatible with membership in the S.P. The notion that one could hold any views, and especially revolutionary ones, in the S.P. was thus abandoned. The Centrists made an attempt to establish a political position of their own as that of the S.P. by an organizational gesture against the right and a political blow against the left.

The denouement which might have been expected and which some of us had frequently enough predicted, came at the recent New York Plenum of the N.C., which has been reported in the columns of the NEW MILITANT. There Thomas, Hoan, etc. signed a peace pact with the Old Guard so that all good Socialists could get ready to roll up a big vote or the party (meaning for Hoan?) in the 1936 presidential election. The basis of the pact is the exclusion of "Communists," that is, Marxists from the S.P., technical "acceptance" by the Old Guard of the Detroit Declaration with the understanding that the right to "criticize and modify" exists, etc.

Militants Fail to Create Left Wing
The first point that stands out today is that after all these years of work by the assorted varieties of militants in the S.P., no revolutionary left-wing of any proportions has been crystallized in the party.

What Next in the Socialist Party?

An Analysis of Developments Arising Out of the Recent Old Guard Triumph at the N.C. Meeting

The militants who said they were going to do this job—yes, even make the S. P. itself revolutionary—and who rode so high and sung so confidently a year ago, suffered at the New York Plenum an obvious and shameful defeat. So far from being kicked out, the Old Guard is in the ascendancy and in a stronger position to advance its avowed purpose of undermining any attempt to build a left wing.

Under the circumstances those who question whether any considerable left-wing will be built in the S.P. have some basis for their doubts. The real point, however, is that no left-wing can be built on the basis and by the methods the Militants have employed in the last half dozen years.

What is the reason for the failure of the Militants to do what they professed they were going to do? First, they have never worked out a political program and sought to gather followers, educate the membership of the S.P. and carry on the fight against the Old Guard on the clear basis of such a program. Secondly, having no clear political basis on which to fight, their struggle has been an organizational one. "We will get control of the N.C. and of the party by uniting all elements opposed to the Old Guard for this purpose and then we will use our control to make the party revolutionary"—this is in effect what the Militants said to themselves. The Old Guard on its part carried on a political fight on the basis of a program though, of course, an incorrect one, and they won out. The opposition to them, not standing united on a program, being composed of politically unclear, heterogeneous elements, fell to pieces just at the critical moment.

Norman Thomas, for example, having no principled differences with the Old Guard, could not make a final break with them, no matter how many violations of discipline they committed, how ruthlessly they might hold him up to ridicule, and how many oaths of loyalty he might swear to the Militants, and thus run the risk of having the party get into the hands of "revolutionists" with whom he does have differences and whose control of the party would mean to discredit it "in the eyes of the trade unions," that is, of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

The Fetish of Unity

Because of this inherent political weakness the Militants also had their hands tied by a formal and fetishistic conception of the "unity of the party." Keep the party together, there must be no more divisions in the working class, was their plea. Suffice it at this point to make three brief observations:

First: "Unity" on an unsound and unclear basis means, as repeated experiences of the working class have demonstrated and as the Militants have now once again found out, disruption at the critical moment—disruption precisely of the more progressive forces to the benefit of the reactionaries.

Second: What kind of unity is it which means political collaboration with the Old Guard, reformists and trade union bureaucrats, but no collaboration with, objectively, even enmity towards revolutionists?

Third: Such painless births are envisaged by those who expect a revolutionary party to be born on the basis of keeping all the boys together in a party may have become a possibility in the biological realm but it is not yet in the social!

If the Militants have learned anything from recent experiences and expect to go seriously about crystallizing the left-wing, they must begin by facing the fact that they are now in a very weak position. The Militant leaders have themselves given the clearest indication of their helplessness and un-

preparedness, by the failure of the Socialist Call; for example, to make even a plausible attempt to state their position and plans since the N.C. meeting.

Important Questions

Among the chief sources of their weakness in the fight against the Old Guard and as a force for the crystallization of a genuine left-wing is their attitude on the labor party question. With few exceptions they are for a Labor party and have in no important sense differentiated themselves from the Old Guard on this point. The role of a Labor party in the U. S. in this period is bound to be a reformist one. Politically, how build a revolutionary wing on the basis of building a reformist labor party? Organizational activity to build a Labor party, get votes for it and get elected to office on its ticket will furnish a means of evading fundamental revolutionary problems. In such activities all militants will have to play a tail-endist role, no matter how fine a face they may try to put on, to the Old Guard and the trade union officialdom—the role of a minority which does not know precisely where it is going.

Secondly, the Militants are weak because of their lack of a clear position on what are now the real test questions before the international working class movement—the questions of the Soviet Union, the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in international relations, the attitude to the Second and Third Internationals and to the movement for the Fourth International, the question of how in the approaching war crisis a betrayal more infamous and tragic than that of 1914 is to be prevented. Even the R.P.P.A. forces are either unclear on these points or in some instances tend still to a Lovestoneite position. The Old Guard does not conceal its purpose to follow the same fundamental policies of betrayal as in the past. How pretend to be crystallizing a revolutionary wing unless you have a clear answer to the masses as to how you are going to prevent this betrayal? How postpone this answer?

The Trade Union Problem

Third, the economic basis for existence upon which many Militant leaders depend will prevent them, unless, of course, they break away from it, from following an out and out revolutionary policy. The Old Guard leaders in the S. P. are professionals, lawyers, for example, who are related to the top officials in the unions and get their practice, directly or indirectly, from them. They behave accordingly. The Militants are younger professionals on the make, the second layer of officials in the unions, etc. Now if they held their positions in the unions as representatives of a rank and file opposition to reactionaries and conservatives, they would be pushed to the left because the interests of this rank and file in the capitalist crisis would demand it. But in the main this is not at present the case. Therefore, though advocating progressive measures up to a certain point the Militants cannot contemplate an intransigent battle against the trade union bureaucracy and a decisive break with it, for this would mean a threat to their jobs and also to the basis of their prestige, their social position, in the labor movement.

Thus even at Detroit the Militants either offered no opposition, or only the weakest sort, to the Old Guard's blunt refusal to pass even a mild resolution of censure on the A. F. of L. officialdom. As we pointed out at the time, so far as the American labor movement and specific American problems are concerned, the trade union question is the test question today. On this the Militants failed, and must fail unless they effect a right-about-

face. The second point that stands out from an analysis of the past year's developments in the S.P. U.S. is that a terrific blow has been struck at the conception that the S.P. could be "reformed," that is, that a majority could be won to a Marxist position and so make this the position of the party and the basis of the party membership. On the contrary, the course of those who rejected this road and who worked for the merger of the A.W.P. and C.I.A., established the W.P. as the independent revolutionary party, and raised the banner of the Fourth International, has been justified.

The Open Letter

There was a timeliness which was perhaps not altogether an historical accident, and in any case is significant, in the publication here and elsewhere, right upon the heels of the N.C. S.P. meeting, of the Open Letter for the Fourth International. The forces in the United States who have entered the W.P. and have accepted the program of a Fourth International are not entirely insignificant, compared with those of the S.P. Indeed, the number of S.P. members who accept or claim to accept our theoretical position is not small. But even if this were not so, S.P. members, Militants, all who are not reformists in the S.P., must face the challenge of the Open Letter and draw conclusions in the light of it as to which party represents the revolutionary vanguard, the future of hope for the proletariat and not the past of betrayal and defeat.

For the numerous Marxists and militant workers in the U.S. who are at present unattached, there can now, after the developments which have taken place in the S.P. and the revelations of the Comintern Congress now in session in Moscow as to the final capitulation of the Comintern to social patriotism, be no question of going into the S.P. or C.P. The Workers Party is the revolutionary party in the United States. Its doors are open. This is no time for any Marxist or honest militant to stand on the sidelines. There is no time to lose even in the U.S. in increasing and welding together the party of the vanguard.

We are aware that there are a considerable number of individuals in the S.P. who are not yet ready to accept our program or if they do, to draw the organizational conclusions from it. We never have, and we do not now in the Stalinist manner call them counter-revolutionists and Social Fascists. On the contrary, we expect them to be our comrades in the struggles of the working class today and hope that many, if not all of them, will be not merely fellow-travelers but comrades in the fullest sense of the term in the approaching revolutionary struggle.

The Duty of Left Wingers

We do say to them, however, that if they are serious in asserting that they are not reformists or mere Centrists it is, in the first place, their duty to study the program of the W.P. and the Open Letter, and to see to it that they are discussed in the Socialist Party. If these comrades are not prepared for such discussion of the problems before the revolutionary movement, they have no right to the name of revolutionist. If these issues cannot be discussed in the Socialist Party, there is no use talking of building a revolutionary wing in it.

Secondly, the leftward moving elements in the Socialist Party who still believe that something can be accomplished there must make their own program covering the crucial issues of today, not seeking an escape in generalities, and they must win followers, educate the S.P. members, and carry on the fight against not only reformism but centrism on the basis of such a program. Thirdly, these comrades cannot expect to be taken seriously if they can make collaboration with the reformists of the Old Guard in the S.P. and collaboration with elements such as Norman Thomas, on the basis of toleration of such a surrender to the Old Guard as the recent "peace pact," the basis for their procedure, while they hold aloof from or objectively even struggle against revolutionary elements in the S. P. or outside. To say that they have differences with these elements is to say exactly nothing or else to cover up organizational fetishism and cowardly evasion, for they claim to have differences with the Old Guard and the trade union bureaucrats also. Any movement in the S.P. which makes serious pretensions at aiming at the crystallization of a left-wing must make a clear and final break with the organizational horse-trading and maneuvering tactics in the past, must stand unequivocally and from the onset on a program of break with all reformists and Centrists and unity with the revolutionary elements on the basis of a revolutionary program. Let the rank and file in the Socialist Party and especially the Socialist youth apply that test rigorously and without delay to every program submitted to them and to every would-be leader who stands up before them.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

C. V., PHILADELPHIA—Question: What is the meaning of the struggle between Hitler and the Catholic Church?

Answer: In general, Fascism cannot tolerate the existence of any organization over which it does not have complete domination; other wise the interests of classes other than, and opposed to, finance-capital can exert themselves. When the Fascist state has become Bonapartist, this is particularly true as evidenced by the fact that even a large storm troop organization composed of plebeian elements, which might get out of control, cannot be permitted. For this reason, Italian fascism had to engage in a struggle with the Pope, and Hitler is repeating the process.

The existence of the Church, however, is not incompatible with fascism. On the contrary, once it has been adjusted to the new conditions of its master, it becomes again the justifier, with a mandate from heaven, for the increased misery of the masses, even though, as in Germany, it will have less funds at its disposal. (The Church devalues a great deal of the wealth of which Hitler is greatly in need).

O.S.S., NEW YORK—

Question: What is meant by inflation? Deflation? Devaluation?

Answer: In general, these terms, as used by the capitalist economists, have various and different meanings, reflecting the confusion in the minds of the bourgeoisie. To some economists, for example, any general rise in prices is an "inflation"; any decrease is a "deflation". Their difficulties arise, of course, through their failure to understand the distinction between money as a standard of value and as a standard of price.

Under the "normal" development of capitalism, prices rose and fell. This was neither "inflation" nor "deflation." It merely meant that the amount of gold for which fixed quantities of commodities would exchange fell or rose, and, since the standard of price (the weight of gold represented by the dollar, pound sterling, franc, etc.) remained stationary, the number of dollars (or pounds, francs, etc. also) fell and rose.

The term "inflation," therefore, has no significance unless an actual change takes place in the standard of price so that each unit (dollar, pound, franc, etc.) represents less gold than formerly. Prices then rise not because it requires more gold to exchange for commodities, but because the amount of gold represented by each unit of paper money is less. Inflation may be partial or complete, the latter implying that the standard of price has become worthless.

"Devaluation" is inflation except that the government, when it is able, formally sets the lowered standard of price.

"Deflation" is a meaningless term, a product of bourgeois confusion, and can have significance only if it is intended to mean the returning to a standard of price which has been reduced, or, if the latter has not been the case, the raising of the standard of price. However, it is very unlikely that we shall ever witness anything of this sort. The "devaluations" and "inflation" which we are witnessing, an index of the decline of capitalism internationally, are forced upon the capitalists. This fact alone eliminates the possibility that "deflation" will ever take place.

What to Attend

Friday, August 9—S. Y. L. dram group meets 8 P.M. at 55 E. 11th St. Casting for "Exhibit A," a one act anti-war play scheduled as the first production of the Spartacan Players, will begin this Friday.
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Ethiopia in the Thieves' Den

The struggle against Mussolini's robber attack on Ethiopia must be continued and intensified. It was, however, made clear at the meeting last week of the Council of the League of Nations that we do not have a case of a dastardly Fascist nation bent on plunder, on the one hand, and a group of noble, democratic capitalist powers seeking to make peace and to protect Ethiopia on the other hand.

France and Italy have pursued their imperialist designs in Africa for decades and specifically moved toward the parceling out of the control, if not the ownership, of Ethiopia among themselves in 1908. England at the moment appears as the chief obstacle in the way of Italy's aggressive plans, largely because even potential control by Italy over Lake Tsana and the head waters of the blue Nile in Ethiopia would strike a blow at her cotton-growing program in the Sudan, and seriously interfere with other British plans for check-mating the United States and her other rivals. France appears as Italy's "friend" because that serves her interests in building up alliances to combat the effect of the British-German naval agreement, etc., against the day of inevitable war. But France will not for one moment consent to any action by Italy which might adversely affect her own colonial empire in Africa.

For the moment both Great Britain and France would like to prevent the outbreak of a life sized war in Africa because of the repercussions this would have among their own black, brown and yellow subjects, and because they are by no means as yet prepared for that general European or world war which must be the inevitable result of the outbreak of war in any important situation, if not immediately, then after a brief interval of months or years.

The object of delay by imperialist powers cannot possibly be based on peace and on the protection of small nations or colonial peoples.

The object can only be to get a breathing space in which to line up their forces for the next war and in the meantime carry forward the robbery of Ethiopia under the cloak of peace maneuvers and good intentions.

Thus the Council of the League of Nations decided, first, to appoint a fifth member on a commission to arbitrate the Unalul clash between Ethiopian and Italian troops. The commission is, however, not to take up questions of boundaries or the ownership of the territory in question but simply to determine who fired the first shot in the above incident. Second, the Council will meet again on September 4 to discuss the whole situation.

In the meantime no restrictions are placed on Italian war preparations and the negotiations on the really vital matters are to take place between Italy, France and Great Britain with Ethiopia excluded. Italy even abstained from voting on the motion to provide for another session of the League Council in September.

Maxim Litvinov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and now president of the League of Nations Council, hailed the announcement of these negotiations as "something the Council has learned with satisfaction." If Hitler Germany, for example, were anywhere today sending military forces thousands of miles away from Germany in preparation for a bare faced attack on a small nation, the Soviet Union would unquestionably have protested. The result of the present policies of the Comintern and of the foreign office of the Soviet Union under Stalinist leadership is that the Soviet Union has uttered no word of protest against the Italian adventure in Ethiopia. The Soviet Union is not "free" to do so long as the interests of its "ally" in the Franco-Soviet pact are for a "friendly" attitude toward Mussolini! The Negroes in the United States, colonial peoples throughout the world, those who enthusiastically join in demonstrations of the League Against War and Fascism against Italy, the Italians who want to see Mussolini's designs foiled and his regime smashed, will do well to take note of this significant fact and to draw the necessary conclusions.

Extend and intensify the struggle against the Fascist robber attack on Ethiopia! For the boycott of Fascist Italy! For the struggle against imperialism on every front!

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Fierce Class War Tears Loose in France

(Continued from Page 1)

workers to maintain "peace and dignity." How strongly this smells of Bill Green and his crew of professional strikebreakers!

"Peace and dignity" has become the new formula for treachery ever since the Stalin-Laval communique. The writings of Vaillant-Couturier, editor of l'Humanite, that the Communist Party was a "government party," that the Communist Party was set upon "protecting the fatherland, its culture and its wealth . . . while waiting for the Day," that the Communist Party was the most determined fighter for the People's Front with the capitalist Radical Party which will "join together all good wills in the struggle for a peaceful France"—all of this presaged the first actual betrayal in action in Brest.

Fruits of Social Patriotism

Class collaboration, the natural and inevitable concomitant of social patriotism as set forth in the Stalin-Laval communique and accepted by the Stalinist leaders in France as only "natural," finds its expression on July 14 and after where the Stalinist leaders hush up all criticism of Paganon, the Minister of Interior responsible for government repression in the beleaguered cities because—you see!—he is a member of the Radical Party which is in favor of the Franco-Soviet pact and therefore must not be irritated. On Bastille Day Stalinist leaders had the placard borne by a revolutionary contingent reading "Down with the Decree Laws of Laval-Herriot" seized and the name of Herriot expunged from it. This, notwithstanding the fact that Herriot is a member of the cabinet and a participant in the reactionary measures against French labor. He too, is alleged to be a "friend" of the Soviet Union and nothing must be done to anger him.

When the strikers confronted the troops they chanted the Internationale. When the Stalinists made peace with capitalism and its armed forces they brayed the Marseillaise, the song of the assassins of the Paris Commune of 1871, of the jingoes and slaughter-bund of 1914. In a meeting at the Buffalo stadium in Paris, in preparation for the July 14 celebration it remained for Jacques Duclos, C.P. leader, to do what all the socialist and bourgeois orators had failed to do—to bring the audience to its feet in the singing of the patriotic Marseillaise.

C. P. Applauds the Army
The very troops that the Stalin-

ists are pledged "to maintain at their full level of security" are brought into play against the workers, wounding them by the hundreds. The Stalin-Laval declaration was not enough. In the July 16 l'Humanite they gild the lily in peans of praise for the army of French imperialism. A prominent box reprints a "Declaration made by M. Marc Rucart, Radical Socialist Deputy from the Vosges, general reporter of the 6th of February Commission to the session of Peace and Liberty at the Buffalo Stadium before 10,000 delegates on July 14 in the name of . . . the Socialist party, the Communist party . . . and 58 other organizations participating in the gathering of July 14.

"In this immortal French Declaration which constitutes for all the people of all the land, the charter of liberty, the men of 1789 have written that the public force was constituted for the guarantee of the Rights of Man."

"The Republicans know that they can count on the loyalty of the army, the expression of the public force—the army formed of the sons of the entire people—"

W.P.A. Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

2090, the painters local 905 and the bricklayers local 37. "No one has to work who does not want to," declared Mr. Hopkins, "and if they don't want to do it, other people on relief rolls will take their places and receive the security wage." Here is a clear statement of organized strike breaking and for the trade union movement there can hardly be any other recourse but to accept the challenge and fight it out.

Wm. Green in his editorial in the American Federationist, August 5, takes cognizance of the threat in asserting that when relief wages are set in competition with normal wages, work and living standards for all will be dragged down. But what does he propose? "State and local labor organizations should organize for effective participation in state relief plans and policies." And after the local and state organizations have participated to the fullest extent in these plans, then what, it may be pertinent to ask? There can be only one answer: The way out is already shown in New York. Strike the project jobs.

to give a rebuke to all those who endeavor to use it as an instrument for personal ambitions or for the ambitions of a fascist minority.

"They remember that the public force is at the disposal of the indivisible nation and the governmental authority will not tolerate the existence of other organizations of a military character than those which represent the supremacy of the first magistrate of the Republic and the central of the nation."

Whatever else need be said of the treachery of the Stalinists is spoken in the mute comment of the slain Toulon strikers, victims at the hand of these "defenders of liberty."

Writer Describes Misery of Men, Women and Children Suffering Untold Horrors In Effort to Earn Livelihood

(Continued from Page 1)

miners but the code for the tiff miners got "sidetracked" and these workers were crushed to a still lower level of existence. Persistently did the National Barytes Producers Ass'n beg for a code and just as persistently did the government and its lead code authorities turn a deaf ear. It would not be too presumptuous to guess that on this Code Administration sat a representative of the lead interests.

Hoping to break the strike of the 2,000 miners, who came out in a body, the company decided to use the huge reserves which they have been piling up just for this event. But they made their calculations without taking into consideration the temper of the miners. Since there is enough tiff in the yards to supply the mills for at least three months the strikebreaking power of these hundreds of tons of minerals is obvious. The company hired a steam shovel to load the mineral on flat cars. But when the machine got to the place it was met by a "reception committee" of 300 miners. Armed with a varied assortment of weapons ranging from clubs and stones to the old "squirrel gun" (usually a 12 bore shotgun) which nearly every miner keeps above his door. The shovel never got a chance to sink its teeth into the reserve and no ore has been moved to date.

On the morning of the strike they came a thousand strong to the Washington County Courthouse demanding immediate relief, the strike-breaking role of the federal relief authorities has already been shown by the offer to get "jobs" for them on reforestation work, promising jobs for 500 men.

When the strike was taken a

thunderous volume of "ayes" went up. The men stood up and cheered while the women looked on with tear-dimmed eyes. The sentiments of these determined people fighting for their lives and the lives of their children was summed up in a few short words by the chairman, George Bourbon, tall, white-haired old digger for more than 30 years when he told W. H. Comins, general superintendent of the company:

"If you use that reserve pile of tiff we'll starve. We are starving anyway and we are on strike to win or perish. We want to peaceable if it is possible. But if not we'll have a nice quiet, little battle here all our own."

The organizers and leaders of the strike is the American Workers Union, an unemployed organization which will probably prove a great weakness. The Stalinists have just got through "merging" their Unemployed Councils with this organization from which the A.W.U. gained nothing except the addition to their national committee of Wagenknecht, nationally known Stalinist faker and others of the Stalinist wrecking crew to the local Executive Committee.

At any rate the bosses are fooling with the most dangerous animal in the world when they fool with the Missouri tiff digger—an animal that hasn't got a thing in this world to lose. They are fighting under the impulse of the first law of nature—of self-preservation, of keeping body and soul together. Reared in the school of "rugged individualism" they may try to convert the empty promises of demagogues into a living reality. And they have taken the only road—the road of militant struggle.

Fight for Union On West Coast

(Continued from Page 1)

openly espouses the cause of the employers and makes a veiled threat of government action unless the unions capitulate to the demands of the employers. In a statement issued to the press in Washington on July 29, he said:

"Flour is rotting in the holds of the ships, (ships loaded with sea cargo from Canada) perishable goods are destroyed, newspaper publishing is being curtailed because the paper is being held on these boats, and business generally is adversely affected."

"This is an intolerable condition, and one which cannot be allowed to continue."

Gutter Press Aids Fakers
To prepare the way for this assault upon the unions the boss press is bending every effort to whip up a "red scare" with Lundberg, president of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, Bridges of the I.L.A. and other militants being daily labelled "minions of Moscow."

The San Francisco Chronicle has taken the lead and is playing a tune which the balance of the gutter sheets are taking up in one key or another. The chorus shrieks, "American Unionism and Red Radicalism cannot live together in the same house." In this red baiting campaign the bosses have the full support of Ryan and his West coast satellites, "Paddy" Morris, Lewis, Peterson and Co. While Ryan is openly attacking Bridges and the other militants his western henchmen are forced to proceed more carefully because of the strength of the rank and file.

The Portland News-Telegram in an article on the recent meeting of the executive board of the Pacific District of the I.L.A. boldly outlined the tactics that the reactionaries will probably use in their campaign to oust the militants. According to this paper, which is unusually close to the A. F. of L. leaders, it is not planned to put the question of Bridges' removal to a referendum vote for they undoubtedly admit this would prove a

boomerang to their plans. Instead it is expected they will announce that the employers will make agreements with all locals except San Francisco. This will enable the reactionaries to tell the members that recognition of San Francisco can be secured only through strike. It will leave the other locals the choice of voting agreements without San Francisco, or insisting that San Francisco remove Bridges, "the source of all the trouble."

This may not be the precise plan that these fakers have up their sleeve but the workers can look for maneuvers of a similar nature from these union splitters.

The marine workers must prepare themselves for a bitter struggle to preserve the gains they won in last summer's heroic strike. They are in a much stronger position to wage a winning fight than they were last summer. They are all united through the Maritime Federation of the Pacific with its 34,000 members. McGrady has amply forwarded them of the role the bosses' government will play. The main danger is within their own ranks. Hold your ranks firm in the face of the attack of the bosses and send the first faker who tries to split your ranks by raising the red scare down the same road that the rank and file of the I.S.U. sent Scharrenberg.

Mass Arrests in Spring Strike

Mass arrests marked the seventh week of the stubbornly fought Brooklyn spring strike where 450 workers are crippling production and well on the road to a victorious settlement.

Paying no attention to the much-vaunted declaration of La Guardia legalizing mass picketing "New York's finest" smashed a line of some 100 strikers on August 5 before they even reached within three blocks of the plant. 76 pickets were arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct." On the next day 24 workers were arrested on similar charges. Among those seized were several members of the Workers Party who were extremely active.

If the arrests were meant to dampen the fighting spirit of the men and women they failed miserably. Behind the courtroom, in the

cell especially provided for such occasions, 22 of the arrested pickets, all of them women, made the welkin ring and the coppers red with anger, by their stirring songs of solidarity. For this an additional charge was slammed on them—two days in the cooler or five dollars fine. On August 8 and 24 the two batches of arrested pickets will come up for trial.

Not only are the police attacks directed at the mass picket line as indiscriminate arrests of individual strikers on no provocation whatever has proved. Joe Koval, leading militant of the union and some half a dozen others were arrested at various times for no other reason than standing peacefully on street corners. The charge was "disorderly conduct" and for it they each served a day or more in jail.

The solid status of the picket line after seven weeks of strike, in which no more than 65 scabs, who merely stand at the windows for intimidation purposes, are "working" in the plant is sufficient proof of why the cops and the mass arrests are needed.

More—in spite of the bonus of \$10 per head for every worker brought back, and a months vacation for reporting on strike activities offered to every foreman the plant has been unable to operate. Virtually prisoners in a Brooklyn, where they cannot leave their rooms except under heavily armed escort, these fink foremen are receiving their real bonus—the payoff for their rat activities.

Treachery Spiked

It was confidently asserted on the picket line that the strike could have been settled some two weeks ago but for the treachery of the Strike Chairman who behind the backs of the workers met with the bosses in Hotel Towers and as a result was sending strikers back on the job under scab conditions—until his activities were spotted and the scab movement decisively stopped.

Some \$300,000 has been lost by the company since the outbreak of the strike in business and the non-operation of the machines.

Commissaries have been established in the Brooklyn and in the Bronx plant, which is in a similarly strong position. However, finances are still badly needed. All donations should be sent to: Jack Gordon, organizer; International Upholsterers Union, local 140B at 114 W. 14th St. N. Y. C.

Iron Workers of Minneapolis Reform Ranks

(Continued from Page 1)

ular practise to import workers from Germany and Austria to Minneapolis. He has proceeded to exploit their skill and take advantage of their ignorance of our language and customs by underpaying these foreign workers so as to budge down the wages of other workers in his plant. Some of these workers, who could speak a little English, soon learned of this and, having been union members in Germany, went to the local metal workers union to ask for help. The union had found work for these men. The other immigrants had been told of this and sooner or later managed to escape the yoke of Tetzlaff.

Another of Tetzlaff's tricks is the farming out of special jobs to his gang foremen so that the workers are doubly exploited, both Tetzlaff and the foremen wringing their profits from the workers. Tetzlaff has given stock to his non-union employees. This stock paid no dividends, had no maturity date. Again, he would sell stock to his workers, permitting them to pay for it by deducting from their pay checks. Later he lost control of this stock issue through a deal with an eastern holding company, the National Bronze Company. He has since regained control, but to the dismay of the workers their certificates have become almost worthless in the process. For years Tetzlaff has maintained stool-pigeons on the job. Bearing this in mind, one sees that the struggle at the Flour City plant is not only for wages and working conditions but for the basic right of the workers to organize for their own mutual benefit, a right always denied by Tetzlaff.

Farmer-Labor Mayor Herds Scabs
The first two weeks of the strike were uneventful. Daily picket lines, though small, prevented the bosses from trying to re-open with scab labor. The strikers felt, and correctly, that the real struggle would revolve around the labor-baiting Flour City Ornamental Iron Works.

On the morning of July 26, the recently elected Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer suddenly appeared at the Flour City plant with a squad of 68 police and proceeded to escort 30 strike-breakers into the

plant through a small and surprised picket line. Latimer has since confessed that he "heard the plant was bringing in gunmen and brought the police down to protect the strikers." How the scabs managed to slip in on his arm still remains a mystery. The sight of a Farmer-Labor Mayor acting as a scab herder is causing thousands of serious workers to do some hard thinking this last week. It wasn't for this that the Farmer-Labor ticket was swept into office. These workers are beginning to see what the local branch of the Workers Party set forth in the election statement is true. In periods of crisis a reformist party cannot protect the interests of the workers. For this a revolutionary working class party is necessary.

Workers Party Takes Hand
Early in the afternoon a few of the leading Workers Party comrades, active in trade union work, walked into the strike headquarters. There were only about twenty men present. An air of gloom hung heavy about the place. Our comrades made a quick and accurate appraisal of the situation, and then went into action.

In this situation we could have behaved as the local Communist Party behaved towards the Local 574 strikes last summer. We could have organized a "rank and file" movement, we could have attacked the leadership of a union struggling for its very life against the employers, we could have issued a leaflet slandering the Stalinist party. And by so doing we would have earned exactly what the C.P. earned last summer: the contempt of thousands of local working men and women. The Workers Party does not act in that fashion.

Here was a case where scabs had gained entrance to the plant. If the boss could get away with this, the strike was broken. The scabs would be coming out at 4:30, in just a few hours. What was needed was a picket line. To build a picket line requires numbers of fighting workers. The job was to build that picket line in two hours.

The Communist Party members active in the strike leadership were active, courageous and devoted workers, the cream of the local membership. But now they were

in one of those situations where all the past sins of the false Stalinist line were back to haunt them. To get pickets in a hurry, you need a real, living contact with the masses. The Communist Party does not have this. The Unemployed Council? It does not exist. The Communist Party local? Either it has dwindled to almost nothing, or its members are not interested in picketing. The Friends of the Soviet Union? Nice people no doubt, but not the kind to come out on a picket line. Why not call a meeting of the district committee, discuss the problem, issue a leaflet, agitate? That might do the trick—in a week or so. But a picket line was needed right now. This afternoon.

How Revolutionists Act

And how was it with the Workers Party in Minneapolis? It was different. We know that situations like this will arise again and again. We know that they must be prepared for by hard realistic work—day-to-day work that never slackens. What could we do to establish that picket line? The Workers Party has contact with the General Drivers Union, with the Federal Workers Section of Local 574, and with its own no-longer-insignificant membership. A half dozen messengers were sent about town—to various plants, to workers on various relief jobs. Workers were told that their help was needed immediately on the picket line at the Flour City plant. Because the workers trusted the messengers, they responded. By 4:30 a good 250 pickets were outside the Flour City building. A crowd of a thousand or so quickly gathered, and the police began arriving in squad cars. The plan of the employers was to escort the scabs through the picket lines in autos owned by the management and the salesmen. Among the scab autos were to be interspersed the police cars. It so happened that at 4:30 the entire strike committee was absent from the picket line, and down in the Mayor's office conferring with Latimer.

The cars began coming out. Somehow, or other the police cars were always held up for a minute or so as they came rolling out of the plant. This cut the police off from the scab autos, which were greeted with a shower of bricks. Each scab car looked as though it had been caught in a rain of cannon-balls. Things finally got to the point where the police cars were having the same trouble, and the phony were rolling around on the floors of their cars amid a shower of flying glass. Though the event

was unrecorded in the local society columns, it was certainly one of the most successful receptions of a gay summer season. Spirited picketing like this had the effect of reviving the strike with a bang.

Here was a strike broken by the Farmer-Labor policy, creating a situation before which the Stalinists were helpless. It required the Workers Party to step in and rebuild the strike. There are lessons here for every worker to learn.

The Employers Whimper

Except for that one-day attempt by the Flour City plant to reopen, the companies have been completely shut down. The employers react to this strike approximately as they did last summer. They greet the public daily with large newspaper advertisements, the majority signed by Tetzlaff, informing us that the workers are quite content, that they don't want to join the union, that we are an "unruly mob," and so forth. The employers use the editorial columns to call for more and better police protection. Of course they secured an injunction which they thought would stop the picketing. But American workers in these days of mass misery aren't reading injunctions. This weapon of the bosses was treated with the contempt it deserves. The workers are defying it.

While Local 574 will continue to give its full cooperation to the striking iron workers and to support them to the limit, it does not take the responsibility for the strike. The "Northwest Organizer," weekly organ of the Northwest Labor Unity Conference, has now been placed at the disposal of the striking union, and may appear daily if events demand it. On Friday the paper carried an interesting exposure of Tetzlaff's many-sided struggle to maintain his open shop. The strikers are demanding that the Farmer-Labor mayor declare the Flour City plant closed as a menace to public peace, that he investigate the working conditions there and make a public report.

An open mass meeting is scheduled for Monday, August 5, at the Central Labor Union, where local labor leaders will answer the lies of the employers' paid advertisements.

All local workers are called upon to support Local 1313's strike. Be on the picket line every morning at six o'clock. Be around the strike headquarters. Give financial aid to the striking union. Make the ornamental iron industry a union industry! Make Minneapolis a Union Town!

SPEAKERS:

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The 7th Congress of the
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NEW MILITANT

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REMEMBER SACCO & VANZETTI!

A landmark in the struggle of the American proletariat approaches. August 22 marks the eighth anniversary of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Once again, we shall relive the experience of that hot August night when, as midnight neared, we waited with anguish for word of a reprieve—word that never came.

The crime committed at South Braintree, Massachusetts, for which Sacco and Vanzetti were unjustly tried and convicted, was a routine hold-up such as occurred innumerable times before, and since. The paymaster and guard of a shoe company were stopped as they left the factory by bullets fired from an automobile. Two men seized the payroll amounting to approximately \$16,000 and jumped into the car which then gathered speed and disappeared.

Facts in the Frame-up

Many people witnessed the occurrence. Most of them testified that it was impossible in the brief period of three seconds, during which the crime was expertly consummated, to identify the criminals. Only fleeting glimpses were obtained of them. Testimony agreed that a light-complexioned man was at the wheel of the automobile and a foreign-looking man was in the back seat shooting. The prosecution could not find anybody, at first, who could describe the criminals more accurately. After Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, they were brought to South Braintree where Katzman, the district attorney, finally got three unsavory characters to hesitantly identify them as having been in the car. These witnesses were subsequently so discredited that even the notorious Judge Thayer, the trial judge, said at a later stage of the case, when motions for a new trial were presented to him, that the conviction did not rest on the identification, but on the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti betrayed "consciousness of guilt" after they were arrested.

Thayer referred to the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti lied to the police about their activities in the period immediately preceding the date of their arrest. It was shown that Sacco and Vanzetti were active members of an organization which distributed literature banned by the government. Their comrades were being hunted, jailed and deported at that time of post-war anti-Red hysteria. The third degree was commonly used by the police. The illegality of the methods resorted to by Palmer and his raiders in the Department of Justice was so flagrant that even the capitalist courts were forced to condemn them. A comrade named Salsedo had, a few months before, died after a third degree examination at the hands of Department of Justice men who held him incommunicado in the office of the department. He either jumped or was pushed from the window of the office. Sacco and Vanzetti were both listed as "dangerous Reds" in the records of the Department of Justice.

When they were arrested by a lone, hick policeman to whom they offered no resistance, they thought that the charge against them was in reference to their radical activities. They sought, therefore, to conceal their movements and to protect their comrades by withholding information from the police.

It was never denied that after the date on which the crime was committed, Sacco and Vanzetti continued the normal existence of the working man—the normal existence of suppressed, exploited proletarians—Sacco working steadily in a shoe factory and Vanzetti peddling fish in the small towns on the coast. Both faithfully carried on the work of advanced workers by agitating and lecturing on behalf of the working class every moment of their spare time. No wonder the "best people" said that "they ought to hang anyway!"

Until the early part of 1926, the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was entrusted to a committee organized by their friends in the anarchist movement. Thereafter, the International Labor Defense, then a healthy organization under the

leadership of James P. Cannon, assumed control of the mass worldwide agitation for their release. During the early years, the defense committee was handicapped by the sectarian nature of its legal defense committee. The lawyers obtained by the committee had no responsibility for the manner in which they

(Continued on Page 2)

Progressives Fight for Sway In Rubber Union

Claherty Gerryman-dering Meets with Stiff Opposition

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio.—Two problems occupied the attention of progressive rubber workers this week as they continued to organize a bloc to wrest control of the federal unions away from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy at the approaching convention for the formation of an international union.

Attempts of Coleman C. Claherty, notorious betrayer in the threatened strike this spring, to reduce the number of delegates from the Akron unions was being fought successfully by the progressives. At the Firestone local, Claherty's efforts to reduce the delegates from 16 to 4 were defeated. However, he will try the same thing in other unions.

His purpose is to cut down the Akron delegation so that he can control the convention through the out-of-towners who are more under his influence. Progressives at Good-year local are meeting this week to plan their fight next Sunday when delegate election comes out.

The problem of selecting a slate of candidates which will swing the majority of delegates behind the progressive bloc is another question confronting them.

Claherty's Maneuvers

Claherty will back either George R. Roberts, his assistant, who was a rubber worker, or else back John House, president of the Goodyear local, who while sincere, is easily led by Claherty. Many workers seem to like either Sherman H. Dalrymple, Goodrich local president, or Thomas Burns, A. F. of L. organizer from New England rubber plants for the presidency. Burns led a strong fight against Claherty last year at the rubber workers' convention.

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A.F. of L. Skates Face Crucial Issues in N. J.

Fight for Spoils at Top; Demands from Ranks Sidetracked

Comforted by the delightful breezes of Atlantic City, the A. F. of L. Executive Council is now in session in preparation for the 55th annual convention scheduled for October 7. Among the questions considered was the report of its stewardship to be made to this convention, and in spite of meager information it is already clear that only very scant attention will be given to the real problems that face the trade union movement today.

The stimulus given to union organization by the NRA no longer exists. Two serious strike waves were effectively checked with a corresponding set-back to the movement. This enabled the employers to proclaim more boldly their open shop policy and to resist union recognition more effectively. The effort to tie up the workers' struggles in the complicated system of governmental boards has won a temporary victory.

Failure and Disappointment

Undoubtedly, trade union membership is receding from its peak a year ago, and receding at a time when conditions were favorable for gains. The decline is most obvious in the basic and in the mass production industries. On the one hand, this is due to sheer disappointment of the workers at the failure to pursue an aggressive policy of organization; but much more disastrous in their effects were the outright strike betrayals in the automobile industry last year and in the rubber industry this year.

Even in many of the well-established unions of the skilled trades there is an appalling loss of membership due to unemployment and consequent inability to pay dues. Above all, however, the whole American wage standard is threatened by the Roosevelt coolie relief wage on the WPA projects ranging from \$19 to \$32 a month.

But these questions are not the ones that cause the most worry to the mandarins on the Executive Council. They have their own vested interests to protect. While they are unable to separate these interests entirely from the life and growth of the unions, what is now uppermost in their minds is reflection in the maneuvering for position that goes on behind the scenes. The Executive Council is not united. And beneath the surface of complacent tranquility the issues of the life of the movement in the sense of the positions of bargaining power afforded by an organization—the

(Continued on Page 2)

Fur Workers Elect New Leadership

Stalinists Unite With Right Wing to Gain Control

The first elections, since unification, to the New York Joint Council of the International Fur Worker's Union have just taken place. The Stalinist leadership of the former industrial union, led by Ben Gold, was elected by a large majority. Indications are that they could have elected the whole administration had they chosen to nominate a complete slate. Their endorsement of certain "right wing" candidates and their slanderous campaign against the "Progressives" did not meet with the same success.

Despite the slanderous attack, five members of the Fur Workers' Progressive League and one member of the Furriers Unity League were elected to the Joint Council. In addition, Irving Baritz, of the Progressive League was elected as a business agent. Other members of these two groups ran well ahead of some of the "independent" and "right wing" candidates endorsed by the Stalinists.

Oppose Removals

The elections indicated, as expected, that the Stalinist "Rank and File" group has a decisive majority in the union. That majority is reflected in the new administration, and any attempt to oust the democratically elected representatives could only mean an attempt to split the union and should be opposed by every progressive force in the union, and in the labor movement as a whole.

Though opposed to any attempts by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to oust the duly elected officials of the union, it must be stated that we have no confidence whatever in them. Past experiences with these Stalinists when they were in control of the Industrial Union show that they repressed minority group opinion in the most brutal and bureaucratic manner. Their new turn, which conforms to the opportunistic and social-patriotic turn of Stalinism on a world scale, only reveals that added to their past policies of suppression and split is a new one—that of collaboration with reactionary forces against progressives. A few quotations from their pre-election leaflets will prove this:

"Right and Left, Unite" (!)

"We want a united leadership in our union to consist of the two main tendencies in the working class movement, namely, the right wing and the left wing." "We pledge ourselves to agitate for

(Continued on Page 2)

AFL Crew Turns N. Y. WPA Strike Into Fiasco

Follow Their Example!

From a group of New York fur workers we have received a \$10.00 greeting for the 8-page weekly. This is a splendid tribute to our press and the ideas it stands for, but it is also an example worthy of emulation by others. With such encouragement there is rich assurance that the campaign will succeed speedily and the 8-page weekly will soon be an actuality.

To date, however, we have collected only one-fourth of the funds needed. Three-fourths of the way is still to be made. This is the serious question before us. We pass it on to our comrades, our readers and our sympathizers.

Our aim with this campaign is a doubly effective and a doubly powerful NEW MILITANT. To reach this aim, we propose four weeks of concentrated efforts, in order to collect the \$2,000 that is necessary.

Our New York organization is now taking the lead in such a concentrated effort, starting out with a complete mobilization of the whole membership. All will be obliged to go out and visit friends, shop-mates and fellow-unionists with contribution lists and subscription blanks, and we expect a rapid rise in the figure column and a corresponding increase in circulation. Only actual results count in this campaign.

The District Committee will take full charge. Each branch has a quota to fulfill and will keep strict account of the activity of each member. The quota for all the New York branches combined is \$325.

Pursuing this course everywhere, it should be easy to collect the three-fourths still to go. We recommend it.

Four weeks of concentrated effort to go over the top in the campaign. Four weeks of active work visiting friends, shop-mates and fellow-unionists for support to the 8-page weekly. With the energy and devotion, characteristic of revolutionists, we should soon reach our goal.

Imperialist Ring Tightens Around Ethiopian Nation

By MARTIN A. GLEE

"You offer us the choice between assassination and suicide. We prefer the latter. At least, then, we shall be able to call out for help."

These were virtually the last words spoken at the most recent session of the League of Nations Council, thrown into the teeth of the chairman of the Council, Maxim Litvinoff by the Ethiopian delegate, Zeze.

And thus the matter stands to date. The choice offered Ethiopia by the imperialist bandits, aided and abetted by the representative of the Stalin bureaucracy is indeed that of "assassination or suicide."

Which road will the kingdom of the Negus take? What can its people do under the circumstances? What solution will the bourgeoisie of France and England offer through its respective intermediaries, Laval and Eden? What solution to the problem of Ethiopia can we, the proletariat, suggest? These are questions which every person conscious of the seriousness of the situation is asking.

Pathetic Plea for Arms

From the viewpoint of his own particular interest, Haile Selassie is

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Prepare Now for Silk Strike

CPS Shouts for General Strike but Does Nothing About It

By FELIX GIORDANO

PATERSON, N. J.—In an article published in the May Day issue of the NEW MILITANT we called for extensive preparations in the silk industry for the expected general strike. A resolution embodying the same program was introduced to the Joint Board, where it was killed. Now, three and a half months later, the Communist Party suddenly re-members the general strike, and just as suddenly comes to life shouting and demanding that the strike be called.

How has the strike been prepared? What has the Communist Party done to see to it that the preparations for the strike were

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LIMIT WALKOUT

Sabotage Picketing While they Connive With Gen. Johnson

Due to the glaring incompetence and in many instances downright sabotage by the local trade union officials, the strike on the New York WPA projects entered its second week in a state of utter confusion. Characteristic of this state of affairs is the fact that on some of the projects, one or more of the building trades are called out while others remain at work. In other instances, one or more trades are called out and shortly thereafter told by the business agents to return and await further developments.

On the Astor project, bricklayers were called out; but on the High Bridge swimming pool project, bricklayers remained working. On the latter project, carpenters were called out one day and later told to return. Moreover, in several instances where committees of the unemployed organizations, whose cooperation had previously been accepted by the union officials, appeared to assist in calling out the unemployed, they were met by some of these officials demanding business agent's credentials, together with policemen ordering them off the projects.

Workers Want to Strike

From the outset the overwhelming majority of the approximately 100,000 workers employed on the projects, who are unorganized, proved their readiness to make common cause with the unions. This was demonstrated in face of the fact that these workers openly expressed their disappointment at the failure of the union leaders to take measures to secure home relief for those refusing to accept the Roosevelt "work or starve" edict. In a test case made one worker was granted such relief, but even this advantage was not followed up.

Reports are now current on the projects that the local union officials are backing down from their once loudly proclaimed intention to fight for the prevailing union rate of wages, and are scheming to induce General Johnson to accept the establishment of a rating board to comprise representatives of the local unions concerned. Obviously, the aim would be to secure a somewhat better rate of relief wage and drop the fight for the prevailing union wage. But hidden behind this aim lurks the danger of throwing the interests of the unorganized to the winds at a time when the most complete coordination between the unions and the unorganized is imperative.

Groundwork to Lower Standards
The failure of this coordination in the first place accounts for the utter confusion now prevalent in the strike. There exists no doubt in the trade union movement that wherever the monthly relief wage ranging from \$19 to \$33 prevails, the groundwork is laid for the tearing down of the whole standard of union wages. This crucial issue remains. The unions are challenged to lead the fight. The fight they can conduct effectively only through the establishment of unity of action between the unions and the unorganized project workers.

United Front Anti-War Meet in Boston

BOSTON, Mass.—On August 4, 21st anniversary of major declarations of war, a united front demonstration against imperialist war was held on Boston Common jointly by the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the Young People's Socialist League, and the Spartacus Youth League.

The Communist Party and the Young Communist League also had been asked to join in this united front, but had replied (per Sidney Bloomfield, district organizer of the C.P., and Mac Libby, D. O. of the Y.C.L.) that they "would not enter any united front with Trotskyists," and "would rather unite with Fascists."

However, the Workers Party and the S.Y.L. are working for a United Front Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Demonstration on August 23, and will fight for participation by ALL workers' organizations, including the C.P. and the Y.C.L.

Expulsions Hit French Socialist Youth

Bolshvik - Leninists and Zeller Group Ousted by Reactionaries

Serious events have just taken place in the French Socialist Youth. The Lille National Congress on July 28-29 has decreed the expulsion of the entire revolutionary wing.

The National Congress had been preceded in the Seine district by a Federal Congress which was held on July 21. The different tendencies were: the Bolshvik-Leninists (170 mandates); the Zeller tendency (200 mandates)—Zeller is Regional Secretary—the strongest tendency in the federation, formerly hostile to us and recently approaching us very rapidly, representing the average state of mind of the Young Socialists of the Seine; the "Spartacus" tendency, inspired by the S.A.P., composed mostly of intellectuals, most frequently living on intrigues against the Bolshvik-Leninists (90 mandates); and finally the right tendency in the Seine, Mireille-Osmiin (130 mandates) which is a Centrist group nationally.

After the Federal Congress on the 21st, which had been a great success for the Bolshvik-Leninists, and where the lies of the Stalinists against us had been exposed, their influence in general had been liquidated in the Seine, the three left tendencies (Bolshvik, Leninist, Zeller, and "Spartacus") agreed on a common motion and prepared to defend this motion in the National Congress at Lille. The main points of this motion were as follows:

Today the problem of revolution is placed before the entire working-class youth. The Young Socialists

consider the People's Front as the rallying center of the exploited French masses and declare their desire to fight inside this group, but state their opposition to the political line actually imposed on the People's Front.

The Socialist Youth fights for a Workers' and Peasants' Government, supported by workers' and peasants' Communes and factory and soldiers' councils.

They struggle for bread, work, peace, liberty, by revolutionary means. They are true to revolutionary defeatism and to the teaching of Karl Liebknecht, "The enemy is in our own country."

On the International:

To guide the world proletariat in its fight against war as well as for World Revolution, a revolutionary International is necessary. This International does not exist.

The Y.S.I. is in complete decay. Most of its sections have followed their parties into class collaboration and social-patriotism.

The Y.C.I. in spite of the revolutionary desires of its rank and file, is only the docile instrument of a nationalistic diplomacy.

The Young Socialists of France will fight beside their comrades and other revolutionary sections and minorities for a Youth International on the basis of revolutionary Marxism.

This new International can only be founded on criticism of the International which have preceded it and on the lessons of past revolutionary experiences.

Beyond the Second International which collapsed in 1914 and beyond the Third International which is submerged in Class Peace we must firmly convince ourselves and the advanced workers of the need to work for the creation of a new International.

This new International will not reject everything in those which have preceded it. It will reject their mistakes, their errors, their crimes.

It will be enriched with the experiences accumulated by them. It will proclaim itself the legitimate heir of the doctrines of Marx and Engels, of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht, of the example of the founders of the Third International.

The motion ended thus: our intransigent opposition to reformism and to Class Peace will not keep us from fighting for the fusion of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and of their youth.

The Young Communist workers are our brothers. Shoulder to shoulder with them in action, discussing fraternally with all the guarantees of democracy and discipline, we will build the revolutionary vanguard.

The Bolshvik-Leninists signed this joint motion. They had also brought in a further statement on the international question, making clear their position on the Fourth International.

The National Conference at Lille

The Congress opened in an atmosphere of threats against the revolutionary majority of the Seine. Every question (division of delegates, etc.) was a pretext for provocation. An imposing group of sergeant-at-arms were massed in the Congress Hall and physical vio-

Entire Seine District Supports Leaders; Pivert Urges Fight

ence was used on the delegates of the revolutionary minority (a comrade of the Seine, Bressler, member of the outgoing National Committee, the highest body of the organization was carried out of the hall unconscious due to blows received.) The young bureaucrats have learned very well the teachings of their elders.

In a more or less excited manner the debates continued Sunday and Monday (vote on the organizational report: 4,082 votes for and 1,384 votes against). Monday afternoon, at the opening of the session, discussion was immediately begun on the following motion:

"Whereas certain comrades have placed themselves on record for their affiliation to the Fourth International and this attitude is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Youth, affiliated to the Second International.

"And, whereas the systematic denigration and violation of the theoretical line of the Socialist Party as formulated by its Congresses cannot be tolerated by members of the Socialist Youth.

"And, whereas the repeated attacks directed against the best militants of the Party and of the Socialist Youth are guided solely by the well-established intention to split the Socialist organization

"The National Congress of the Socialist Youth decrees the complete dissolution of the Bolshvik-Leninist Group as a tendency within the Socialist Youth.

"Further it decrees pure and

simple expulsion for comrades who, having taken an active part in this movement, have by their sectarian action contributed to the development of intolerable confusion within our organization.

"In conclusion, the congress decrees the expulsion of the responsible militants: Roussel, Van, Ivan and Maria Crapau, Braudo, Bressler, Pero, Fred Zeller, Genia, Lissansky, Makarowsky, Rigal, Corvin and of all those who in public action follow a policy in opposition to that of the Party."

Attack on Revolutionary Position

The discussion immediately opened on this motion. The attack of the bureaucracy was centered on the position taken against national defense and class peace, for revolutionary defeatism, and also against the appearance of the independent paper of the Seine Federation, "Revolution." The attack was not directed only against the Bolshvik-Leninists, but against the bulk of the majority of the Seine Federation. The International discussion had not yet come before the Congress (the pretext of "affiliation" to the Fourth International was introduced at the last moment) and among the expelled there are some who are opposed to the Fourth International.

Conciliatory attempts have been made (by Mireille-Osmiin in particular). The conservative bureaucracy attacked in haste, so that these attempts would fail.

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REMEMBER SACCO & VANZETTI!

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conducted the legal defense. There was no coordination of the work in the court room with the work outside. The I.L.D. was the moving spirit in the formation of a united front for the defense of the prisoners. The united front succeeded in arousing a storm of protest from the world proletariat. From China to Argentina, there were outbursts of indignation against the capitalist colossus of the Western Hemisphere.

Protest Too Late

We, who participated in the mass movement to wrench Sacco and Vanzetti from the clutches of capitalist law, had no illusions that the overwhelming evidence of their innocence would cause the prosecution to relent. We fully understood that the American bourgeoisie, riding triumphantly the crest of a wave of false prosperity, would take vengeance on the two fearless workers in the class struggle who had dared to raise their voices for the emancipation of the working class.

The mass protest was organized too late, as the case was drawing to its close. The result was fatally tragic. Before the mass campaign could reach an intensity and strength, both in this country and on an international scale, which would have challenged the dominant capitalist class decisively, Sacco and Vanzetti heroically met their death at the hands of the agents of capitalist justice.

It is important to remember that these two martyrs to our cause had no illusions about the ultimate outcome of the case or the nature of the forces which implacably sought their doom. Sacco, especially, saw no hope in engaging in the interminable legal tangle of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. While he understood the necessity of using the court of the enemy as a forum from which to blazon forth the irreconcilable antagonism of the proletariat, his lack of familiarity with English precluded his taking upon himself the offensive against capitalism which Vanzetti so eloquently carried on. He set himself the task, nevertheless, immediately after his imprisonment of learning English, but never achieved Vanzetti's fluency with the language. The latter has testified in one of his letters that Sacco's warm eloquence in his native tongue frequently brought tears to his eyes.

Heroism of the Defendants

Sacco several times refused to cooperate with the attorney, Thompson, who was representing them in a manner which indicated that he was more concerned with rehabilitating the reputation of Massachusetts justice than with securing the release of the prisoners. It was only at the insistence of Vanzetti, who correctly urged that the battle must be fought with whatever weapons were available that Sacco continued to collaborate with the legal defense. Vanzetti said, "why should we surrender ourselves to the enemy before we have exhausted every means of defense?" And again he said, late in 1928, "Only the thunders of a mighty worldwide agitation and protest could induce the enemy to free us."

Vanzetti never lost sight of the fact that the persecution of the two prisoners was motivated by class hatred. Tirelessly, he pointed out the essential lesson for the working class which the case provided. That he was a representative of a movement which sought the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, nationalist state, the end of imperialism, the establishment of workers' rule, the abolition of the exploitation of the many by the few. That he was being prosecuted, in reality, for his opinions and his activity in the working class movement. That the sly ferocity of the trial judge and prosecutor who convicted him, of the head of the Massachusetts branch of the Department of Justice who cooperated with the prosecution, of Governor Fuller who refused his petition for executive clemency, of the Advisory Committee selected by the Governor to sanction with their fake impartiality the vicious system that condemned him, the jury of middle-class men obedient to the dictates of the ruling class and subservient to post-war hysteria and race prejudice—that all these phenomena were to be explained as the logical outcome of the hatred and fear of the dominant class in society of the suppressed class, the proletariat. This was the lesson which Sacco and Vanzetti continually hammered home—and which they were joyful and proud to write with their blood.

Vanzetti's Immortal Words

After Vanzetti was sentenced, he was permitted, as is customary, to make a statement. His words were transcribed by a shorthand reporter. The words of Vanzetti, spoken in that incomprehending courtroom at Dedham are a never failing source of courage and inspiration to us who are carrying on their work.

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to

scorning men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pain—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all. That last moment belongs to us that agony is our triumph!"

On August 22, let all workers commemorate the deathless memory of Sacco and Vanzetti—they were of the flesh and blood of the workers. We of the Workers Party will not merely honor them with words, we will emulate them with our deeds. There are working class parties which no longer lead the struggle against imperialism war. They have left the road of unremitting struggle against war, against bourgeois democracy, the road of Lenin and Liebknecht. Conscious of our Marxist heritage, pledging ourselves to the carrying out of the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky, we proclaim our solidarity with the working class, with Sacco and Vanzetti. We urge those of our comrades who are following the road of the misleaders—the road that can lead only to bitter defeat—to ponder well the lesson of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Let us, also, on this day rally to the defense of class war prisoners everywhere. Let us remember that Tom Mooney, Norman Mini and his comrades are still in San Quentin, martyrs in the struggle against the enemies of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Fur Workers Elect New Leadership

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and support right wing candidates."

At the same time the Progressive League and Unity Groups were denounced as cliques and the fur workers were called upon to defeat their candidates, Ben Gold, in a long manifesto, stated:

"I appeal to everyone of you to give the proper answer to these despicable people who have always been against unity and against one union, and who are at present continuing their malicious work against unity and one union."

This was directed at the very people who in the past were spat on and attacked for proposing unity with what Gold then called the "Scab Joint" (Furriers Joint Council).

The campaign to elect Progressives, though partially successful, was weakened by the fact that they were not in one united group standing on a clear cut program. Groups which were formed in the old Joint Council and in the former Industrial Union must now adjust themselves to the new situation. Friendly discussion on the tasks facing them and on programmatic differences dividing them, must be started at once. In this the Unity Group and the Progressive League should take the initiative.

That such a united Progressive group can and should contain members and supporters of different political tendencies, has been shown by experiences in other unions, notably the I.L.G.W.U. The narrow factional and bureaucratic control exercised by the newly elected administration majority when they led the Industrial Union, and their present efforts to unite with reactionaries against progressive forces indicates clearly that there is no time to lose in the building of a united progressive group.

What to Attend

Saturday-Sunday, August 24-25—Gala S.Y.L. overnite-hike to Lake Tiorati, Bear Mountains. Hitch-hike up and back. Swimming, fishing, camp fire, mock debate (Stalinism vs. Trotskyism), boat-ing, group-singing, etc. Leave Saturday, 8 A.M. For information call at office—Spartacus Youth League, 55 East 11th St., 3rd floor, any weekday.

Oakland, Cal.
Saturday, August 31, 8:30 P.M.—Attention! Workers in the bay region. Dancing, entertainment and social to raise funds for the 8-page NEW MILITANT. Jenny Lind Hall 2229, Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Admission 25 cents.

Free instructions by competent musicians in all band instruments will be given to all sympathizers. Young Spartacus and Party members. Arrangements will be made to procure instruments. All interested apply at once to Morris Lewis, etc., etc.

A.F. of L. Skates Face Crucial Issues in N. J.

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only form in which the leaders understand these issues—begins to cause a division. Today, it is expressed in the Council sessions in a struggle between the John L. Lewis wing, supported essentially by the needle trades officials, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Wm. Green section of dyed-in-the-wool craft union chiefs. Irrespective of the intentions of either side, the main issue is industrial unionism versus craft unionism.

Rubber and Auto Conventions

This is coming to a head once more in the projected national unions of the automobile workers and rubber workers. It is planned to issue national charters in the conventions that are scheduled for these unions, the former to be held this month and the latter in September. And although it is openly acknowledged in all labor circles that craft unions in these industries will be doomed from the outset, the skilled trades are already being quietly segregated into the craft union fold. The national unions would, therefore, consist practically exclusively of production workers and render them an easy prey to the powerful corporations in control of these industries.

John L. Lewis finds it possible in this situation to cover himself with the progressive mantle of industrial unionism. Essentially, however, this is merely a cover in the general jockeying for positions. Insofar as the basis issues are concerned, all the elders on the Council are guided by more weighty considerations. Above all, they fear the dissatisfaction of the rank and file workers and the possibility of control of these unions by progressive elements.

Both the automobile workers and the rubber workers have clearly expressed their desire for an industrial union. Moreover, in the present federal locals in the automobile industry, a distinctly progressive movement has been launched, receiving its impetus and drawing its inspiration from Toledo. This movement is presenting resolutions to the coming convention for an industrial union comprising all the workers in the auto and auto parts factories. It proposes measures for the election of officials from the rank and file delegates present at the convention, for limitation of salaries to be granted officials, and for prevention of any interference in the affairs of the union by paid A. F. of L. organizers, together with provisions for recall of elected officials any time it is deemed necessary. Finally, the progressive movement proposes to introduce measures for the exemption from dues payments of unemployed members and for no discrimination in the establishment of a union because of race, color, nationality, political beliefs or affiliations.

Lewis Pulling Wires

Of course, such measures are known to prove popular with the rank and file. So the Executive Council finds itself unanimous in its efforts to countermand the progressive movement. Its main attention is centered on the problem of securing control of the important elective offices for its trusted lieutenants. But behind the scenes the John L. Lewis wing pulls the strings for his separate interest in opposition to the craft union officials posing as the friend and supporter of industrial unionism. It appears that John L. Lewis has his own slate to put forward.

The deceptive motivation of the industrial union wing is even more clearly demonstrated in the case of the maritime unions. On the Pacific Coast, the longshoremen, the seamen, the marine engineers, the masters, mates and pilots, and crafts affiliated with the seamen, such as the firemen, cooks and stewards, succeeded in setting up a Maritime Federation. The progressive forces who had advocated this measure became an important factor in the leadership. So this question also looms large behind the scenes at Atlantic City. In face of the danger that the Maritime Federation may pass into the hands of a progressive leadership, unity prevails within the strategy board. It presents a solid front, extending its support to the steamship companies in the attempt to break up the Maritime Federation.

At the Crossroads

However, all these issues are tied up in one knot in the consideration given by the Executive Council to the recently united furriers' union. Shall that unification be permitted to stand? The Executive Council fears that this would be tantamount to an open recognition and an open sanction of activities by revolutionary and Left wing elements within the unions. Here is the crux of the whole trade union problem as the A. F. of L. officials see it. In this they are not in error. Fundamentally, the future of the movement depends upon which policies and what leadership prevails.

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE
NEW MILITANT.

Free the Sacramento Prisoners!

The formation of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee which was recently announced, is welcome news, indeed. Especially to the eight Sacramento "criminal syndicalism" prisoners now in San Quentin and Tehachapi, will this development give new courage.

Before the trial began in January, the International Labor Defense, informed by the Stalinist bureaucracy that some of the Sacramento prisoners had not paid the proper respect to the District Committee, sabotaged the whole struggle for their freedom. The I.L.D. not only played the case down on the publicity side, but deliberately withheld bail from 16 prisoners for six months.

Not until the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, at the request of Norman Mini of the W.P. and Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick of the C. P., entered the Sacramento struggle, did the fate of the prisoners become a matter of general interest. Since their conviction, the I.L.D. and C.P. have again played down the case. It was the N.P.L.D. which, by its highly successful Appeal Dinner in New York last month, revived the attention of the working class public, and threw the Sacramento boss press into a frenzy of fear lest the Sacramento case become a new Mooney issue.

The N.P.L.D. has also taken a leading role in setting up the new united defense committee. On it are the official delegates of the N.P.L.D., the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Unemployed League, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Spartacus Youth League and the Y.P.S.L. The criminal syndicalism law being a threat to the entire working class, it is fitting that such diverse organizations should make common cause to overturn the infamous Sacramento verdict.

It is also fitting that the appeal struggle is being conceived of on a national scale. Hearst is shouting for a Federal criminal syndicalism law to supplement the laws now existing in a dozen or more states. The working class has the task of wiping all such legislation off the books and freeing all the victims of it. For this a national struggle is needed.

It is not surprising to read in the new committee's announcement that the I.L.D. has failed to answer letters of invitation. "That organization does not dare come before

such a committee as the N.E.A.C. because of its shameful past in the Sacramento case. The Stalinist disrupters have backed down on the charge that Norman Mini is a "stoop-pigeon" but they cannot make anybody forget to sordid spectacle Stalinism made throughout the 8-month struggle preceding conviction. The alternative to admitting their past is to split the defense and commit more crimes to cover up. We may expect plenty of "covering up" from the Stalinists during the appeal fight and plenty of mud-slinging.

This should not discourage the new committee. Its policy in providing an attorney for Norman Mini and calling for the release of all the prisoners is a sound one. The working class will approve it and support it. The W.P., on its part, will back the new committee to the hilt. The fight for the release of Mini and his seven fellow-victims of the California agricultural barons is of deep concern to all class-conscious workers of the country. On to victory in Sacramento!

Imperialist Ring Around Ethiopia

(Continued from Page 1)

justified in demanding, in a special appeal to the League that he be permitted to import arms, to be in some measure prepared for the impending combat which is taking on day by day more the character of a horrifying reality.

Fascist troops are carrying on an unceasing penetration into the Italian territories bordering on Ethiopia. Already valuable areas are being transported to the French possession of Djibuti from Addis Ababa in fear of a sudden invasion. Considerably outranked in matters of war materials, supplies, etc., it is pathetic to hear Ethiopia's hopeless plea for equal rights to arms from the very people who control them.

As stated in previous issues of the NEW MILITANT, England would like to find an "amiable" solution to the problem. The reason being that it fears the unleashing of a colonial war that may well put an end to British imperialist oppression in Africa. To a large extent that is the case with France, too. These two powers represent the largest holders of imperialist possessions in Africa. An Italian conflict may put an end to it all.

So Laval and Eden with the consent of Baron Aloisi will endeavor to come to some agreement for the "peaceful" partitioning of Ethiopia, even if they have to resort to the legality of applying treaties never recognized by Ethiopia and since repudiated by all concerned. However, even this effort may fail.

Italy is too far involved already. Some 250,000 troops are cooing their heels—if they were physically possible in arid Eritrea—waiting for orders to strike. Besides it does not seem likely that either France or Britain will grant Mussolini's demands for a political as well as economic protectorate. There is also the possibility that the three powers directly involved will decide to cut up and divide Ethiopia into three parts and thus again show to the world what an instrument for peace is the League of Nations. Maxim Litvinoff will again be able to offer his quick remedies for beligerent powers, the world will again have been made safe for peace and Stalin will rest at ease at the safeguarding of the status quo.

For a Soviet Italy

To a large extent Ethiopia stands with regard to the rest of the world in the same relation as some of the Russo-Asiatic nationalities stood with regard to Russia prior to the October revolution. Just as the Revolution emancipated the primitive, feudal and pre-feudal tribes of outlying Czarist Russia so today the emancipation of the Ethiopian people can be accomplished only by the world revolution. Concretely we mean that a Soviet Italy would be the best guarantor for a free and independent Ethiopia. Combined with a Soviet France and Britain the cultural and revolutionary development of Ethiopia would be absolutely assured.

Hence all our agitation and propaganda should be directed to those ends. While it would be impossible for us to reach the Ethiopian masses with proletarian propaganda, for the simple reason that there is no proletariat there, we can and must reach the Italian laboring masses. A time limited boycott against Fascist Italy such as was proposed by the International Communist League and printed in a recent issue of the NEW MILITANT is a concrete application of the task at hand. The boycott must however be so instituted as not to make a negative impression on the Italian proletariat. It must be as effective in its message of class solidarity with our Italian brothers as in its defiance of Il Duce.

It is important for the international boycott to get under way. Mussolini has made up his mind. The League of Nations, with Litvinoff at its head is only a cover for the international imperialist bandits. It is high time the international working class intervened.

The Manager's Corner

The Boston branch still leads the field in the campaign for the eighth page weekly with a total contribution to date of \$59.50. However, with the additional contributions recorded this week, there has been no change in the comparative standing of the branches, but the Party organizations have been outdistanced by far through the splendid example set by a group of New York fur workers whose \$10.00 contribution is recorded here.

During the past week we have received the following amounts:

Contributions	
Hildegard Smith, Kana.....	\$ 2.00
Eugene Morris, Brush, Col....	1.00
West Side branch, N.Y.C.....	1.00
Newark branch.....	3.50
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.....	1.00
Boston branch.....	7.00
W. Greenan, Santa Cruz, Cal.	2.00

Total..... 17.50

Advance Subs (8-page)

A. M. Berman, Pittsburgh..... 2.00

Paul Graves, Detroit..... 2.00

Subs (Club Fees)

Helon L. Frank, Dayton, Ohio 1.00

Greetings

Group of N. Y. Fur Workers. 10.00

Previously Reports..... 425.48

Grand Total..... \$457.98

AUGUST NEW INTERNATIONAL

IS OUT

The August issue of the NEW

INTERNATIONAL is off the press. Living up to its usual standard, this issue contains especially rich and fundamental material on topics of vital importance to the movement.

The situation in France, which is rapidly becoming the storm-center of revolutionary events, is elucidated in an Open Letter by L. D. Trotsky to the French workers. Questions of particular interest in the United States at the present time are answered in three important articles, one by A. J. Muste on the trade unions and problems of the revolution, one article by J. P. Cannon entitled "The Socialist Party at the Crossroads" and an article on the third party movement by Arne Swabeck.

Of special interest, however, will be the first contribution to a discussion submitted by Max Eastman on the subject "Marxism: Science or Philosophy?" Comrade Trotsky also contributes a second article entitled, "Rosa Luxemburg and the Fourth International." And, finally, there appears in this issue, together with other valuable material, a reply to Olgin's latest fulminations against Trotskyism.

Please remember the combination offer of \$2.00 for a yearly subscription to the NEW MILITANT and NEW INTERNATIONAL still holds good for a limited period of time.

Call for Uniting Opposition Groups in Teachers Union

This is the last of a series of five articles on the situation in the Teachers Union—Ed.

Unification of opposition groups within the teachers' union!

That is the road which leads to victory over the Lefkowitz-Linville splitters!

An examination of the programs of two of the largest opposition groups in the Teachers Union—the Progressive Group and the Rank and File—will show that barring minor details both programs are in substantial agreement. Both take the same position on democracy in the union, on building the union, on mass activity, on admission of the unemployed with full membership rights at nominal dues, etc. For a long time, strong sentiment for unification inside and outside both groups have made themselves felt. This sentiment has undoubtedly grown stronger since the liquidation of the Classroom Teachers Groups.

Furthermore, the recent action of the Administration in calling for the "investigation" as a means of getting rid of the opposition has created an entirely new situation. The Administration now has the official sanction of the powerful Green-Wall bureaucracy in its campaign. It is determined to go through with its destructive course. To defeat these powerful forces, more than a united front against expulsions is necessary. It is necessary to confront the Administration, here and at the convention, as one unified opposition in order to impress upon the delegates and the leaders of the A.F.T. the fact that expulsion of the opposition which represents over 40 percent of the

voting membership means the destruction of the largest local in the national organization.

A unified opposition, united on a minimum trade union program, boldly and openly confronting the convention, will constitute the strongest factor in convincing the majority of the delegates that they must reject the course of the Lefkowitz-Linville faction as destructive not only to the local, but to the national organization.

The unification of the opposition on a minimum basis has thus become the most pressing need of the hour. Upon its realization depends not only the fate of the opposition, but of the whole union as well. If this analysis is correct, and there can be no doubt of it, why then has the unification not already taken place? The answer is that factional rivalry and the desire for control outweigh, in the minds of the leaders of the two groups, their duty as trade unionists. These are the factors that have thus far blocked the road to unification.

In spite of the difficulties and prejudices which undoubtedly exist there are manifestations that these obstacles are beginning to crumble, although they have not yet been removed. The Committee for Democracy in the Union has paved the way by approaching the representatives of the groups unofficially with a proposal for unification. Mr. Hendley, the leader of the Militants, has stated that a realignment of the forces in opposition has become necessary. The Rank and File has proposed a united front in the elections for the Delegate Assembly this fall, and the Progressives have indicated that they would be opposed to it.

But these manifestations and moves are insufficient. It is necessary to move rapidly even before the convention is opened. Even though it may not be possible to reach a definitive unification before the school term begins, it is possible to arrange a tentative agreement in that direction. Recourse to technicalities or subterfuges under these circumstances may seriously hurt the chances of victory or may even prove fatal to the opposition. The leadership of the groups and their membership have an opportunity to rise to the occasion. They must utilize it. Unification of the opposition is the road which leads to victory over the Administration!

Fight for Sway In Rubber Union

(Continued from Page 1)

convention and has a good deal of prestige. Since then he has become an A. F. of L. organizer and his position is not clear. The workers will have to prevent a split in their votes or else Claberty's candidate will win.

The progressive bloc will announce a slate of candidates this week too. A serious attempt will be made by the progressives to coordinate the local workers so that they will present a united front against the bureaucracy.

William Green is expected to preside at the convention which means that he, personally, will try to place into office a hand-picked bunch of reactionaries so he can control the rubber workers in the future. His presence will make the progressives' job more difficult but they realize it. One thing however appears certain, Coleman Claberty is definitely on his way out as rubber organizer for the A. F. of L. He has been told he will be removed by virtually every union in Akron. The Mohawk local won't let him even come to any of its meetings!

The convention must be used to place progressives in control. Then the unions must be built up so that they can wage a successful strike for wages and recognition and reduction of the speed-up.

Engrossed in the trade union work, rubber workers are inclined to forget at least momentarily the long time perspectives necessary for the rubber industry to insure the working class correct preparation for its historic task—the overthrow of American capitalism. For this the Workers Party pledges its loyal assistance and support.

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Nazi Fictions and... Cold Facts

A few weeks ago, Ley, the notorious leader of the so-called Labor Front said in an address:

"The differences between men, as to what they consume are very small indeed. Whether you have millions or only a few marks—you can only sit on one chair, you cannot eat a whole calf at once... you can only wear one suit at a time and not twenty. Those who possess fine houses, well, they are to be envied; but they also can only be in one room at a time... all this does not matter at all. If we try to solve the labor problem from the angle of wages we are already on the wrong road."

It is possible that Ley and his nitwits believe this nonsense. They may even claim originality for this interpretation of national "socialism."

German workers, however, cannot be persuaded by this kind of propaganda. They know too well that millions of Marks, fine homes, etc. do make a difference. Their interest in wages in the face of daily price increases is serious; they have not forgotten how to bear pressure on the bosses in the days of a militant trade union policy. When the Labor Front turned them down with the remark that it "has no jurisdiction over wage disputes" 3,000 workers of the NSU works (armaments) went on strike. Nazi officials threatened dismissal and prosecution. It was of no avail. The solidarity was 100 percent effective

and prevented disciplinary action. Only after the wage cut was withdrawn did the workers go back to their shops. This is not the only strike in recent weeks: 7,000 workers struck in Chemnitz (Wanderer Works (also armament factories) and also won their demands, glass-blowers in Frauenau, Bavaria laid down their tools against starvation wages.

It is significant that strikes can be organized even under the reign of terror in Germany. The official harmony of all interests, the peaceful relations of capital and labor—more and more workers discover the truth behind this smokescreen of slogans.

What happened to the profits of their exploiters while wages were slashed right and left? 79 companies reported an increase in dividend payments of 36 percent. Comparisons with profits in 1932 show the following:

Profits in Million Marks.	1932	1934
Krupp (armaments)	108	177
Mitteldeutsche Stahlwerke (Steel)	22	33
I.G. Farben (Chemical)	476	565
Opel (Auto Tanks)	25	32
Deutsche Nickel (Nickel)	2	5
Verenigte Aluminium (Aluminum)	8	24

The financing of Hitler's murder gangs proves to be a good investment of the German barons of steel, coal and chemicals. The workers have to pay the bill.

The French Trotskyists on the Conclave Against Class Peace

From La Verite

(Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the S.F.I.O.)

"The National Conference Against Class Peace, organized by the United Committee, has been set for August 10. As has already been indicated the Bolshevik-Leninist Group (B.L.G.) is participating in the preparation of this conference.

"However, from the very outset, at the formation of the first committee we insisted in clearly stating our position as set out in the following declaration:

"Declaration of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group
"1. The declaration of Stalin signifies the abandonment of the principles of Leninism on the critical war question on the part of the Communist International.
"We steadfastly affirm our fidelity to the principle of revolutionary defeatism, and the duty of the proletarian in time of war of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. In the present epoch, every war waged by our own bourgeoisie, even if it is in alliance with the Soviet Union, remains an imperialist war. 'The real enemy' is our own bourgeoisie.

"2. To pronounce the betrayal by Stalin by asserting the necessity of maneuvering on the part of the Soviet State is to add to this crime one of deceit.

"Nobody disagrees with Lenin's statement that it is necessary for the Workers' State to utilize the contradictions among the various imperialist states. But a 'compromise' which means harnessing the French proletariat to the wheels of its own imperialist country is no longer a compromise but an act and open betrayal.

"The U.S.S.R. cannot be defended by diplomatic combinations at the expense of the revolutionary proletarian but only by the development of the world revolution.

"3. The German catastrophe had already marked the end of the activity on the part of the Comintern as far as being the vanguard of the proletariat is concerned. Today Stalin has merely signed the death warrant of the Comintern.

"It is indispensable that the new Leninist vanguard be founded on the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Its political and organizational preparations by the regrouping of the most advanced class conscious elements of the working class is the most urgent task of the hour.

"We declare: the Third International like the Second broke its neck on the question of class peace. Long live the Fourth International.

"4. While retaining its own independence and without assuming any responsibility for any other organization the Bolshevik-Leninist group intend to participate in the efforts of the 'revolutionary groups' to initiate a campaign against class peace. It hopes that the various groups taking the initiative in this direction will cooperate in an attempt to hold a united conference.

(Signed)
Bolshevik-Leninist Group"

"It is clear that for us the problem of the struggle against war is

inseparable from that of the creation of the organ of the workers' struggle against capitalism. What importance can the regrouping against class peace have if it is merely to consist of organizing in order to agree on a contradictory manifesto which can be nothing but sterile?

"No, this must not be one of permitting the 'pacifists' to sing their hollow phrases or of the pure and simple trade unionists of turning phrases into an attack on Communism itself.

"Just as the only effective instrument of struggle against Class Peace was the creation of the Third International by the Bolsheviks, so too today, all the revolutionaries who really want to struggle not only by words but by deeds, are confronted with the most pressing need to reconstruct the new revolutionary world party, the Fourth International.

"The declaration and manifesto of the majority of the Unity Committee which we have not signed with the comrades of the Teachers Union (of the Red Trade Unions) and the revolutionary groups states: 'We wish to counterpose workers' unity to the splitting influence of Class Peace' which is a perfectly meaningless and confusionist declaration.

"The unity of both the Stalinist and social democratic camps is being effected precisely under the banner of class peace. It is not absolutely essential to counterpose to this organic unity of class peace the struggle for genuine revolutionary unity, that is for the new revolutionary road, the new vanguard of the proletariat.

"Those in the conference who have decided to evade the issue of the responsibility of the leadership of the parties and trade unions in the preparations of class peace would do well to ask themselves why they participate at all in this conference.

"We state categorically: this conference will be absolutely futile unless it enables the revolutionary militants to take a further step towards the creation of the one effective instrument of struggle against class peace: the Fourth International."

CHICAGO PICNIC

Chicago Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 12 Noon
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PHILADELPHIA MEETING

"The Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Franco-Soviet Pact"

By A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary of W.P.
Friday, August 23 at 8 P.M.
Grand Fraternal Hall,
1626 Arch Street
Admission 20 cents
Auspices: Phila. Local W. P.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays

Expulsions Hit French Socialist Youth

Entire Seine District Supports Leaders; Pivert Urges Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

Relatively few of the federations from the provinces were represented at the Congress. The bureaucracy had in its hands a large number of mandates, which it cast in bloc for the expulsion. It must be noted that the federations had not discussed the motion of expulsion and that the vote is completely unconstitutional. 3,667 mandates were for expulsion, 1,534 against, with 331 abstentions.

The majority of the Seine Federation, together with a dozen federations from the provinces, left the hall singing the Internationale.

After the Expulsions

Various indications lead us to believe that the top leadership of the Party (around Blum) were for a severe enforcement of the bureaucratic discipline but not for immediate expulsion. In any case the action having meanwhile been carried out by the bureaucracy of the youth allied with certain elements of the party (Lagorgette), the top leadership of the party can only greet it and acknowledge the split. Reinstatement is an illusion.

The attitude of the Seine delegation during and after the Congress was excellent. In spite of all the corridor maneuvers no cracks took place and our allies remained firmly welded around the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Upon returning to Paris we mobilized our membership to explain to the Seine district how and why the split had occurred. The anger against the bureaucracy is intense. Entire sections have declared their solidarity with the expelled. Immediately the ideas of the Bolshevik-Leninists made a strong impression on the mass of the Socialist Youth of the Seine district: the "democracy" within the party, the betrayal of the leaders, Stalinism (many Young Socialists used to re-

fuse to employ the term "Stalinism" but now have taken it up), the merger of the two bureaucracies, reformist and Stalinist, etc.

Friday, August 2 a mass meeting of the Socialist Youth was held with 400 present. Zeller was extremely emphatic: he developed very clear conceptions on the People's Front, on the role of the two working class parties, on the national defense, on the struggle against war, the term "revolutionary defeatism" which now is only used in France by the Socialist Youth was greeted with endless applause. Finally, speaking of reinstatement, Zeller declared: "They must take us as we are, with all our ideas and our entire program." 55 out of 80 of the Seine groups were represented and the motion of solidarity was carried unanimously.

A few words on the Spartacus tendency, inspired by the S.A.P., and which was our ally at S.L.P. At the present time turbulent discussions are taking place in it. For them "the split is without perspective" and we must obtain reinstatement at any cost. Moreover the split itself is partially the work of the Trotskyists because of their factional habits, etc., and they had provoked the reformists. At the Friday meeting they were shocked at the political offensive of Zeller and its success.

At the present time a number of members of the adult Seine Federation (supporters of Zyromsky) are busy seeking a compromise. They would like to reinstate the expelled non-Trotskyists, Zeller, Corvin, etc. (out of the 13 expelled there are 8 Bolshevik-Leninists and 5 "Zellerists"), perhaps even some Trotskyists; they would throw overboard the Trotskyists who "really are lacking in tact" such as Craipeau, Van, etc., and they would make discipline a little more rigorous.

Manifesto of Struggle

Comrades,

The Socialist Youth of the Paris District have been expelled. The best among us: FRED ZELLER, ROUSSET, CRAIPEAU, BRAUD, LISSANSKY, CORNET, CORVIN, RIGAL, MARIA, with whom we are in complete solidarity have been thrown out of the organization. Simultaneously with the reinstatement of COMPERE-MOREL the whole left wing of our party is threatened. WHY?

Because at the Lille Congress of the Socialist Youth (July 28-29, 1935) as well as in all public activities they have defended our position: AGAINST ALL FORMS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE UNDER A CAPITALIST REGIME, AGAINST CLASS PEACE AS IN 1914.

We, the thousands of Socialist youth of the Paris District in solidarity with the comrades victimized for the crime of having an opinion, appeal to you.

SUPPORT US IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR—

By demanding with us the reinstatement of all the expelled comrades.

By strengthening our organization of the Young Socialists of the Paris District, fighting against any national defense.

All comrades will respond to the appeal of Marceau Pivert, issued in his telegram of July 30: "FIGHT BACK! APPEAL TO THE PARTY! SOLIDARITY!"

(signed) Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth of the Seine District.

Some members of the Spartacus group endorse this plan. Needless to say it is doomed to the most complete failure.

Marceau Pivert, who at the present time is away from Paris, has sent letters of solidarity with the expelled. These letters, together with numerous other documents, appear in the special issue of La Verite (organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O.) which is now on the press.

At this writing we have not as yet received complete reports from the provinces. The Seine-et-Oise Federation, a very important one, is largely with us. Up to the present a score of federations are in their majority with us. In other places throughout the country minorities are coming to the fore. Here is a very characteristic example.

The motion of expulsion was presented to the Lille Congress by a member of the National Committee, who is from the Gard province (center of France) and naturally he cast all the mandates of his federation in favor of expulsion. Only

now we have received a letter from a comrade from Gard saying that in his federation at least a third of the members were against expulsion (moreover on the basis of the lying statements of Populaire—organ of the S.P.) and that the rest had not pronounced themselves. A fair example of the "democracy" in whose name we have been expelled.

At the present time the Seine Federation, together with those expelled still occupies the official headquarters. In the coming days we are going to start a great campaign of meetings against war and national defense.

The era of democratic process in the socialist ranks is at an end. A new road to success is opened before us. It is the road of mobilizing the young workers against the betrayal now openly being prepared—the road of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Ed. Note: The French Stalinists have greeted the expulsions with "A sane political decision. . . . A healthy action."

Peace, Anti-Fascism, Stalinism

By A. J. MUSTE

From events reasonable human beings must draw conclusions. They must evaluate them and then act upon those evaluations. I wish to comment briefly on the conclusions that are being drawn and that ought to be drawn by certain groups from the present Comintern Congress and what it symbolizes and confirms as the present role of the so-called Communist parties and the C. I.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the reaction of the real intellectuals who are capable of independent thinking and of probing below the surface, whose "Marxism" if they are Marxists, is not an extraneous ornament, who are not merely sentimental or professional "friends of the Soviet Union." These elements are drawing conclusions and their conclusions will bring them to us.

Nor do we concern ourselves at the moment with the honest advanced workers or farmers who were not introduced to the revolutionary movement the day before yesterday and whose minds have not been stultified by too long a sojourn in the thought-stifling atmosphere of Stalinism. These elements will also draw their conclusions and those conclusions will bring them to us. That is already being demonstrated by the fact that the younger, more militant Socialists are coming to us and are drawing closer to our theoretical position even when they do not yet draw organizational conclusions; and by the fact that practically the whole of the former Stalinist farm leadership in three northwestern states has recently come to the W.P.

The Lovers of Peace

There are certain groups whose first reaction to the present Comintern is, however, a favorable one. One of these consists of the pacifists of various kinds, those whose absorbing concern is to prevent or put off war. In the past these elements regarded the Soviet Union itself and the Communist International as disturbing forces, against the Versailles treaty, wanting to change the status quo, etc. Now they are impressed by the "peace policy" of the S. U. and think of the S. U. and C. I. as a powerful force against war.

In effect the Comintern wants to them: "The Soviet Union says to state off war in order that there may be time to strengthen its economic regime, 'build Socialism,' strengthen the Red Army for defense against any possible Fascist attack. But while the Soviet Union opposes war for its own reasons, there is no reason why all 'lovers of peace' on whatever ground should not join hands with it for the moment." And thus the League Against War and Fascism, etc.

Few even of the more intelligent pacifists today believe that war can actually be postponed indefinitely or permanently. It is then a question of putting off the evil day a

few years, a year, a few months. But what exactly does that mean in the actual situation of today? It means that the capitalist nations get a breathing space to complete their war preparations. Pacifist measures have always meant that and it is no different today. Would any major power hesitate for a single moment to embark on war if it were ready or saw a clear advantage in that course?

Disarmament
A few years ago the Soviet (Stalinist) "peace policy" was a disarmament policy. In those days, when capitalist economy was relatively stable and the political crisis not acute, the Powers could safely talk about armament reduction, etc. In that period, the war preparations appropriate to it could be carried on behind this particular smoke-screen. Where is the disarmament talk now?

Now the "peace policy" is a policy of pacts and alliances. The Powers are lining up in two groups, while feverish increase in armaments is the order of the day. This lining up of rival groups is always the signal of approaching war—not a means of staying off war.

Consider, for example, the effect in Germany of the Franco-Soviet rapprochement when it was in the making. The French course—Versailles treaty, revenge policy, maintenance of status quo, internationalism, etc.—paved the way for the nationalist reaction in Germany and eventually for Hitler. What happened when the French Imperialist government, in making its war preparations entered into a pact with the Soviet Union also? What effect does this have upon the German workers? Can it have any other effect than furnishing Hitler further support in his counter-preparations for war? Is this a "peace policy" or the time-honored way to move toward the abyss?

Consider, friends of peace, that Stalinism has worked out and is advancing a theory of two kinds of capitalist nations—aggressive and non-aggressive, bad Fascist powers and good democratic powers. Such a theory helped pave the way for war, helped to swing the workers and liberals in various countries into support of the war when it came in 1914. Inevitably it must perform the same function today.

It spreads illusions, throws up a smoke-screen behind which the armies, the guns, the gas, are prepared.

Already, as we have previously pointed out in the NEW MILITANT, the effect of such a "peace policy" has been clearly shown in the failure of the Soviet Union to avert one word of protest against the rape of Ethiopia by Italy and against the course of France and Britain in virtually abetting Mussolini's course, although Maxim Litvinov sits as a member of the Council of the

League of Nations! Is this promoting peace? Is it staying off war?

Disregard the Marxist answer to these questions, on their own premises and assumptions the more intelligent liberals and pacifists cannot believe that Stalinism has a genuine peace policy, that pacts, Leagues of Nations, etc. will avail to prevent catastrophe now any more than similar pacifist measures did in 1914.

Those Who Fear Fascism
The same elements of which we have been speaking, and others as well, are disposed to think favorably of the C.P. and C.I., to support Stalinist auxiliary organizations, demonstrations, etc., even directly or indirectly, with substantial funds, on the ground that the C.P., etc. constitute a great bulwark against Fascism. A well known intellectual stated the other day that many Jewish people, even means, now follow this course.

The Comintern appears sensible and temperate. The C.P. is a less disturbing factor in the labor situation. All it asks of supporters is that they be "against Fascism." Their class and social status is not affected. They fear Fascism above all else. They welcome this ally, once so unprepossessing, now a very decent and sensible fellow. One may even get the thrill of being something of a "red" himself without making a serious commitment in associating with the C.P. of the Fourth Period!

Unquestionably all liberals, all minority racial and national groups, all who have Fascist interests, do well to fear Fascism and to welcome all allies in the struggle to ward it off in the U.S. We need not pause here to paint the horrors of Fascism. By the same token all elements do well to make sure that their course will really defeat Fascism and that their allies are Fascist—not a broken reed to lean upon!

Anti-Fascists will do well to study carefully the question on which we think we can shed considerable light, as to why the most powerful of all Communist parties, the C.P. of Germany, did not succeed in staying off Fascism there. If, for example, he C.P.'s united front-from-below policies and Social Fascism theory were partly responsible, as the C.P. itself may be thought to have admitted by its precipitate abandonment of them recently, then anti-Fascists will do well to make sure that a movement which could once make such a colossal "mistake" will not make another, that it has indeed changed fundamentally, etc. Or again, war will inevitably mean the abandonment of democratic forms and the establishment of Fascism in one guise or another. If then, as we have shown, the Stalinist "peace policy" is not what it claims to be, is Stalinism an effective and trust-

worthy ally against Fascism?

Fascism Concomitant of War
Fascism, we say openly, will inevitably seek to resort to Fascism when in any given nation the economic and political crisis becomes severe enough, when it is only by means of an open and brutal dictatorship that it can push down the standard of living and keep the masses in subjection. Liberals and others cling to the illusion that somehow it will be possible to go back to the "good old (democratic) times" under capitalism. But to "go back"—as Fascism does in the economic, the political, the cultural field—means, as Hitler continues to prove daily, back to the Middle Ages, to barbarism, to savagery. The one way to freedom, to advancement in civilization, is the way forward through the workers' revolution.

If now the Comintern, the would-be bearers of the revolutionary standard, also preach a merely defensive war against Fascism, also encourage the illusions that democratic rights can be retained under capitalism, that bourgeois democracies must be fought for, shall those elements which have such abundant reason to fear Fascism be deceived into thinking that this fellow who takes off his rough proletarian blouse and cap and puts on the diplomat's frock-coat and top hat, has thereby become a trustworthy ally, a safe and main bulwark against Fascism?

Once again, actual events are already giving a clear answer. The same Stalinist regime which failed to stay the advent of Hitler today stands with its French imperialist ally in preparing for war against Germany, but raises no voice against the present course of that arch-Fascist Mussolini and is fighting Fascism? Do any intelligent persons among the Jews in the U.S. or elsewhere believe for a moment that given similar conditions Mussolini's attitude toward racial, national or religious minorities would differ essentially from Hitler's? Ask the black peoples of Ethiopia if it does.

Before it is too late, let the lovers of peace and those who dread the advent of Fascism here and in other lands awake to a true understanding of the situation. Let them ponder deeply now while things still hang in the balance, while western Europe, the Americas, have a breathing spell, how war and Fascism may be snatched, and who are dependable allies, or rather leaders in that task.

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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M. V. BOSTON—
Question: What is meant by a "holding company"?

Answer: The "holding company" is one of the instruments by which finance—capital monopolies, or gains control of industries, particularly the public utilities. Usually such control is characterized by the fact that the finance-capitalists squeeze out large profits for themselves without really owning more than a small portion of the industry. This is made possible through the assistance of the government bodies, the so-called public service commissions, which practically "regulate" the utilities, but assume function so that high rates of profit are guaranteed.

This is one example of the many ways this may work. Suppose a utility, furnishing electric power and requiring \$100,000,000, is to be built. The government permits the company to charge such rates for electricity that the company can earn 8 percent on its "valuation" (which is usually inflated). The promoters (read banks) sell \$60,000,000 in bonds which pay 5 percent, \$20,000,000 in preferred stock which pay 7 percent, and keep for themselves the remaining \$20,000,000 in common stock, the holders of which control the company since common stock alone has voting power. A "holding company" is then formed which has as its function the "managing" of this \$20,000,000 in stock, and \$10,000,000 in preferred stock, paying 7 percent, is sold, the promoters keeping \$10,000,000 in common stock for themselves. The process can then be repeated so that the promoters emerge with a new company which holds the common stock in the first holding company. By selling \$5,000,000 preferred stock in this company, paying 7 percent, the total investment of the financiers is now only \$5,000,000, by means of which they completely control the \$100,000,000 utility, and obtain for themselves the difference between the 8 percent which is earned by the utility and that which is paid to the middle class bond-holders and preferred stock-holders. (In the example assumed this would be \$2,500,000 annually on a \$5,000,000 investment, or about 51 percent.) They also appoint themselves and their families to positions of high salaries, or milk the utility by buying materials at very high prices from companies which they own themselves.

It is important to note that this form of financial pyramiding depends for its stability entirely upon the fact that the capitalist government guarantees the rate of profit for the utility. The entire holding company structure would collapse if the rate of profit earned by the utilities were to fall below that required to maintain and preferred stock-holders.

Actually, the holding companies set-up is much more complicated than is indicated by our example; one holding company usually controlling a chain of utilities. In this country, only a handful of such companies, connected to the big banks, control all the utilities.

Question: What is the significance of Roosevelt's fight to prohibit the holding companies, the so-called "Death Sentence" bill?

Answer: Liberalism is the ideology of capitalism in its progressive stage, of competitive capitalism. In the epoch of monopoly capitalism, therefore, the "liberalism" of the Roosevelt government is an atavism, evidence of the fact that finance capital had so completely lost confidence in itself, as a result of the economic collapse of 1929-33, that the middle classes were able to assert themselves.

One product of the pressure of these classes upon the Roosevelt government has been to fight against the monopolies which were strangling them; the latest expression of such struggle being the fight against the holding company, monopoly of monopolies.

The political lease of life granted the middle classes was not of long duration, however. As soon as big capital had its confidence restored through a renewal of profits, it again began to breathe fire and launched an attack all along the line against that part of Roosevelt's liberalism which expressed the interests of classes opposed to it. One of the victims of this assault was the bill which would have prohibited holding companies.

Incidentally, the results of this struggle are an object lesson of the revolutionary thesis that, in the final analysis, the state power is the executive committee for managing the affairs of the ruling class: monopoly capitalism came out of the fray a victor, more strongly entrenched than ever.

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PUSH THE CLUB PLAN.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern

by J. Carlo



The Stalinist Congress of Social Patriotic Betrayal

Favors Coalition Gov'ts--Cheers "Lesser Evil"--Treachery Rules

By JOSEPH CARTER

The tragedy known as the Seventh Congress of the Communist International is now being enacted in Moscow. The stage settings were carefully prepared; the actors well primed. The world capitalist press laughs at the farce while the militant workers are amazed at the social democratic theme songs which the Comintern has accepted: social patriotism, social patriotism, capitalist coalition governments.

"No single previous congress has revealed such ideological and political unanimity as this," proudly proclaims Dimitroff, giving eloquent testimony to the hand-picked nature of the Congress delegates. What was once the world staff of international working class revolution has now become a chorus for acclaiming the infallibility of Stalin.

Despite the tragic defeats of the past years, Stalin has constantly postponed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Though its statutes call for a congress every two years, the Third International congress is now meeting for the first time in seven years. Not even the destruction of the German working class organizations by Fascism, which impelled the Labor and Socialist (Second) International to hold an immediate congress, could cut short the criminal policy of Stalinism and lead to a congress which would put an end to its fatal course.

The Stalinists feared a Congress. Immediately following the German debacle the leading theoretical organ of the French Communist Party carried "critical" articles of the German Communist Party. These were denounced as "Trotskyist." Doriot, leader of the St. Denis section of the Communist Party, drew some of the more obvious lessons from the German catastrophe—only to find himself expelled. In Czechoslovakia leaders of the Communist Party mildly questioned the course of their German comrades—and were quickly quieted.

The "New Course"

Once "unanimity" was restored, the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (December 1933) decided that the Seventh Congress would be held "during the second half of

1934." However, this date and several others later set were also postponed. The reason: Stalin was preparing a "new course": the Franco-Soviet Pact was in the making. Once signed and then reinforced by the infamous Stalin-Laval communique, one other task had to be completed before the Congress could be held, viz., an agreement with the French Social Democrats for organic unity between the Socialist and Communist parties with the proviso that the "Trotskyites" be expelled from the Socialist party and the Young Socialist League. This achieved, the settings were completed for the Seventh Congress.

The speeches at the Congress more or less repeated what the director had ordered. In the name of a rejection of "stereotyped phrasology, pedanticism, and doctrinarism," the essentials of revolutionary Marxism, abandoned in practice by Stalinism a long time ago, is now overthrown even as to theoretical formulations.

Dimitroff summarizes the "new task": "We must learn to interlink the tremendous doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with Stalinist determination, with irreconcilability of principle against the class enemy and deviations from the line of Bolshevism, with Stalinist intrepidity in the face of difficulties and with Stalinist revolutionary realism." (Daily Worker, August 15, 1935).

Let us examine this "Stalinist revolutionary realism."

The Struggle Against Fascism
Wilhelm Pieck in his opening address declared:

"It is not immaterial to us what political system rules this or that country. Where parliamentarism and remnants of democratic freedom exist, there in spite of capitalist interference, where it is possible for open fighting organizations of the proletariat to exist, there we defend parliamentarism and democracy against fascism and continue to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship." (Daily Worker, July 27, 1935).

This from a leader of the German Communist Party who yesterday denounced as "counter-revolutionists" those who called for a working class defense of democra-

Abe Cahan Hails the Seventh Congress

Ed. Note: The Jewish Daily Forward, organ of the most outspoken Right Wing section of the Socialist Party, the following significant quotation from an editorial with the very significant title, "A Correct Word from Moscow at Last":

"At the congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Dimitroff made a speech on Wednesday on the sudden turn of the communists towards democracy, and according to the report in yesterday's Times he spoke as follows:

"In many countries the workers are no longer confronted with a choice between communism and democracy, but between democracy and Fascism and the communists therefore must support democracy."

"A correct word comes from Moscow at last, an openhearted declaration that in many countries there cannot now be any talk of communism any longer, and that there is no such thing there, that there are in these countries only two issues, democracy and Fascism."

How is bourgeois parliamentarism to be defended against Fascism? By an "anti-Fascist people's front." Not the united front of the working class organizations for the defense of democratic rights, the arming of the people, the organization of workers' militia against Fascism but a bloc of workers' organizations with capitalist parties for the defense of parliamentarism. The model is the French People's Front: the bloc with Daladier and the Radical Socialist Party. Daladier who, although he had a parliamentary majority behind him, on February 6, 1934 capitulated before the Fascists! These are the warriors against Fascism!

The People's Front is to struggle for governmental power. Dimitroff told the Congress:

"A situation may arise in which the formation of a government by the proletarian united front or anti-fascist People's front is not only possible but necessary, even before the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat. At the appropriate moment the Communist Party, supported by an upsurging united front movement, will seize the initiative in forming such a government. The Communist Party will actively support such a government if the government has a platform

"We sign this declaration with both hands, only with two reservations. One is that not only can there be no question in those countries about communism, but that there never was, even in the years when the communists were blowing the trumpets to bring the news that communism on a white horse is at the gates of the city."

"The second reservation is that if there is at present any question between democracy and Fascism it is thanks to the communists."

Against Fascism and reaction regardless of whether the Communist Party enters into the government or not." (Daily Worker, July 27, 1935.)

Support of a bourgeois "anti-Fascist" government! Nay, even participation in such a capitalist coalition government!

And in preparation for such a "people's government" the Communist parties are to seek organic unity with the Socialist party. Even for the United States this step is contemplated. Earl Browder informs the Congress that: "In the process of the struggle we will eliminate the prejudice among the Social Democratic masses that the Communists are splitters of the labor movement, we will further their healthy desire for unity, and discuss with them the question of organizationally uniting all the adherents of socialism." (Daily Worker, August 13, 1935). The time worn centrist prattle of organic unity of "adherents of socialism" is now the slogan of the Stalinists!

Fascism and Struggle Against War

On the struggle against imperialist war, the Seventh Congress again repeated the social patriotic program of social democracy. Pieck declared:

"Should German fascism attempt to conquer the small European states, their war against Fascism will be a righteous war which we will support."

What is this but a plagiarism from the Vanderveldes and De Muns, the Belgium patriots? But, the Stalinists reply, in the last war the small nations were pawns in the hands of the imperialist powers. Quite right! And what reason is there to believe this, a war of German Fascism against the

small nations today will not involve imperialist powers on both sides?

But, they reply, German Fascism's attack on the small nations is the first step towards an attack on the Soviet Union. Quite true. However, if France, despite the contrary assertion by Maurice Thorez, is an ally of the Soviet Union, the war will be an imperialist war in so far as imperialist France is concerned.

In his War and the Second International (1916), Lenin made this clear when he declared:

"In brief, war between imperialist great powers... or a war in alliance with such powers, is an imperialist war." Perhaps for the Stalinists this is "stereotyped phrasology, pedanticism and doctrinarism"! For Marxists it is an essential of the revolutionary program against war.

The French Stalinists are ready to support imperialist France if it is allied with the Soviet Union against Fascist Germany. "Defense of democracy against Fascism," "national defense of our country" are now the joint slogans of Stalinism and Social Democracy.

Only yesterday, after Hitler's victory the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern (December 1933) declared in its theses:

"The French Socialists (as well as the social democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.) carrying out the 'sacred unity of the nation' under the slogans of 'defense of democracy,' and 'defense against German Fascism,' actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany."

Perfect! And now the French Communist Party accepts the same program and proposes organic un-

Amid Hymns of Praise for Stalin 'the Great' another 1914 Emerges

ity so that the "sacred unity of the nation" can be more effective! The Stalinists, whether French, Czechoslovakian, Polish, German, of American now speak about "our country" in the same sense as the social democrats. The dictum of Marx that the working class has no country under capitalism has been replaced by the social patriotic nationalist conception.

Even the Stalinist Sixth Congress of the Comintern (1928), in its resolution on war, declared on this score:

"The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression 'national defense' is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty bourgeois catchword to justify war."

The Stalinists further consider, for example, that the French army, could be supported if the Fascist officers are ousted. The same theses of the Sixth Congress stated:

"In imperialist states the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

"No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois state apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize, but break up."

To repeat this conception in the French Communist Party today is considered "anti-Soviet" and sufficient grounds for expulsion!

"Organizational Decentralization"
The Congress resolution on Pieck's report contains the following instructions to the Executive Committee:

"While shifting the main stress of its activity to elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist parties."

The aim of this section is twofold: first, to permit the Communist parties in different countries to pursue diverse tactics depending upon the division of nations into

"pro-Soviet" and "anti-Soviet"; and second, to permit organic fusion with the Socialist parties, leading to the organizational liquidation of the Comintern, at least in its present form.

The second aim is brought out clearly in the statement of Dimitroff in another connection:

"We are even ready to waive the formation of Communist fractions if necessary in the interests of trade union unity." (Daily Worker, August 15, 1935.) Already, the provision for the prohibition of political groups in the trade unions have been accepted by the French Stalinists as a condition for unity between the reformist and Stalinist unions in that country. Trade union fractions have always been considered a principle of revolutionary party organizations. It still remains a principle. But the Stalinist parties are no longer revolutionary organizations!

Social patriotism, class collaboration, ministerialism or capitalist coalition governments, these are the policies of Stalinism! Treacherous betrayal of the working class can be the only result; betrayal on a far larger scale than we have witnessed in the last ten years of Stalinism. Only one instrument can stop such betrayal: the world party of revolution, the Fourth International.

Around this banner, tens of thousands are already rallying. The proceedings and decisions of the Seventh Congress will open the eyes and minds of thousands of others. It is becoming clearer to the more advanced workers that the Comintern is no longer the International of Marx and Lenin.

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Europe Rocks on Brink of New World War

Dillon to Pack Convention of Auto Workers

Faker 'Somewhere in the West' Organizing Sky Blue Locals

By BURKE COCHRAN
TOLEDO, Ohio, Aug. 19.—Dillon and Co. are girding their loins for the convention of the automobile workers to be held in Detroit, Aug. 26-31. The usually quiet office of Dillon at the Hoffman Building is bustling with activity. Dillon himself is reported to be "somewhere in the middle west." We are informed he will visit Cincinnati, various points in Wisconsin and also St. Louis.

The pleasant news is also released that in the last few weeks the American Federation of Labor has granted charters to two "large" locals in Detroit, while a third "large" local has applied for a charter and will receive one in time to participate in the convention. This epic campaign of organization has not been confined to Detroit alone. Several cities in Wisconsin, in South Bend, Richmond, Ind., Waukegan, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Grand Rapids, Mich., Birmingham, Ala., etc. etc. have had new locals formed recently.

Toledo, because of the successful battles waged at Auto-Lite and the Chevrolet plants, has developed a comparatively strong and large progressive group, and to challenge the rotten "leadership" of Dillon. Toledo has therefore become in a certain sense the beacon light for the automobile workers throughout the country. Therefore the Toledo progressives had to be kept out of Detroit at all costs. Therefore even the discredited former business agent of the Toledo federal local 18394 was used by the executive board to put through the motion to have convention delegates hand-picked by the executive board. The president of the union refuses to allow any democratic discussion on the floor; all motions are ruled out of order; the convention call is not even read and twenty cops are stationed at the entrance of the union hall to terrorize the membership and to prevent any distribution of the progressive program.

The Flint Bulek local, it will be recalled, wanted to strike in solidarity with Toledo, during the Chevrolet strike. Dillon had a pretty hard time keeping them out of the fight. It was rumored that some progressives were gaining influence in the Flint local. Therefore one of the militants, Killinger, is brought up on charges by Dillon. The executive committee drops the charges; Dillon proceeds to read him out of the union. No trouble-makers from Flint must be permitted to disturb the convention at Detroit.

Labor Strikes "Not Interesting"
The progressives are demanding an international union with full jurisdiction over all who work in or around automobile or automobile parts plants. This program is (Continued on Page 2)

Congress Passes Harmless Social Security Program

Big Business Unconcerned About Bill; Completely Ineffectual in Improving Workers Conditions; Passes Burden Onto Labor

By A. J. MUSTE

The Roosevelt administration attaches great importance to the passage of the Social Security Bill last week. The measure provides for federal subsidies for unemployment insurance, the setting up of an old age pension system by taxation of employers and workers, special subsidies for aged persons not covered in the contributory plan and subsidies for certain forms of child welfare.

It is set forth by the administration as a partial but substantial redemption of its pledges to do something for the "forgotten man" and to keep the big fellows in their place though not destroying the

foundations of the capitalist system itself. It is expected to be a vote-getter for Franklin D. in the 1936 elections. If the Supreme Court should declare this and other New Deal measures unconstitutional, Roosevelt still has his choice of campaigning next year as the champion of the masses against the reactionary few for a constitutional amendment; or if economic conditions are fairly good and discontent not sharp, forgetting about the whole business and campaigning as the man who brought back prosperity and did his best for the plain people.

Neither the present Social Security measure nor the other laws enacted by Congress in the closing days of its long session will do anything to relieve immediate distress. Not until the first of next year does a 1 percent tax on pay-rolls for unemployment insurance go into effect and the full 3 percent tax does not go into effect until January 1, 1938. The contributory old age annuity tax does not go into effect until January 1, 1937. Even after the tax goes into effect it will be some time, of course, before any benefits obtain. So far as the present and immediate future go the hammering away at wage standards via the WPA and other channels is the Rooseveltian gift to the masses. Social Security legislation is a cover under these conditions for the wage-cutting campaign. Little wonder that as the business organs report, no particular enthusiasm is being displayed by the workers over the passage of the act.

Big Business Indifferent
As for the business interests, they are expressing comparatively little alarm over this legislation. They are much more concerned about the measures relating to banking, security and public utilities which Congress is threatening to pass and which might in some slight degree interfere with the piling up of profits and with the "right" of private business to "manage its own affairs." There is good reason for the absence of intense alarm over the social security legislation. In the first place, as we have already pointed out, it is some time before these measures go into effect. In the second place, the (Continued on Page 3)

Dunne Slugged In Clash in Mpls. Hosiery Strike

Farmer-Labor Mayor Again Gives Scabs Police Protection

By Northwest Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 19.—Early this morning a mass picket line of five hundred workers battled with police as the latter escorted scores of strike-breakers into the Strutwear plant, where a strike of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has been on since last Friday.

Roy Weir, organizer for the Central Labor Union in Minneapolis, has been acting as organizer at the Strutwear factory. Weir has been messing around with the situation for months, in a half-hearted, vacillating manner. Finally his hand was forced by the firing of eight union men by the company, with the result that the strike was called without adequate preparation or plan. The blame for the state of affairs is by no means all Weir's, however. Casebeer, an International official of the Hosiery Workers, has been in town for several days now, appearing at union meetings and on the picket line. Casebeer seems to be walking around in a daze, and clings to a policy even more vacillating and aimless than Weir's. Some local workers claim that, for an international official, this man certainly cuts a sorry figure. Others claim that for an international official, he is pretty good.

Last Thursday night it was finally announced that the strike would be called the following morning. Word was sent around, and on Friday morning enough pickets were on hand to block off any attempt on the part of the management to open up the plant. The Strutwear plant (which for years has followed a notorious anti-union and low-wage policy) employs about 1,100 workers, mostly young girls. The eight men who were fired, all skilled machine tenders, form the nucleus of the union. About ninety more workers had signed applications to join the union up to last Friday. Since then scores of other workers have come into the union, chiefly the men workers who do the skilled work of machine tending.

After Friday's skirmish, the plant was quiet over the week-end, though it was continually patrolled by a slight picket line.

Police Open Fire

At 5 o'clock Monday morning the picket line began to form around the entrance of the plant. By 6:30 there were 550 pickets and a good sized crowd in the square. The cops began to arrive in their squad cars, until there were 80 or so policemen on hand, the entire shift. Also there appeared on the scene one of the handsome brown armored cars which the police have insisted were purchased by the city solely to protect payrolls in transport.

Scores of 574 men were on the line, from both the General Drivers and the Federal Workers sections. (Continued on Page 2)

'Thieves Kitchen' Folds Up; Britain Capitulates

Mussolini on a Volcano!

Writer Describes Crisis in Italy on the Eve of the Fascist Adventure in Ethiopia

By J. P. MARTIN

PARIS, July 24.—It is now as clear as day that no "compromise" can avert Mussolini's war in Ethiopia. Is this because of the grand manner of Mussolini or because Mussolini is less "peaceful" than the other statesmen? In fact, if one considers the new Italian campaign in Ethiopia from the juridical point of view, and were to take seriously the initial pretenses, that is to say, the so-called frontier incidents, the insults to the Italian flag and so forth, then Mussolini's undertaking does not appear as a reckless adventure. Millions are not spent nor are thousands of soldiers sacrificed 4,800 kilometers from home for the "honor" of the flag. The bourgeoisie itself scorns such child's play. The truth is that Mussolini would have delayed still further before taking this road, if the difficulties of the internal situation had not impelled him in that direction. It is in this situation that we must seek the causes of the new Italian campaign in Ethiopia and not in the incidents at Ual-Ual or in anything else.

Negro Clerks Upset History

CHICAGO, Ill.—The old story in Negro labor history where the Negro, refused admittance into trade unions has taken his stand with the boss to help defeat organized labor, is being reversed in Chicago today.

In a locality where organized labor has been disintegrating for several decades, Retail Clerks Union 901-B exists as one of the few bright spots. In the period following the inauguration of the "New Deal" several locals of the Retail Clerks Union were established in Chicago. Of all of them the only one to survive and prosper was Local 901-B, which was originally laid out to be a Jim Crow local. Because its sister locals have died natural deaths it has fallen heir to a wider field of action, and although predominantly Negro in composition, it contains an increasing number of white clerks and has lost its "Jim Crow" status.

The most interesting phenomena in this connection is that in a great many cases Negro union clerks have refused to work in stores where the other employees (often white) have been non-union. In many cases these white clerks siding with their white boss against their fellow workers have played the role of scabs. In all cases Retail Clerks Union No. 901-B has failed to lose a single fight in which it was involved. In most cases where an independent store is involved, an hour's picketing in the morning during which all deliveries of bread, milk, ice, and meat are stopped, is sufficient to bring the boss to terms.

The educating of these young workers in the role that they must play as militant trade unionists is being intelligently handled by its president, J. L. Kelly (Negro), and its organizer, F. W. Simington (white). (Continued on Page 2)

Duce Marches Full Speed to War in Africa

Only the International Working Class Can Defeat Him

By MARTIN A. GLEE

Not since the year 1914 has the world been so close to an armed struggle for imperialist conquest as it is today. The stage is all set. Mussolini is prepared to strike. (Nothing will stop him. Late reports record the news that an Italian consul has been shot in Ethiopia. The record of pre-August 4, 1914 is again blaring forth its raucous tunes: War! War! War!

The vain and impossible efforts of the League of Nations to stop war has again been proved to the hilt. The Franco-British-Italian "peace" committee has collapsed. It has been impossible to reconcile the irreconcilable. If Mussolini has not struck till now, it is not because of man-made agencies that has prevented him from so doing, rather it has been nature in the form of drenching rains and muddy trails that has kept it Duce's belligerency at bay. But now the rainy season in Ethiopia is almost over. In September the rain-soaked clouds will clear. It is then that fascist Italy will attempt its conquest in East Africa.

British Hypocrisy

Here it is necessary to emphasize again that this conflict cannot be localized. Too much imperialist booty is at stake. Too many contending influences are at play. Britain, because it has most to lose from an Italian conquest of Ethiopia, has made every effort to content Mussolini with practically unlimited economic control of most of Ethiopia; but Mussolini wants all. So it is hoping for a speedy solution by Italy before the colonial masses of Africa are aroused and before the Italian masses at home throw off the yoke of Fascism. Hence its hastily convened Cabinet decision to let things remain as they are with the arms embargo against both Italy and Ethiopia standing. Such an embargo can only be an aid to Italy and a blow to Ethiopia. Italy has arms and means of manufacturing more. Ethiopia needs arms, has no means of manufacturing any and so the equitable embargo is only a piece of Anglo-Saxon fakery disguised under the name of "equal justice for all."

Meanwhile the Giornale D'Italia, fascist mouthpiece, has declared that any effort at applying sanctions (penalties for treaty violations) by England will be treated as a declaration of war! French anxiety over the maintenance of the status quo in Europe, entirely favorable to her, accounts for her seeming neutrality with regard to Italy's desire in Africa. England's decision to leave the matter for League action on September 4, was probably due to just such pressure from France.

U. S. "Neutrality"

Italy's decision to act has already had its repercussions here in the United States. The "keep-the-U.S. out-of-war" crowd is going through the same antics as in the years immediately prior to 1917. The U. S. is going to be "neutral" for six months. In reality this "neutrality" is designed to benefit Italy. Neither the wolf nor the lamb shall be added in the proud decision. That is, aided by federal means. For there is nothing in the bill to prevent private banking firms from extending loans nor industrialists from shipping non-warlike materials such as steel, scrap iron, etc. to whoever has the cash or the proper credit.

Under the heading, War Talk Aids Steel, in the Wall Street section of the New York Times of August 22, we read the following: "Although the Italo-Ethiopian controversy has managed to disarrange everything else, it ap- (Continued on Page 3)

Red Scare in Akron Heralds Convention

By RICHARD FERGUSON

AKRON, Aug. 19.—Having carefully laid the groundwork in its campaign against all progressives in the rubber unions by a top-head-line blast: "Bar All Reds From International" in the Summit County Labor News, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy yesterday succeeded in outmaneuvering progressives at the Goodyear local, and secured the election of its own slate of "level headed" delegates for the convention to establish a rubber workers International on September 12.

By utilizing a handful of misguided officials of the local who accused the progressives of "disrupting" the union, which has been so consistently betrayed by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats for over a year and a half with their sabotaging tactics of stalling and actual sell-out, the A. F. of L. "leadership" has shown just what sort of an international they hope to "give" the rubberworkers. The old trick of rounding up members who have long been inactive in the union for this special occasion to get their three delegates elected, was also successful. The progressives got two candidates as alternates.

Unionists in the other rubber locals in the city will profit further from the experience of their fellow progressives at Goodyear, for it is generally conceded that Coleman C. Claherty, rubber organizer, deliberately picked on Goodyear as being the weakest link in the progressives' chain.

The prospects of electing several progressive delegates from the Firestone and Goodrich unions are good, and with the help from at least three other, but smaller, progressive-controlled unions which have had even more bitter experience with Claherty, these delegates should put up a real fight. Information from the union in the deep south and far west indicate that these locals have suffered heavily from the demoralization following the April sell-out agreement.

Don't Get Old in Missouri!

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—You can get a pension in the state of Missouri if (1) You do not starve to death or commit suicide before you reach the age of 70; (2) If you have been in the state at least (!) nine years and (3) If you can prove that you are destitute and in need of it.

This reactionary piece of legislation, which apparently sprang full blown from the Chamber of Commerce and its tools, the corrupt capitalist politicians, is hailed by the local A. F. of L. press as a great "victory" for the workers and a step forward in the legislative program for "social betterment."

The amount which the lucky ones are going to receive is \$45 a month for couples and \$30 a month for single persons. Six bits a day for the few days they have left after 70 as compensation for the many years of back-breaking toil they have rendered in producing wealth for parasites while eking out a bare existence for themselves—such is the reward that capitalism offers its worn out slaves when it can no longer grind profits from them in the industries.

Thousands Rubbed Off

Needless to say, there are thousands of working class mothers and fathers who will get nothing. They will be unable to prove their "worthiness" to the "expert" social workers who will take their applications. Many thousands of such old workers are not even getting relief, the discrimination against them being equal to that practised against the young workers.

And, of course, the nine years' residence in the state qualification will rule out thousands just as it (Continued on Page 3)

Retain Henderson in Sacramento Appeal

NEW YORK CITY.—Raymond W. Henderson, noted labor attorney and a member of the State Executive Committee of the California Socialist Party, has been retained an appeal counsel for Norman Mini, San Quentin Prisoner 57608, according to an announcement made yesterday by Herbert Solow, secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee.

In addition to providing Mini's counsel, the committee advocates release of his seven fellow-workers also railroaded by the Associated Farmers Inc. under the notorious California criminal syndicalism law because of union activities. Mini was defended in trial court by Albert Goldman of Chicago, retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. The latter organization is now associated in the National Sacramento Defense Committee with the Socialist Party, General Defense Committee, Workers Party and other organizations.

Henderson is one of the country's leading experts in criminal syndicalism defense. He was the foremost defender of I.W.W. members against frame-ups under this law 15 years ago and also played a

leading role in the Imperial Valley cases a few years ago.

"We will not stop with retaining Henderson," Solow stated in announcing the committee's action. "Nobody can present the legal case better than he, but the court which is keeping Tom Mooney in San Quentin does not consider legal arguments by themselves. The judges want to know whether there is popular demand for the release of these innocent young men and women. Our committee will try to rally unions and all opponents of reaction to give dignified, aggressive expression to their feeling against the criminal syndicalism law and the frame-up perpetrated under it in Sacramento by the anti-union conspirators."

As its first step in popularizing the Sacramento appeal issue, the defense committee will issue a five-cent pamphlet on the history of the case, to be circulated by the organizations constituting the joint defense body. The committee has established headquarters at 41 Union Square, Room 707, where further information may be obtained.

Mooney Must Be Freed!

(Ed. Note: The Workers Party gives its wholehearted support to the following appeal by comrade Tom Mooney and urges all its members, friends and sympathizers to aid in the greatest cause labor has known.)

California State Prison
San Quentin, Cal.
August 14, 1935

Dear Friend:
Our battle for justice is now entering its final stages—the hearings on my writ of habeas corpus begin on September 17 before the California Supreme Court.

Because of your splendid, understanding support, I am making

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your subscription has EXPIRED. We urge you to send us your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

this personal plea. I am in desperate need of funds for the finishing of this fight, and I am asking you if you won't help me meet my legal expenses before the California Supreme Court—and the United States Supreme Court in the event that it becomes necessary.

I owe five thousand dollars, and it is ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY that I raise sufficient funds to finish this fight for my vindication. Last week I was down to my last penny, and had to secure a loan of five hundred dollars so that the attorneys could proceed with the taking of the depositions of the witnesses who are in the East and unable to appear before the Court.

Your loyal support has always touched the deepest emotions in my heart and it is with sincere regret that I am compelled to call upon you for financial assistance—which I will use for legal work exclusively.

Warm personal regards,
TOM MOONEY
31821.

P.S. Direct all contributions and communications to Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco.

Comments
On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH
Labor and Capital

Alfred P. Sloan announces to the press the company union plan of the General Motors Corporation: "The plan was designed to meet all the requirements of section 7a of the NIRA. It has been in effect several weeks. However, workers were first informed of it today." Federal conciliators headed by Edward McGrady, the nation's foremost strikebreaker, have intervened in 1,140 strikes and lockouts and "successfully adjusted" 885. Secretary of Labor Fanny Perkins who opposed McGrady for the post of her assistant is forced to admit, "I was wrong about Mr. McGrady." The Columbian Enameling and Stamping Co., instigator of Terre Haute's general strike, though in the center of the city, is adjudged outside the city limits and pays no taxes. City and state police and national guards (paid from tax money), defending the scab policy of the non-taxpaying company, battled taxpaying strikers and sympathizers. Singing "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty" a sixty year old San Francisco lumber striker was clubbed into unconsciousness by the police. . . . Missouri tiff miners receive average earnings of \$2.50 a week. The National Lead Co. which controls the tiff industry showed a surplus of \$918,548 for 1934 and has made profits every year during the depression. The balance for the payment of dividends has not gone below \$3,900,000. W. H. Croft, president, received compensation of \$88,013 in 1934. . . .

Jurispudence
In a contempt of court case arising from violation of a labor injunction Judge W. B. McMahon of Cleveland, Ohio, gave his written opinion to newspaper reporters before hearing the case. . . . Of the 31 municipal power plants backed by the PWA, 22 have been blocked by court injunctions. Judges' opinions in the cases were so similar in wording that the general counsel of the PWA has asserted that they were "drafted on forms or instructions emanating from some central source." . . .

Political Science
Secretary of Agriculture Wallace tells farmers: "If you are receiving more for farm products today than two years ago it is due mainly to the planning policies of the AAA." . . . To striking housewives he says: "Consumers would be paying somewhat more for pork if there had been no 'big program' in 1933" and issues statistics to show that the price of pork has not gone as high as we think. . . . Gov. Ruby Laffoon of Kentucky sent troops to hostile Harlan County to insure an honest primary election. In unguarded Logan County Laffoon's candidate received 10,500 out of a possible 10,400 votes. . . .

Military Science
Wholesome summer activities of the Illinois National Guard at its annual encampment: "On Wednesday there will be a practical demonstration with 400 officers and men acting as a 'mob.' As portions of the riot detachments simulate a frontal attack on the 'mob' another flank attack will make a flank attack with tear gas bombs. The aviation and observation squadrons will take part, dropping hand grenades. . . . Intelligence lessons will be given during the week by Lieutenant William M. Spencer. . . . Protestant and Catholic religious services will be conducted each morning." . . .

Good and Welfare
Scurvy, a disease of malnutrition which had almost disappeared in the U. S. by 1929, is returning. Says Dr. T. B. Cooley, president of the American Society of Pediatricians, "As the depression deepened we came to realize that we were seeing in a few weeks more scurvy than an ordinary physician would have expected to see in a lifetime." . . . Dr. Adela J. Smith, Assistant Director of Health and Education in New York City, reports, "Malnutrition has rendered 135,000 students of the elementary schools too weak and undernourished to attend classes." . . . New York's newest dog shop opens. "It was decorated at a cost of \$20,000. Uniformed doormen usher in prospective buyers. The usual doggy aroma has been replaced by a slight fragrance suggesting myrrh. Food is prepared by trained dieticians and the vitamin content carefully watched. Within the reach of all is a running flow of drinking water. The pets are tethered around a spread of rubber carpeted dais, backed by mirrors. Attendants in spotless white duck exercise the dogs every three hours and they are combed, powdered and given a teeth brushing daily." . . .

BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY.
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Spartacan Troupes Stalinist
In First Debate in Middle West

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 7.—In the presence of 40 youth from the Calumet vicinity, the Mid-West Spartacus Youth League and the Young Communist League of District 8 staged a debate on Wednesday, Aug. 7, at Indiana Harbor, Indiana, on the subject, "Resolved: The Trotskyists are not counter-revolutionary." Al Garber, regional educational director of the S.Y.L., upheld the affirmative and the Y.C.L. Gary organizer spoke for the negative.

Goaded on by the continual taunts of Spartacus, as well as innumerable challenges, and bolstered by Olga's recent spurious pamphlet on Trotskyism, the Young Communist League was finally pushed to the wall and forced into a debate before a class in Indiana Harbor conducted by the Spartacus Youth League. This was the first time in the history of the Mid-West S.Y.L., and probably the first time nationally, that the Young Communist League debated with the Spartacus.

Starting with the theory of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism, comrade Garber pointed out how the Communist International since the death of Lenin had so deviated from its original principles that today it stood side by side with the social-patriotic Second International. He illustrated the effects of socialism in one country on the revolutions in Germany, 1923; China, 1925-27; England, 1926; Germany, 1933 and France, 1935, bringing the affirmation of history to the fact that the Stalinists are the organizers of defeats. As a result the organization of the Fourth International and a new Youth International, based on the principles of Marx and Lenin, now directly poses itself to the world working class.

Puny Stalinist Arguments
The only recourse the Y.C.L. organizer had was vilification and slander. He stated the usual Stalinist idiocies about Trotskyism being counter-revolutionary and pet bourgeois. Trotsky, he pointed out, underestimated the peasantry, refused to be disciplined by the Bolshevik party, was not the head of the Red Army nor the co-organizer with Lenin of the Russian revolution. And finally he asserted that Trotsky, if not directly responsible, was at least indirectly implicated in the murder of Kirov. The high point of the Stalinist's speech was reached when he denied the existence of a pre-revolutionary situation in France.

In the rebuttal the S.Y.L. called the lie to these glanders and quoted Lenin to prove the presence of a pre-revolutionary situation in France. The humorous touch was added to the debate when, after the Y.C.L. rebutted, a member of the

Dunne Slugged
In Clash in Mpls.
Hosiery Strike

(Continued from Page 1)
Once a crowd of pickets broke through the cops' line and sought to prevent the scabs from entering the plant. Dunne was singled out from the pickets near the door of the factory and was whipped inside the plant by the cops. There he was slugged across the head, thrown across a table in such a manner that several ribs were broken, and then thrown down on the floor and choked.

Later the police patrol arrived on the scene to take Dunne to jail. However the crowd threatened to upset the patrol car, so it was taken away. Finally Dunne was whisked out the back door by the cops, thrown into an armored car and taken to jail. The Local 574 leader was later transferred to the General Hospital where his wounds were treated. After vigorous protest by Local 574, Ray Dunne was released late in the morning on bail furnished by the General Drivers Union.

At one time in the melee, a cop was trying to escort a scissorbill into the plant. The crowd surged around him and the cop drew his gun and fired a shot, but hit no one. One of the office workers of the Strutwear Company, who was actively herding scabs, was beamed with a brick thrown by some one in the crowd. The cops used their saps liberally in trying to break up the picket line. They showed more courage than usual, fortified, no doubt, by the appearance of the armored car with its nest of machine guns.

Farmer-Labor Mayor Sets Record
In the few short weeks that he has occupied the office of Mayor, Latimer, the Farmer-Laborite, has established a record for himself and his administration. This is the second time in the past month that the local police have been used to escort flunks into struck plants. A few Fridays ago Latimer appeared on the picket line at the Flour City plant, where an iron workers' strike was (and still is) in progress, and personally escorted some thirty scabs into the plant with the help

Walter Sukut Dead

Word has come to us of the death of Comrade Walter Sukut of Waukegan, N. Dak. He succumbed a few weeks ago to a heart attack. This is the reason given for his death, but in reality he succumbed to an illness contracted over a long period of time working in one of the Chicago capitalist hell-holes—a red lead factory. When employed there, he was given regular physical examination but at the time of his last examination in 1930, he was laid off. Undoubtedly, the cancer gnawing at his vitals had already progressed far at the time.

Comrade Sukut died a victim of capitalist exploitation. He was a sterling revolutionist, active for years in the general working class and revolutionary movement, and joined the Communist League of America shortly after its formation. He remained an active supporter of the Workers Party from the time of its formation.

OUL March in Bryan
Ohio Wins Relief

BRYAN, Ohio.—A hundred unemployed workers with their families marched on the relief office of Williams, Ohio, last Thursday protesting the inadequacy of the relief and the starvation that was impending if the relief was not increased. This was the largest delegation so far marshalled in this community under the leadership of the Ohio Unemployed League. A meeting took place with Mr. H. M. Brannan, the relief director, and Sam Pollock and George Cole of the Ohio Unemployed League participating.

Mr. Brannan suggested that due to prevailing conditions a man should work for what he could get. Some farmers were willing to pay as high as fifty cents a day, and Mr. Brannan said that they should take it. Sam Pollock explained that the American worker had built up a decent standard of living through years of militant struggle and that this was an attempt on the part of the authorities to lower the standard to that of the coolies. Mr. Brannan said this was communistic talk. Pollock replied, that wanting to eat "was not communistic."

Only five thousand dollars has been the amodit received for the month of August, whereas for the month of July ten thousand had been granted. The eight hundred dollars left over was given out for grocery orders and medical attention. A resolution was adopted at the end of the demonstration, for direct relief, immediate provision for dental and medical care, for clothing, WPA jobs at union wages and supplementary relief to part time workers.

If this is not granted they will be back again next week.

The Manager's Corner

This week we sound the alarm. The campaign for the eight-page weekly is lagging seriously. We are still below one fourth of the total sum required to launch the expanded issue. Very soon the first issue must appear and it is dangerous to delay the collection of the funds necessary.

Not only is the campaign lagging, but instead of a continuous rise in returns on this account, there has been a drop during the last few weeks. During the week ending August 3 we received in contributions, advance subscriptions, club subscriptions and greetings a total of \$86.85. During the week ending August 10 the total dropped to \$2.60, the week ending August 17 recorded a further drop to a total of \$32.50 and this week the total is \$32.00.

In regard to this situation we address ourselves primarily to the party branches. A good many of them have given us information of pledges made but the returns have not come in. The building up of the party press, however, cannot be delayed. If we mean it seriously a complete change in regard to responses is necessary. From the New York district we expect the lead. Comprehensive plans have been worked out but they still have to be carried into actual life.

In the second place we address ourselves to our sympathizers and readers. We know that they are all vitally interested in the improvements planned for our press, but we also count upon them to help make it possible by material assistance.

Contributions received from the party branches have brought the Harlem branch up to a point of close competition with the Boston branch. The latter still stands at the amount of \$59.50 and the Harlem branch this week reaches a

Candy Makers
Strike Hard

By JACK WALTON
CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 18.—On Wednesday, August 14, the night crew of the Crystal Pure Candy Co. went on strike. The next morning a picket line was thrown around the factory and the entire day crew joined the strike. The strike started as a spontaneous walkout against the firing of four men; but it has since taken on greater aims than the rehiring of these four men.

The conditions in the shop were absolutely unbearable. There were no regular hours of work. There was no time off for lunch. Lunch had to be eaten while working. There were virtually no sanitary conditions in any part of the shop. There was a terrific speed-up. There was only one licensed boiler engineer. When the night crew went to work it was locked in until the next morning. In case of a fire there would have been a catastrophe. And the workers were employed at starvation wages. Under the NRA the men had made 40 cents an hour, the girls 35 cents an hour. All of the girls' wages have been cut. Some of the men's wages were cut to 30 cents an hour. Where the wages weren't cut directly, the boss began to fire the old workers and to hire new ones at 20 and 25 cents an hour. That was the immediate cause of the strike. The average wage in the shop at the time of the strike was \$11 a week.

The strike began to get on its feet almost at once. On Friday a strike headquarters was opened. A strike committee of 20 is directing the work. Plans are being laid to establish a commissary by Tuesday. The strikers are divided into picket squads with a captain for each squad, all under the general supervision of Benny Lounda, chairman of the picket captains. The squads go out at regular intervals. The spirit of the strikers is high. The strike was called just when the bosses had received a large number of orders, so the spirit of the bosses is low. On Thursday they asked for negotiations. As yet very little has been decided.

The ranks of the strikers are solid. The company tried to split the ranks by threatening not to rehiring the night crew. But the attempt fizzled out completely. With virtually no exceptions, all the 250 workers in the plant have signed up with Local 279 of the Bakery and Confectionery Worker International Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The demands of the strike are:

1. Recognition of the union.
2. Rehiring of all the old help.
3. Restoration of the entire wage cut.
4. A ten percent increase for the skilled workers. This question will be negotiated, if necessary; negotiations to start before Sept. 15.

Yesterday afternoon a meeting of the strikers was held. Notwithstanding a terrific rainstorm, about 200 workers attended. Brother Topp, of the Joint Board, who is assisting the strike, delivered a long talk on unionism, and the nec-

Workers Party Booms
In the North West

Following up the recent substantial acquisitions to party membership in western North Dakota and Eastern Montana, the comrades west of the Mississippi have recently recorded another noteworthy achievement in party building. Substantial branches of the W.P. were organized last week at Albert Lea and Austin, Minn. Active unionists and agricultural workers are included in the membership. Writing about this development, one of the party organizers states of the new acquisitions: "They are all militant men and women who accept our program, who are eager to learn and anxious to follow the examples they have seen of work in other parts of the labor movement."

White Collar WPA
Workers Protest

A demonstration of eight hundred white collar workers, who called a stoppage from noon to 3 P.M., took place Thursday at the Post Authority Building. The stoppage was called by the City Projects Council, the central projects organization, against the wage cuts which have gone through since the projects were taken over by the Federal authorities.

The slogans at the demonstration called for the payment of back pay, in most instances three weeks behind, the right to sick leave without loss of pay, recalled when the projects came under the WPA, and vacations with pay such as the administration has been granted.

An omitttee to see General Johnson reported that he would see them after their working hours, at five o'clock. The outcome of the meeting was to the effect that he could do nothing, it was all up to Washington. He said that a special grant had been forwarded from Washington which would enable the WPA workers to get 13 dollars to tide them over till the transfer from local to WPA was made. But beware of Generals bearing gifts from Washington.

Many of the WPA workers in the Parks Dept. had to be taken to work in Department trucks, not having the carfare to ride to and from the job. Park Commissioner Moses reported cases of starvation. When a park Commissioner takes time off from his political functions to make statements to the press, even the arrogant General Johnson took notice and listened.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.
CHICAGO PICNIC
Chicago Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense
SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, 12 Noon
at Ryan's Grove
57th St. and Western Ave.
(North-East Section of Grove.
Follow Markers)

What to Attend

Oakland, Cal.
Saturday, August 31, 8:30 P.M.—Attention! Workers in the bay region. Dancing, entertainment and social to raise funds for the 8-page NEW MILITANT. Jenny Lind Hall 2229, Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Admission 26 cents.

Free instructions by competent mechanics in all hand instruments will be given to all sympathizers, Young Spartacus and Party members. Arrangements will be made to procure instruments. All interested apply at once to Morris Lowitt, etc., etc.

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Italy Alive with Unrest on Eve of African Conflict

West Coast Notes

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 24.—Pacific coast longshoremen began voting today on the question of handling scab cargo from British Columbia ports where the longshoremen are on strike.

On this question hinges the fate of the present working agreement which expires September 30. Notice of renewal or abrogation of the agreement was due today but I.L.A. officials asked for and received a ten day extension of the time limit.

The Maritime Federation of the Pacific has already voted to sustain the embargo.

Action of the Pacific coast executive board of the I.L.A. headed by William J. Lewis, in ordering a referendum independent of the Maritime Federation can only be construed as an attempt to split the I.L.A. away from the Federation and thus materially weaken the ranks of the maritime unions in the face of the attacks of the bosses.

The truck drivers of the Meier and Frank's department store, largest in the Pacific Northwest, are on strike for union wages and union recognition.

This establishment has as one of its partners former governor Julius Meier, who called out the national guard at the request of the waterfront employers last summer in an effort to break the maritime strike.

Portland workers are once again getting a practical lesson in the role of the state through the fact that a policeman is riding in every truck that makes a Meier and Frank delivery in order to protect the scab driver.

Longshoremen are refusing to handle any merchandise shipped to this establishment.

Organized labor joined ranks with the unemployed and the veterans in a militant protest against the \$19 to \$24 WPA wage scale, on Saturday, August 17.

A parade through the main streets of the city was followed by a mass meeting in Plaza Park which lasted for several hours.

Organizations which participated in this thrilling demonstration of the growing militancy and solidarity of labor here in this city were: the National Welfare Federation, affiliated to the Workers Alliance; Central Federation Against Unemployment Council; Portland Central Labor Council, comprising 88 local unions, Veterans Union, and the Oregon Truckmen's Association. The demonstration was endorsed by the convention of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, which adjourned the day before the demonstration.

Don't Get Old in Missouri

(Continued from Page 1)

was intended it should. No doubt other states will make similar qualifications. The tremendous population shifts which have taken place as a result of seven years of devastating and unprecedented capitalist crisis will thus play right into the hands of the boss class and its instrument, the capitalist state. Workers who have all the "rights" accorded to "citizens" under "constitutional" law will find that their "citizenship" and "constitutional rights" aren't worth a damn when they apply for relief or a share in the New Deal "social betterment" plan which capitalism has prepared for them just as they have found them worthless in other fields of class struggle.

The labor skates would have us believe that this starvation program for the working class aged is so much better than relief. When a bare subsistence relief role is dignified with the title "old age pension" that is supposed to make a difference. There is an old saying that "a rose by any other name is just as sweet." To which we would add that a lemon by any other name.

Duce Marches Full Speed to War in Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

pears that it is acting as a steady influence on the iron and steel markets. The possibilities inherent in a conflict between those two nations have not been lost on those close to the trade. Because of difficulties in financing orders, Italy, formerly one of the heaviest importers of American scrap steel, has been absent from that market lately. However, it is indicated that the Mussolini government will return here for its metals—and with funds to finance its purchases.

No laws on the books of capitalism have as yet been enacted to keep steel manufacturers from selling their product.

War Preparations Everywhere.

Coincident with the events in Europe and East Africa the U. S. military machine is going through the most stupendous maneuvers ever undertaken in peace time. Blue armies equipped with all the accoutrements of modern warfare, ten-wheel tanks, poison gas, radio cars, bombers, etc. are fighting imaginary Red armies in an effort to test the war time strength and capacity of the standing army. Austria is already pledged to stand by Italy and has declared its readiness to stave off an attack by Hitler.

The question of utmost importance is: Can Italy withstand a protracted and long drawn out conflict? Elsewhere in this issue there is an analysis of the internal regime in Italy on the eve of the conflict. The misery of the Italian masses is unparalleled. The hungry belt cannot be squeezed any tighter. Add to that the horrors of war and the Italian masses may yet awaken and take advantage of Mussolini's desperate adventure in Ethiopia and put an end to fascism in Italy forever. But for that more than despair is needed. The masses indeed are desperate. What is needed is guidance and help from the outside world.

The Italian Workers Must Act

The cause of the people of Ethiopia is the cause of the Italian laboring masses. There is no conflict between them. Their goal is the same—liberation from fascism and imperialism. The Italian proletariat is being armed with physical instruments of destruction; to these arms must be added the arms of revolutionary ideology. Let the workers and peasants of Italy learn to use these arms against their own oppressors, their own exploiters—the ruling class of Italy.

It is necessary to show the Italian masses they are not alone; that the international working class will be behind them in their efforts to slough off the fascist scourge. Powerful demonstrations against fascism must be organized to bring this message to the exploited of Italy. In this connection it is necessary to speak out against the shameful manner in which the Socialist party, through its intermediary Valente, has permitted the united front movement against Italy's invasion of Ethiopia to peter out. The efforts of the Communist party on behalf of Ethiopia—setting aside days of prayer, etc.—are too disgusting to be worthy of too much comment here. The spectacle of Negro workers breaking up meetings of working class organizations speaking in the name of communism because of Litvinoff's despicable role in Geneva is Stalinism's contribution to the Italo-Ethiopian dispute.

A mighty united front movement must be set up to stem the fascist march on Ethiopia. The international boycott against fascist Italy must get under way. Time is short. Speed and decision is necessary. To the Italian masses we say: Turn Mussolini's war against Ethiopia into a civil war—the enemy is in your own country.

PUSH THE CLUB PLAN.

SUPPORT THE EIGHT-PAGE

Mussolini Embarks on Campaign Against Ethiopia to Sidetrack Attention from Poverty and Discontent at Home

(Continued from Page 1)

world. The unity of the Italian state was consummated in 1870 under the impulsion of the Northern industrial bourgeoisie. Because of its very weak specific gravity the industrial bourgeoisie could safeguard its hegemony and control over the political and economic life of the nation only by "authoritarian," i.e. reactionary, methods. The regime of Crispien (1887-1896) witnessed the first adventure in Abyssinia. The cities and villages of Italy were still seething: the peasants of central Italy and the workers of the Northern industries were rising, rebelling against the state. Crispien was the "strong" man of the bourgeoisie. He "energetically" suppressed in blood every insurrectionist attempt. Then came Adowa (March 1, 1896). Two Italian generals, 4,000 soldiers and officers were killed there. Others were taken prisoner. The Negus Menelik defeated young Italian imperialism. For five ensuing years the bourgeoisie tried to rule by terror. After the bloody repression of the peasant movements in Sicily (1893) came the repression in Milan in 1898. At the dawn of the 20th century Humbert the 1st was assassinated by the anarchist Bresci. A new period opened. Capitalism was in full bloom. Social reformism flourished from 1900 to 1910. The "revolution" took the road of legality. But not for long. The worker-bourgeois bloc represented by the reformist-Giolitti bloc lost its effectiveness. The worker and peasant masses once more directed their fire at the state. The revolutionary current strengthened and developed. This was the period of Mussolinism, of Mussolini, the "revolutionary" leader. "Red week" (June 1914) found Mussolini at the head of the insurrectionist movement. But with such "leaders" the movement was bound to fail—and in fact, it did fail. This was before the war. From 1915 to 1918 Italy participated in the slaughter. In 1917 we see Caporetto and the revolt in Turin against the war. The revolution was not dead. "Victory" found Italy in complete chaos. The masses of the North and the Center once again rose against the state. Through the mistakes of the leadership the revolution was once again defeated. Came Fascism.

Fascism attributed the cause of the economic and financial crisis to the workers' strikes, the very heavy taxes, the very high prices and the misfortune of the peasants, to the workers also. What has it done? It slashed the wages of the workers to a level below that of the pre-war period; it developed the industrial apparatus, but by that it increased the disproportion between the capacity of production and the possibilities of consumption, thereby diffusing even further the general impoverishment of the population. It prohibited the right to strike, but chaos in production increased at the same time. Taking 1929 as an index, the year when the last crisis began, production fell to 70 percent at the close of 1934. In many branches of industry, particularly textile, machine activity dropped to 40 percent of capacity. Despite the introduction of the 40 hour week the unemployed were far from absorbed into production. Even at the end of June of this year despite the mobilization of soldiers and workers for the Ethiopian adventure there were more than 700,000 unemployed.

Peasants Impoverished

If one wishes to establish what Fascism has given the peasants it is sufficient to take note of the resolution passed by the leadership of the (fascist) Syndicate of Agrarian Technicians of Treviso.

"1) From the agrarian point of view there is an obvious regression in productive activity, particularly aggravated in recent years and made obvious by an inferior cultural activity, a diminishing use of fertilizer, inferior production and an impoverishment of the offspring in livestock; 2) from the economic point of view, a growing pauperization and indebtedness of the big and small farmers on the one side and of the landed proprietors on the other, and of a lack of profit in stables, when there is no loss; 3) from the demographic point of view, a disproportion between the labor force of the families of the farmers and the extension of the land, and a lack of equilibrium between the number of families and the available property, which is the cause of 687 families of the province remaining without land."

Multipled by 92—for there are 92 provinces in Italy—the above figures give a real picture of the grim misery of Italian agriculture. The peasant who had a bit of land

and who out of fear of "Boishevism" augmented the ranks of Fascism in 1921-1922, saw all his property disappear with the seizure of power by Mussolini. Deprived of his bit of ground he is forced today to beg for his existence. The same applies to the small storekeepers and the small manufacturers. Fascism has lost its social prop. But the most disturbing problem for it is the problem of the youth.

Youth Rebellious

The young generation, raised in Fascist surroundings, is demanding its right to live. Games, sports, Fascist festivals cannot fill the belly. The youth, returning home from the demonstrations, finds neither bread nor cigarettes and is forced to demand his place in the sun. Unconsciously he is carrying on the class struggle. Corruption and disease have gone to such lengths that Mussolini and his lackeys are compelled to refer in their speeches to the "system," to "fascism," which has outlived its usefulness. But if anti-capitalism in the mouth of Mussolini is only demagoguery, the young people do not stop at formalities; they demand deeds. And it is not without importance that in the ranks of Fascism itself, despite the violent suppression of all class spirit, anti-capitalist tendencies are everywhere gaining ground. Together with the old Marxists being sent to the deportation camps are many young people who took seriously the anti-capitalism of the functionaries of the corporations. A new spirit breathes in the Fascist "jail." The young unemployed graduate, the young worker and the young peasant absorbed in the search of a piece of bread, who in the capitalist countries where fascism is only a threat, constitute the source of eventual recruits which enlarge the ranks of fascism—in Italy, where fascism has ruled for 13 years, they can find an issue for their difficulties and their discontent only on the road of revolution. The bellicose solution is presented to the discontented and aroused youth as the antidote to revolution. Thus the Italian bourgeoisie is doubly interested in supporting the Italo-Ethiopian campaign. 1) because the latter appears as a possible source of loot; and 2) because it offers a "safety valve" for discharging the forces of "revolution" which once again have made their pressure felt in Italy.

Capital Frightened

However, capitalism itself is constantly disturbed by this solution. Where will it lead to in the end? Will not contrary results arise than those desired? Profit is the raison d'être of capitalism. Now, after thirteen years of fascism, the Italian capitalist is full of anxiety for his money. Wasn't fascism to give him peace and security of investment? But, he finds, on the contrary, that the fascism which he supported and helped to place in power, is very costly. Fascism takes the lion's share. What more will it devour? Every form of capital investment gives rise to fear among the money holders. Fear of inheritance taxes turns away investment in real estate. Similarly, the fear of taxation on dividends and rendering deeds nominal makes investments in such fields insecure. The rate of profits on investments in Italy is, besides, very low. A very significant symptom of the state of mind of the Italian capitalist, is found in the fact that from 1928 to 1934 the reserves of the Bank of Italy fell from 12,136 million to 5,832 million liras. That is to say about 7 millions took flight abroad before draconian measures were taken to stem the flight of gold and currency (arrangements governing the movement of capital; defense against exporting money in bank notes or in checks; rigid monopoly of trade in the means of payment, etc.). Equally significant is the general fall of state debts. The ex-consolidated 5 percent converted by authority into "redeemable" at 3.5 percent and which was 88 in December fell to 77 last April and is now 68!

Are we to believe by this that the bourgeoisie is withdrawing its confidence in its fascist "agent"? Undoubtedly a revolutionary crisis will not unfold without extreme manifestations of panic in the property classes. However, we are still far from that. The bourgeoisie has not forgotten 1919-1920; it fears the proletarian revolution at the same time that it is discontented with fascism, which costs very dearly and it already feels the drain of usury. And that is a symptom which must be taken into account in the development of the situation.

For the present, the bourgeoisie and fascism remain solidly attached to each other. In spite of

everything, the solution by war in Abyssinia opens a road. But it is a road which can precipitate a catastrophe. This eventuality is not only not excluded but appears very probable.

Even Victory Fatal

Even on the supposition that Mussolini will carry through a victorious war and that this war will be very brief, from September to March, the results may be very disastrous for Italian imperialism. The slipping of the lira, already begun, will assume a dizzy pace. Even if the industries are worked to full capacity for the war, even if the peasant receives a hundred percent more for the sale of his products, the growing devaluation of the lira because of the growing inflation which will be necessary to cover the expenses of the war, will end by creating a situation which will come very near to that in Italy in 1919-20 and that in Germany in 1923. The wages of the workers, the salaries of the employees, fearfully reduced by thirteen years of fascism will be utterly incapable of meeting the feverish rise in prices (although war operations have not yet begun, the prices of fruits and vegetables have already risen 100 percent). The peasant also, in exchange for his products, will receive money which depreciates from day to day. And then, in order to pillage the Abyssinian territories, it will be necessary to impose draconian measures on the entire nation so that speculation, which is protected by fascism and even nourished by it, will not fail to garner its profits. The famous queues known in the last war will form again before the stores. Strikes will reappear. They are already reappearing.

But the war will neither be short nor very easy. Abyssinia, which defeated the troops of Crispien, will not fail to offer a very hardy resistance to Mussolini's troops. The difficulties Italy will face in fighting Ethiopia are enormous if one considers that it will take place in a territory where the Abyssinian mule is the best means of conveyance. Therefore, it can be foreseen that the economic, financial, political and social repercussions of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict will be a thousand times more serious and acute in the interior of Italy.

If one considers only the first reactions to the mobilizations of Mussolini, it is to be foreseen that the hostility of the people towards the bandit war in Abyssinia will become much greater when the operations begin.

Populace Panicky

The fascist press would have us believe that there is enthusiasm for war in Italy. Nothing could be further from the truth. Here is what a correspondent from Italy writes in an emigre periodical (Nuovo Avanti, July 13, 1935) on the state of mind of the masses in face of the war:

"Enthusiasm is conspicuous by its absence... while calls to service are confined to the centers of Italian mobilization, opposition to the war has not assumed in general the forms of rebellion except in isolated cases. In Forlì, for example (Mussolini's home town), the women attempted to prevent the departure of the reservists; there were also an important number of deserters, who were easily captured, and also some violent opposition to public force. In Cagliari (where Mussolini came in person to deliver a speech) a reservist committed suicide because he was refused permission to visit his sick wife. The barracks mutinied and it was necessary to use bombs and tear gas to quell the mutiny."

"Many desertions took place in South Tyrol, with attempts at assassination; but here," the correspondent notes, "there exists a strong Hitlerite movement, the kind that would come from this district, but must be analyzed from another standpoint."

"The reservists called to service, both officers and soldiers, showed the most obvious signs of rebellion when they were about to leave for Eastern Africa."

"A clear symptom in the new situation in the Italian army can be seen in the negligence in external formalities between officers and soldiers! A great disregard of discipline is a sign among the volunteers. The chaotic composition of these corps, in which individuals of the most varying ages and the most diverse physical constitutions are thrown together, has made the antagonism between the army and militia very acute."

"The militia (fascist) has stirred up a lively resentment against itself in the population

Congress Passes Harmless Social Security Program

(Continued from Page 1)

because of its undisciplined acts and its vandalism.

"Besides, a state of constant vigilance is being born. Rumors, often exaggerated, are current on the sanitary conditions among the troops in Africa. No one believes the official reports. Though in fact, the latter proclaim human losses from unimportant ailments as true.

"This state of mind agitates the fascist regime, which is seeking by every means to stifle news and rumors. They have banned all publicity to mourning caused by the Abyssinian adventure. In Turin, for example, they forced a merchant to remove a notice carrying the legend: 'Gloved because of sons in Abyssinia.' The communications of death are now laconic and read as follows: 'It has been communicated that your son (or husband, etc.) is deceased...' In a note there is a warning not to give publicity to the news."

If fascism fears publicity of a few deaths from sickness in Africa, what will it do when the list of dead stretches out once the operations begin? For we are inclined to believe that the Abyssinians are also good shots. They have demonstrated that very well in 1896 in Adowa. In the wars conducted by "democracies" the so-called "free press" had this advantage over fascism: it could deceive its readers who believed even in its lies. The fascist press is "suspect": the people do not read it and do not believe it. This is an enormous disadvantage for fascism in a war. A dispatch made with the aim of quieting the populace gives rise to vigilance and agitation. This is very significant for the application of the attitude prevalent among the Italian masses: an attitude of distrust which will end with violent explosions. In the degree that this state of mind tends to become general and active, it can transform itself into a truly revolutionary spirit. The strength of fascism arose especially from the inertia of the masses pulverized by violence and terror. Fascism, by the war in Abyssinia, itself is about to give the masses the opportunity lost for years of communicating among themselves and of feeling and wanting the same thing at the same time: the fall of the regime.

A Vanguard Needed!

What is lacking to prepare, to orient, to guide the masses seeking another road than the bellicose solution of fascism and capitalism, their road, a revolutionary road, is an organized vanguard.

The party of the proletariat, the Communist party constituted at Livorno in 1921, has been reduced to complete impotence under the blows of the fascist reaction and Stalinism. The Socialist Party, the old party of Turati, has been reduced, in emigration circles, to a fragmentary carcass. In the emigration circles the fragments of both the Italian Stalinist and Socialist parties have constituted, as a reflection of what is happening in France, a "pact of unity of action." But this "pact" remains without real importance for the masses in Italy. The lack of an organized vanguard, the political and organizational liquidation of the Communist party undoubtedly represents the weakest side of the Italian situation. On the other hand it cannot be separated from the international situation.

The task of the Italian Marxists today is a double and a single one: the struggle for the constitution of the Italian and international party of proletarian revolution.

To aid the Italian masses defeat fascism we must throw all our forces in the balance for the defeat of Italian imperialism in Abyssinia. That depends on the Italian masses, on the active and conscious opposition which must be organized in the interior against the war, but it also depends on the cooperation of the international proletariat.

Without the victory of Hitler in Germany, Mussolini today would not have been able to embark on a war today. A working class policy, a revolutionary policy, today, in London, Paris and Moscow can be of tremendous assistance to the Italian masses in reforming its battalions of world revolution. But it would be futile to expect this cooperation from the two dead internationalisms, the Second and the Third. We must appeal directly to the working class of these countries. And we can and we must do it only in the name of the Fourth International. Such action will open a way into the hearts of the Italian workers. It is not without significance that the only initiative in organizing the international boycott of imperialist and fascist Italy at the outbreak of war in Abyssinia has come from the Bolshevik-Leninists. The banner of Lenin today bears the name: the Fourth International.

possibility of emancipation by the Supreme Court remains. Thirdly, the increased costs of production may always be passed on to the consumer. Fourthly, new machinery, more intensive methods of production to keep down the cost of social legislation for the employer, can and will be resorted to.

In any case the taxes will be comparatively small, 3 percent of the payroll for unemployment insurance and a maximum by January 1, 1940, of 3 percent for the old age pension system. The exchange of a few million dollars in social security benefits for a cut of billions of dollars in the wage bill is decidedly "good business." Let Ma Perkins, Eleanor Roosevelt and the rest of the social workers have a fling. Finally, as experience in other countries has conclusively demonstrated, it is always possible, as the capitalist crisis intensifies, to effect a cut in the magnificent benefits due under these social insurance programs.

Perkins Waxes Eloquent

It is important to note the philosophy back of this legislation. It is based on the concept that the present "revival" in business, the upturn on the stock exchange etc., is the beginning of a real capitalist boom. In a feature article in the New York Times Frances Perkins states:

"The cost of social security will be comparatively small for some years to come. This was deliberately arranged by the committee for the President in order that the incidence of tax might be gradual, as business and workers will be paying this tax in the early years of recovery from depression and before the full prosperity level has been reached."

She becomes positively eloquent in painting the figure of the U. S. under liberal capitalism.

"The foundation has been laid. On it will be reared a structure, through the experience of the years to come, which will prove a haven for the nation's wage-earners in times of economic distress and when they become old and feeble. It will be a refuge also for widows and dependent children. In achieving such results it will likewise benefit all employers and investors by promoting and stabilizing mass purchasing power."

The intelligence displayed by economists, business men, workers and Congress in the passage of this legislation and "the intellectual courage and human insight of the President" have brought "a renewal of faith in the possibilities of life in this great nation as broad as a continent."

Of course, as per the formula of liberal capitalism, this prosperity is to be made "permanent and real" by achieving a balance of consumption and production by "the promotion and stabilization of mass purchasing power without which the present economic system cannot endure."

No Revival at All

The fatuous exponents of liberal capitalism continue to hold forth this hope and doubtless in many instances actually to believe it themselves, in spite of the real facts about the present "revival" of business, etc. as set forth, for example, in the statistics of the U. S. Dept. of Commerce itself. These indicate that there was an increase of about 5 billions in the national income for 1934 as compared with 1933 but when relief wages are eliminated the net share of labor in 1934 was only 64.2 as compared with 65.5 in 1933. This does not take account of the fact that prices during the period rose as fast or even faster than wages so that the real wages of labor have decreased.

According to the same report the dividend and business profits rose sharply from \$7,365,000,000 to \$8,103,000,000 between 1933 and 1934.

Wage earners in 1934 received only 52 percent of their 1929 income. Property owners received 61.4 percent and men in business for themselves 65.2 percent of their 1929 income. Thus all the indications are that both earned and unearned incomes above \$5,000 are going up and that incomes below \$5,000 are going down.

Nothing has taken place in these closing days of Congress to cause any change in the program of the masses of workers and farmers, namely, Fight against the Roosevelt wage-cutting program, against the entire WPA set-up, against fake social security, for substantial protection against the risks of sickness, accident, old age and unemployment, at the cost of employers and government. Above all, organization to achieve power and thus to end, before it inflicts still further misery upon the masses, a system whose most liberal and humanitarian exponents can do no better than the Roosevelt "social security" program.

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Pioneer Publishers, formerly located at 95 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. have moved to their new and more spacious quarters at 100 Fifth Ave. where they will be better able to devote themselves to the ambitious publishing program they have now undertaken.

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Also included in the publishing program are the selected writings of Franz Mehring and George Plekhanov, a volume on Marxism and Art and the Selected Correspondence of Lenin.

To finance this undertaking a special Publication Fund is being established through the sale of Pioneer Publishers Certificates at \$10 each. The holders of Pioneer Certificates, in addition to being contributors to this essential work, also have an opportunity to purchase books at low cost. Pioneer publications will be made available to them at a discount of 30 percent and books of other publishers at 15 percent.

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Shame!

Through the Daily Worker we are informed that Litvinoff, representing the Soviet Union in the League of Nations' Council, voted for the resolution to dismember Ethiopia based on the 1906 robber treaty between Italy, Britain and France, "not because the Soviet Union approves of this treaty, but because the resolution contained a clause pledging Mussolini not to resort to force while the matter was pending, and thus set up an obstacle—no matter how small—to the fascist war plans."

And how is the world to know, we might ask, that the Soviet Union—or more correctly, the dominant Stalin regime—does not approve of this treaty? Where would be the place to proclaim this fact if not exactly where the last of the independent African republics pleaded its case? But that would not have been possible, says the Daily Worker because: "All Council resolutions have to be adopted unanimously." And so, the representative of the Workers' Fatherland joined with the imperialist brigands from the thieves kitchen at Geneva to offer Ethiopia the choice of assassination or suicide.

This closes the first chapter of the recent maneuvers for new imperialist conquests. It unfolded behind the scenes as well as at the front doors of the League of Nations characterized by Lenin as an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. Mussolini replied with an emphatic NO to all the "generous" offers advanced by Litvinoff in his capacity as chairman of the Council. Now Mussolini is about to cast the die, opening up the second chapter of actual warfare for the enslavement of Ethiopia.

Through the maneuvers making up this first chapter stands out most glaringly the shameful role played by Stalin's representative at Geneva, equalized only by the revolting hypocrisy of a MacDonald or a Henderson.

Litvinoff voted for the resolution based on the imperialist robber treaty at the Council meeting held in July. But did this resolution "set up an obstacle to the Fascist war plans?" Or was Stalin correct when he asserted that "if the League is even the tiniest bump somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and help peace then we are not against the League?" Obviously, history has again refuted Stalin. The League was not an obstacle and could not be an obstacle. On the contrary, decomposing, due to the impact of imperialist contradictions, the League furnishes today only a cover for the vile games of bourgeois diplomacy in search for military allies to prepare the new slaughter. Mussolini, adamant in pursuit of his prey, used the League to help break down the competitive resistance of Britain and France. Stalin's representative, covering himself with the glorious name of the workers' fatherland, became a partner to this deceitful game.

This action of Litvinoff is not a mere incident for history to note and pass on to the order of the day. It must be understood as one link in a whole chain of policies pursued by the present day leaders of the Soviet Union. And it is fraught with dangers and treachery. Naturally this system of politics can have nothing in common with the example of the first victorious proletarian revolution, that still lives in the memory of the masses. In Lenin's time no doubt could ever be possible of

the fact that the workers' republic and that alone championed the right of self-determination of small nations. Toward the brigands of imperialism the Soviet Union maintained an attitude of implacable hostility and it proclaimed this attitude in words and deeds.

Lenin had no objection to accepting potatoes and arms from the imperialist brigands when the Soviet Union was in need so long as this furthered the cause of the world revolution. In general there could be no objection to any endeavors of the Soviet government to utilize the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists or even to make certain concessions of expediency. But the fundamental objective must remain the furthering of the proletarian revolution. For Stalinism this fundamental objective no longer exists. It has turned Lenin's formula into political solidarity with the brigands of imperialism.

From the very beginning of the chain of events that have characterized the Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet Union we sounded the alarm. The reliance on pacts with the bourgeoisie and the entry into the League of Nations could only arouse false hopes in the working masses. New illusions of reformism replaced the revolutionary objectives and served only to disarm the proletariat. From that position there was only a short distance to the final approval of the national defense of French imperialism as expressed in the Franco-Soviet pact. Viewed in this light the actions of Litvinoff at Geneva with regard to the planned fascist plunder of Ethiopia become entirely clear. This action was in perfect harmony with the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which is also the actual leadership of the Comintern. From the position of revolutionary internationalism characteristic of Lenin's time has now emerged the servile social patriotism of Stalin.

Now the war danger is advancing with seven league boots. This remains the life and death question for the masses of the people everywhere. It is the crucial test for all groupings and tendencies within the working class. The empty chatter about the League of Nations being an obstacle to fascist war plans has been blasted to the skies. Only the application of revolutionary methods of struggle against war can be of real significance.

It is necessary to draw a line and draw it sharply. Between the treacherous policy of solidarity and unanimity with the League Council coupled with alliances for national defense on the one hand and the Marxist position on the other no compromise is possible. For Marxists the slogan remains: the enemy is in our own country. War is inherent in capitalism and the struggle against war is unthinkable without the struggle against one's own imperialism.

Of course, the Soviet Union is threatened in this developing war situation. But it would be an idle dream to place any hopes for its defense on the diplomatic games at Geneva or on military alliances with bourgeois powers. At the first opportunity these powers will strike their own most favorable military alliances and turn with full fury upon the Soviet Union.

As war approaches we sound the alarm once again. We emphasize: There can be no compromise between the policy of national defense and the position of struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by revolutionary assault. The former can lead only to a repetition of the shameful betrayal of 1914. The real struggle against war must proceed in implacable antagonism to all these forms of social patriotism and against the purveyors of these bourgeois illusions, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

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They Have One Teacher

By HENRY THURMAN
"We have a uniform program for socialism, the strategy and tactics of the world revolution: one fortress, the Soviet Union; one world party, the Communist International; one teacher, the great Stalin. (Tremendous applause, demonstrations, cheers and singing.)" Chinese Representative at Seventh World Congress.

It is a strange batch of rookies that Stalin and Thorez have drafted to the service of their French allies; no less than Lenin, Marx and Engels are whipped into line under the tricolor to rally the communist proletariat in defense of Laval's brand of culture.

The world has long grown accustomed to seeing Jesus Christ's services borrowed for the endorsement, in turn, of Church politics, monarchy, democracy, pacifism, imperialism, socialism, and of late—anti-semitism; so we suppose that there should be nothing startling about a mere secular leader's being utilized for diverse strange purposes long after his death.

The Stalinist pundits solemnly assure us that Lenin made pacts with the imperialists, and therefore the present Franco-Soviet pact is

having got into the automobile, might use it and the firearms for new robberies. Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was such a compromise.

"But when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in Russia, the Scheideemannists (and, to a large extent, the Kautskysts) in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler (let alone Renner and Co.) in Austria, the Renaudels and Longuet and Co. in France, the Fabians, the 'Independents' and the 'Labourites' in England, in 1914-1920, entered into compromises with the bandits of their own bourgeoisie, and sometimes with those of the bourgeoisie of the 'allies' against the revolutionary proletariat of their own country, all these gentlemen acted as 'accomplices-in-banditry.' (Left-Wing Communism.)

But why waste our time on these outmoded instructors of the past, when they have been so adequately replaced as Wan Min bluntly points out in his speech proposing the liquidation of Soviet China and forming of a coalition government:

"We have a uniform program for socialism (in one country) . . . 'One fortress, the Soviet Union (repeatedly two, until the very hour of Wan Min's address!) . . . 'One teacher—STALIN!'"

Rally Support for the Eight-Page
NEW MILITANT.
JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

The Comintern Goes Back to Kautsky
Stalinist 7th Congress Throws Overboard All the Teachings of Marx
and Lenin on the State and Internationalism

By JOHN WEST

In 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International met to record the triumph of Stalin over the Marxist opposition, to consolidate the abandonment of internationalism, and to prepare for the utilization of the C.I. in the years ahead, more and more directly in the reactionary interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy and against the interests of the world proletariat. Seven long years of disaster have demonstrated in the laboratory of history the role of the C.I. under Stalin: the structure which once stood dynamically at the head of the revolutionary movement has become solidified as the organizer of defeat, the agent of betrayal.

When an instrument which the working class has forged in the heart of its struggles, to serve its needs, abandons its progressive function and turns against the class that formed it, the working class cannot merely cast it off as a snake casts off its old skin in the new spring. The instrument remains, and remains not as something dead and abandoned, but actively, as a weapon turned against its maker. Veiled with the glitter of former triumphs, it becomes a will-o'-the-wisp to turn aside great sections of the working class from the Marxist road, to confuse, blind, and sterilize them. Just so the Comintern. If it were merely dead, it could be forgotten. But it is not dead. It remains, with all its corrupting power still hidden to many by the coating of early glories, a tremendous obstacle on the path of the working class. The Seventh Congress meets, not to chant the death of the C. I., but in a desperate effort to patch up the rotting structure and thus to raise the barrier still higher across the path. This is the real meaning of the Seventh Congress: it meets, not to organize victory, but to consolidate its position as an obstacle, to attempt to prepare the last stages of the sacrifice of the international working class to Stalinism.

The Flowers of Stalinism
It is, therefore, not surprising to note, in the reports of the Congress, the incredibly low political level of the "discussions." No effort whatever is made, or could be made, at serious political analysis. No opposition on any question is present. No criticism of the past—even such a past—is suggested, beyond mild scoldings about "sectarianism" or "over-zealousness" in the application of the C.I. line. Not one lesson is drawn from the world shaking events of the past seven years. Not one negative vote is recorded against the official resolutions. Any vitality still remaining in the delegates is devoted to 20-minute ovations for the "great leader and teacher of the world proletariat" and frequent singing of the Internationale. But it must not be supposed that this takes away from the significance of the Congress. Rather does it make clear the significance. It is only in such a soil that the flowers of Stalinism can bloom.

The key to the significance of the present Congress can be given in three quotations from the proceedings:
(1) "The victory of socialism on a world scale in a brief historic period is assured if peace is maintained, thus making possible new victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R." (Pieck, quoted N. Y. Times, July 29).
(2) "... Now the working masses are not choosing between the proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and fascism" (Dimitroff, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 15).
(3) "In the present situation how should the toiling masses of Czechoslovakia fight for peace against fascism? They must fight with all means at their disposal for the preservation and deepening of friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., for the carrying into practice the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the S. U." (Sverma, quoted Daily Worker, Aug. 19).

The Poison Spreads
The political content of these quotations must be carefully understood. They are theoretical acknowledgments of progressive steps in the degeneration of the Comintern which have already been taken in practice. Launched on the tracks of "socialism in one country," the C.I. could not leave it at that. For the poisoning of one cardinal point of Marxist principle—in this case, revolutionary internationalism—meant that the poison would spread throughout the system. In the end no point can be left untainted. The abandonment of internationalism is not a minor "deviation" which can be merely "corrected." It is a repudiation of Marxism. And it involves successfully the repudiation of every other cardinal principle of Marxism. These quotations mark major stages in the spread of the poison.

Quotation (1) states briefly the

theory of socialism in one country, the keystone of the arch of Stalinism. What follows? Peace must be preserved. What then follows? The sections of the C. I. must be converted into peace propaganda agencies each sacrificing the interests of its national proletariat to the construction of socialism in the S. U. What follows? The interests of the Chinese, German, Austrian, French . . . workers must be betrayed to Soviet nationalism. The cause of the proletariat will be advanced and the S. U. defended not, as Lenin demanded, by the overthrow of bourgeois states, by the drive of the international revolution, but by (a) "the independent construction of socialism in the S. U." along with (b) the preservation of the status quo throughout the rest of the world in order to permit this socialist construction. That means, the preservation of the bourgeois governments, in their present relationships, in power, for only such preservation can maintain peace. Not international revolution, but pacifism and diplomacy, the classic "balance of power" methods of bourgeois politics, will protect the S. U. and the construction of socialism.

The Inevitable Conclusions
Quotation (2) draws the correct conclusion: Granted the basic line of socialism in one country, which prevents international revolution, for the sake of maintaining the status quo, the choice of the proletariat in this era is not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Therefore, the working class is led

Democratic theory best stated by Kautsky. No question of principle can be more important: only by the clear and constant recognition of the class nature of the state, of the fact that the bourgeois state in every form is its mortal enemy and must be destroyed, can a revolutionary party sustain a correct strategy in the class struggle. Any watering down whatever of this principle means, necessarily, betrayal.

Two Sources of Degeneration
We can trace consequences of the C. I. degeneration on this point from two directions:

(1) "Defense of the democratic rights of the workers and toiling masses" is, under all circumstances, a correct revolutionary slogan; and leadership in such defense is an elementary duty of the revolutionary party. But how defend these rights, for example, when they are threatened by the oncoming of Fascism? The Marxist answers: "They can be defended only by the offensive revolutionary struggle for workers' power, only by the class organization of the workers, the fighting proletarian united front, the building of the workers' militia, the overthrow of bourgeois rule."

For this correct slogan and the correct method of carrying it out in practice, the C. I. Congress substitutes—"The defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism" (cf. Pieck, "we defend parliamentarism and democracy against fascism" Daily Worker, July 27; Gorkitch, "Real united front work has recently begun (in Yugoslavia). Its aims must be to establish a united anti-fascist people's government

tee the victory of fascism, and the concomitant loss of actual democratic rights. The only defense of democratic rights in the present era is the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Thus the C. I. doctrine can serve only to weaken, disarm, and disarm the proletariat, to prevent the real struggle against fascism.

2. The United Front is of course an indispensable tactic in the revolutionary struggle. But the United Front must be aggressive, militant, fighting, an instrument by which the revolutionary party gains leadership over the masses, joins the working masses in common action, with no sacrifice of program or principle. On occasion, the United Front can even include, as subordinate allies under working class leadership, sections of other classes. But the C. I., after sabotaging throughout the Third Period every kind of United Front, now reverses itself to sanction a United Front policy even more disastrous than no policy at all. "The proletarian United front and the anti-fascist People's Front are closely connected with each other by living dialectics," says Dimitroff, "and the development is from one to the other." This theme is repeated in 50 speeches at the Congress—e.g. Lenski: "The immediate perspective in Poland is the broadest People's Front becoming a decisive factor in the maturing revolutionary crisis. . . ."

What is this People's Front, which is to include "all anti-fascist elements"? It is the logical development of the C. I. conception of a proletarian United Front as carried out, for example, in France. The United Front is, for the C. I., to be purely negative and defensive in character—against war and fascism, in defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism. The United Front represents not a fighting structure for common struggle in action, but a capitulation to social-democratic reformism. Consequently it is only natural that the United Front can "broaden out" into a People's Front including Daladier and the others, whose "anti-fascist" character is shown in their rapid efforts to hide whenever they smell a fascist.

The "People's Government"

3. To complete the picture: The defense of democracy and the People's Front both, again quite logically, lead to—support of or entry into a "People's government" or a "united anti-fascist government." Upton Sinclair himself would feel at home at many of the sessions of the Seventh Congress. A government of the new Labor Party in the U. S.; affiliation with the British Labor Party in Great Britain (cf. speeches of Foster, Browder, Dutt, Pollitt); Florin "favors the slogan: Give us a government of the anti-fascist People's Front" (Daily Worker, Aug. 7); Gorkitch will support the Macek government; and Dimitroff, "great helmsman of the Comintern," sums up "the new realism": "... a renunciation of the formation or support of the government of the united front or People's Front would be impermissible fanaticism." Dimitroff's dialectics go further, in fascist countries, "where a bourgeois-democratic revolution develops, a people's front government can become the government of a democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants." And the latter, no doubt, a workers' dictatorship, and so to socialism in two countries. And the whole process, mind you, by dialectic evolution, without the painful tasks of revolutionary class struggle.

What wonder, then, that we shall be asked to support the next imperialist war? Do not Dimitroff and the others prove to us that support of democratic France and England and Czechoslovakia is the high road to socialism?

And what wonder, then, that so often during the Congress there is mention of organic unity with the Social Democracy? Kautsky himself went no further from Lenin on the key question of the state, on the key slogan, "Class against class"; and it was here that there arose the dividing line that called for the formation of the new party and the new international—the Leninist International. The Seventh Congress turns back, back to Kautsky and his fellow renegades. There is no longer any real obstacle in basic principle to keep Social Democracy and Stalinism apart.

New Signers for the Open Letter

Ed. Note: We print below the first additions to the signatories of the Open Letter to the World Proletariat, declaring for the Fourth International and giving their assent to the establishment of a Provisional Contact Committee which will facilitate this activity. The first letter is from the Cooperative Society of the Friends of the New Age, an independent French organization with strong influence in the trade unions and the Socialist Party. The second letter of adherence is signed by comrade Vereeken for the Internationalist Communist League (Trotskyist) in Belgium. This is likewise an independent group, as we go to press we are in receipt of a copy of "Spartacus," organ of this group, which contains extended comment as well as their signature to the Open Letter. We will reprint sections of their comment in a forthcoming issue.

Paris, July 29, 1935

Dear Comrade,

We have received your documents concerning the Fourth International and our reply follows. We are indeed sorry that these documents came somewhat late, since our leading committees have been disorganized due to the vacation period and we fear that we will not be able to send you a motivated answer before a fortnight.

At any rate, we can say now that, for us, the question of the foundation of the Fourth International is inseparable from the question of the principles and the methods of the building of socialist economy as the first act of the revolution accomplished by the seizure of power.

Our opinion, formulated after exhaustive conferences, is that the defeats suffered by socialism and the Third International flow from the fact that the socialism of the Second or of the Third has not yet found the method of democratic realization of economic construction after the revolution. We believe that new disasters are inevitable if this question is

not studied immediately. We can say to you today that although we are ready to adhere in the founding of the Fourth International, we would consider our adherence to be futile unless the problem which we have indicated is placed on the agenda immediately. We will submit our proposals on this subject. We deem it necessary to point this out to you and we beg you to make this known together with the fact that our publications are at the disposal of any of the groups which you may indicate.

Please receive, dear comrade, our fraternal greetings,
(signed) GEORGE VALOIS,
Administrative Secretary.

The following is the letter of comrade Vereeken in the name of his group on the subject of the Open Letter:

"To the I. S. of the I.C.L.: Received your document. An affirmative answer has been elaborated and is now being examined by the comrades of our organization. The reply will be sent and published in Spartacus."
(signed) G. VEREKEN.

to support of bourgeois democratic governments, if only these governments "promise" to support the "peace policy" of the S. U. In other words, abandonment of internationalism logically leads to abandonment of the Marxist theory of the state, which holds that the bourgeois state is under all circumstances the political instrument of the bourgeoisie and consequently on all occasions the irreconcilable enemy of the proletariat and its party.

But with things as they are, peace may not be preserved even at this price. Again, therefore, with iron logic, the necessary conclusion is drawn in quotation (3). To "carry into practice the mutual assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the S. U." to support the bourgeois government of Czechoslovakia in war against Germany; and, since imperialist powers—notably Czechoslovakia's ally—France—will be involved in such a war, to support likewise French imperialism. Thus, abandonment of the Marxist theory of the state leads, just as inevitably as it led Social Democracy prior to the last war, to an abandonment of the Marxist position on war, to social-patriotism, and preparations for the betrayal of the proletariat of France and all other nations which happen to be, for their own purposes, in alliance with the S. U. to the war makers.

I wish in the remainder of this article to demonstrate further the extent to which the C. I. has abandoned the Marxist theory of the state and has accepted the Social-

which will support the Macek government if it takes the necessary firm steps against fascism" (Daily Worker, Aug. 14.) But this means, in effect, support of the class enemy—for a bourgeois democratic government is, like a fascist government, simply one form of bourgeois class dictatorship. To support the class enemy under any circumstances means always to weaken one's own forces, to disarm the proletariat both materially and ideologically. It means to do precisely what the Social Democracy did in Germany, where its support of the democratic Weimar government prepared the way for Hitler.

Bourgeois Democracy and Fascism
It is of course true that the question of what "kind" of bourgeois dictatorship—democratic or fascist—is not indifferent to the proletariat (as Pieck stated in his opening address). But what the proletariat is interested in keeping or gaining is not bourgeois democracy as against fascism, but certain of the rights which the proletariat still has under democracy and loses under fascism. However, the democratic rights themselves, when threatened by Fascism in the era of the decline of capitalism, can be kept only by a revolutionary struggle, only, that is, by the overthrow of bourgeois class rule in whatever form it appears, and the establishment of workers' rule. Bourgeois democracy, left to itself, "defended" by the proletariat, necessarily is transformed by finance-capital to fascism; and thus the defense of bourgeois democracy, far from protecting democratic rights, is the sure way to guaran-

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Labor Skates, Mayor, Bosses Form Alliance To Smash Local 574

Minn. State Federation Officials Line Up with Open Shop Employers in Fight Against Militant Unionism

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Aug. 28.—Crusading to Make Minneapolis Safe for Profits, an unholy alliance has been formed between Minnesota State Federation of Labor officials, the notorious Citizens Alliance, and the Farmer-Labor mayor, to crush Drivers Local 574, sword and shield of labor in the Northwest.

Behind the closed doors of Mayor Thomas F. Latimer's office the conspiracy to smash militant unionism in Minneapolis was hatched. Spread over the capitalist rags are headlines: "Labor Chiefs Ask Drive on 'Incorrigibles'" and "Racketeering in Strikes Hit by Labor Leaders; Unwarranted Interference by Outside Unions Opposed" and "Citizens Alliance Joins Labor in Racket Fight; Offers Entire Facilities to Help Stamp Out Incurrigibles," etc., etc., ad nauseum.

That the high officials of the State Federation brazenly dare to appear in the broad daylight before all of Minneapolis labor arm-in-arm with the worst foe of unionism, the Citizens Alliance, is a clear sign that they no longer feel secure. No less significant is the fact that, during the famous drivers strikes of last summer, they were very wary of a similar move made by Dan Tobin, mogul of the Teamsters International. The spectre of fighting unionism, dreaded by them far more than any bosses' association, is moving the fakery into action.

"Outside Interference" It is openly admitted by these skates in their joint statement with the mayor that what they are most concerned with is "outside interference" in strikes, failing to mention 574 by name but obviously referring to them. And while ranting against this so-called "interference" (read: solidarity) they deliberately overlook their comrades-in-arms, the Citizens Alliance, which never loses a minute in "interfering." I.e. helping, other employers in a strike situation and is owned body and soul by Wall Street.

The ferocity of their opposition to 574 has as its immediate cause in two recent struggles in this city—the strikes in the Ornamental Iron Works and the Strutwear Hosiery Mill. In both cases members of 574 stepped in after A. F. of L. leaders had hopelessly bungled the situation. In both cases 574 stepped in only on the official request for assistance by the local unions involved. And in both cases the tactics of 574 turned a certain defeat into a favorable chance for victory. As previously reported in the NEW MILITANT, it was Roy Weir, organizer for the C.I.U., whose tactics brought nothing but disorder and demoralization into the ranks of the Hosiery workers. 574 put the strike on its feet and the leader of that local, Vincent R. Dunne, was badly beaten by the cops so that this aim might be achieved.

Uphold Police Action in Strikes The timely and effective action of the Drivers Union has made them the source of hope and courage for all unorganized and newly organized workers in Minneapolis. This is what makes the labor skates so fearful. And because of this they have agreed "to uphold Mayor Latimer if he finds it necessary to use firm police measures to prevent illegal picketing in future industrial controversies." Even open strike-breaking is not beneath them!

The use of police in strikes is nothing new for Mayor Latimer. A demagogue, elected against Bloody Bainbridge, on promise to keep the cops away from strikes, he personally supervised the herding of scabs and provided them with police convoys in the first strike actions under his administration. Everything might have proceeded smoothly, with scabs filling the places of strikers, if 574 had not intervened. Then Latimer could have remained the "friend of labor" and the Farmer-Labor Party might have been able to continue to pose as the "workingmen's party." Discredit-

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U.S. Rubber Barons Seek Profits in African War

AKRON, Ohio, Aug. 26.—Rubber workers received a grim reminder of the world significance of Mussolini's brutal aggression in Ethiopia this week as they were ordered to the mechanical departments of the large factories to bring out of storage molds used to make gas-masks.

It is very evident that the rubber barons, who increased their fortunes by the millions in the disastrous World War, already anticipate more bloody profits from the precarious world situation of today.

Teachers Win Victory Over Green Machine

Militants Defeat Move To Oust New York Progressives

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 29.—Progressive forces at the convention of the American Federation of Teachers and the entire labor movement scored a significant victory at today's session. The Leftowitz-Linville motion to revoke the charter of the New York Teachers Union which would have meant expulsion of the progressive elements was defeated by a roll call vote of 100 to 79.

In similar fashion the entire slate of the progressive forces was elected as follows: Raymond P. Lowry, Cleveland, Pres.; Geo. Davis, Cleveland, Sec'y-Treas.; and members of the Executive Council: Chas. J. Hendley (N. Y.), Ralph Abstrom (Minn.), Maynard Krueger (Chicago), Walter Bergman (Detroit), Anna C. Dart (San Francisco), Mary Grossman (Philadelphia), Florence Hanson (Chicago), Mercedes Nelson (Minn.), W. P. Satterthwaite (Seattle), E. R. Weinberger (W. Va.), Claude Williams (Ark.), C. Wells (Wisc.), Mary Merrick (Chicago).

The great surprise of the elections was the election to the Executive Council of Chas. J. Hendley of New York, representing the minority opposition in Local 5 and the defeat of Abraham J. Leftowitz who was also a candidate for that body.

Green's Splitting Telegram A significant factor in the victory of the progressives was the impudent and intimidating telegram from Pres. Green of the A. F. of L. which shocked and aroused the delegates when it was read to the convention at yesterday's session. Miss Selma Borchardt, legislative representative of the A. F. of L. at Washington, and a Leftowitz adherent, admitted on the floor of the convention that she had arranged to have Green send the telegram to the convention at the "psychological moment." But the

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Imperialist Carnage Awaits Mussolini's Raid on Ethiopia

Tyrant-in-Chief Bill Green Dictates Auto Union Heads

Overrides Overwhelming Vote of Membership Defeating Dillon for Office at Convention in Detroit

BULLETIN DETROIT, Aug. 30.—Dictator William Green, who crawls on all fours before the bosses and the President, threw into the waste basket the democratic decisions of the convention of the auto workers now in session, overrode the crushing defeat administered to Dillon and his machine, and handpicked the incoming Executive Council and officers from the worst reactionary heels in the auto industry.

BULLETIN DETROIT, Aug. 28.—Burke Cochran, correspondent for the NEW MILITANT, was ordered out of the convention of the United Automobile Workers held at the Fort Shelby Hotel by Francis J. Dillon, chairman, although he had previously received a press card from the resolutions committee of the convention. He has sent in a written protest to the resolutions committee and demanding that he be allowed to sit with other representatives of the press.

DETROIT, Mich., Aug. 28.—The constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers, meeting at the Fort Shelby Hotel here in Detroit is entering into its fourth day. As yet the convention has nothing more substantial to report than the adoption of a few minor resolutions and a name for the union, "The International Union of United Automobile Workers of America."

The Dillon machine has come fully geared to this convention. It was determined to place its heavy hands around the throat of the International from the start; to place the automobile worker in a strait-jacket and to dampen his ardor.

The first session opened with a blowing of bugles and a fanfare of drums. First, the usual quota of speeches. Then a delegation of about thirty men was charged "with the honor and responsibility of proceeding to Suite 1873 of this hotel and there conveying to the President of the American Federation of Labor your desire to usher him to this convention." As Pres. Green entered the convention hall the chorus sang "How-do-you-do, Mr. Green?" Then after a long speech full of pathos and deep feeling, Green presented, "with a deep and sincere consciousness of the solemnity of this occasion" a charter to the United Automobile Workers. "There it is," he cried. "It is yours." Quietly down a little, he explained that the charter gave the union jurisdiction over production workers only and that for a temporary period, the officers to function under the charter would be designated by the Pres. of the American Federation of Labor.

Green Pleads, Cajoles, Whines The next day the handpicked resolutions committee began its report. Among a lot of innocuous resolutions, one was slipped in to the effect that Dillon continue to serve as President of the International, with his salary to be paid by the American Federation of Labor. At once, Carl Shipley, a progressive of local 18437 of South Bend was on his feet and offered a substitute that all officers of the International be elected by the convention. Dillon, who acted as chairman, said that the substitute motion "embarrassed" him, as the motion involved him (Dillon) personally. Therefore he would turn the chair over to Pres. Green. Green came forward, suave and prepared. The machine, it appeared was well oiled. Everything seemed to be running according to schedule.

Green began explaining: Now was a transition period, a probationary period; the A. F. of L., like a father was solicitous for the welfare of a child, wanted to watch over the International. "Is it possible," he exclaimed, "that we cannot extend to you the help we are craving to give?" For half an hour he kept alternately threatening and pleading that Dillon be accepted as the President of the International.

As soon as he finished his remarks up jumped delegate after delegate from Toledo, Cleveland, South Bend, Norwood, Kenosha—all the substantial delegations as a matter of fact, and rejected with indignation the attempt on the part of the A. F. of L. to ram down their throats an appointed president. They termed the proposal an insult to their intelligence. All the accumulated bitterness of a whole year; the betrayals, the sabotage of the Dillon office, revealed itself in their indignant but restrained remarks.

For about an hour and a half the delegates debated the motion. Then Green ruled the substitute out of order! The vote was now to concur with the recommendation of the resolutions committee or not to concur. A roll-call vote was taken and the resolution had been defeated by a vote of 1642 to 1128. Cheers greeted the announcement of the count. This was the first test of strength between the progressives and the reactionary machine, and the progressives had come out victorious!

The convention had voted its decision on the matter, but as the good book says, "Man proposes, but God disposes." After the meeting was adjourned, Green informed the press "this has no effect on the status of things." Dillon will be retained in an executive capacity. The convention can appeal on this point to the national convention of the A. F. of L. in October, but the charter clearly states that the executive council can appoint its officers.

"I think, however, that I can straighten this out today to the satisfaction of all parties." And they have been "straightening the thing out" for the last day and a half. They have been caucusing with all of the delegations, soft-soaping, pleading, explaining. What they failed to obtain by coercion they now intend to cheat the convention out of by diplomacy. A "Compromise"—Not a Defeat! It is understood that a "compromise" resolution is being sought. Late Tuesday night, it was rumored that the majority of the delegations had agreed to the election of Martens of Kansas City as President of the International, and that Dillon would act as his "advisor." If this

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Pass Guffey Bill; Blow to Mine Workers

Legalizes Company Unions; Stifles Strike Movements

The passage of the Guffey-Snyder Coal Bill just before Congress adjourned undoubtedly brought great satisfaction to the officials at the United Mine Workers headquarters. It has now become law. But what will it mean to the mine camps.

About 450,000 soft coal miners, wracked by the twin scourge of unemployment and low wages, have time and again asserted their demand for a six-hour workday and the six dollar a day scale. The present contract with the coal operators expired on April first and the union officials were empowered to call a strike to gain these main demands; but they preferred to place their hopes in the passage of the Guffey Bill. Three times the projected and again postponed national strike was called off in anticipation of the passage of the bill. It was on the Roosevelt administration's "must" list and it was supported jointly by the large coal operators and the U.M.W. officials.

Cancels Strike Action

Of course, the Guffey Bill will in no sense meet the demands of the coal miners. The fact that it enjoyed the support of the large coal operators should make this perfectly clear. But this is not all. The same as the anticipation of the passage of the Guffey Bill served before to postpone strike action it can now be expected to serve as a means to cancel strike action for the coal miners' demands altogether. This after all is its real purpose.

The Guffey Bill is a part of the legislation symbolical of the Roosevelt regime. Similar in essence to the Wagner Bill it is to serve as a means of what is popularly called, "diminishing the causes of labor disputes." But this merely diplomatic way of saying the bill is designed to prevent the workers from resorting to strike action to gain their demands. With its various provisions the Guffey Bill aims to divert the coal miners from the path of struggle, from making use of their organized power and instead to tie them up in a complicated system of governmental boards.

Power to Big Operators

The Guffey Bill has been called a little NRA for the coal industry. It imposes a code on the industry

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POWERS READY Boycott of Imperialist Italy Must Begin Now

International diplomacy is spinning its last threads in the web of imperialist intrigue around the kingdom of Ethiopia. While "neutrality" was being guaranteed affecting both Italy and Ethiopia, it Duce kept laying in war supplies and purchasing the raw materials necessary for the manufacture of arms and munitions. Boatloads of Italian troops are keeping up a steady traffic on the way to East Africa.

More than one quarter of a million men are now camped in the territories bordering on Ethiopia. Only the military command: ready, aim, fire, is needed to set off a conflagration that must inevitably bring all of humanity into a new world carnage.

In the meanwhile, Haile Selassie, king of the Negus, is mobilizing—if it could be called that—750,000 men to stand off the imperialist invasion.

Britain is sending war ships to the Suez Canal, Malta and other outlying naval stations in the war zone.

And Laval, with typical French polish and sophistication has unearthed a pretty euphemism for Mussolini's imperialist war of invasion, calling it a "colonial expedition."

Britain's Game The greatest factor which has so far kept 11 Duce from his desired goal has unquestionably been the attitude of Great Britain. As stated previously in these columns England has too much to lose from a complete domination of Ethiopia by Italy. England wants absolute control for herself of the Lake Tana region, source of the cotton wealth in the British controlled Egyptian Sudan.

France, too, would prefer a "peaceful" slicing apart of Ethiopia with each of the imperialist powers concerned getting "equitable" portions. Ethiopia remaining "nominally independent."

And so the League of Nations is to meet again on September 4. There France will endeavor to get Italy to see the broad, humanitarian way out of the conflict, by taking as much of Ethiopia "peacefully" as she could possibly get by war. For is not France a peace-loving country? It is. Stalin has so declared it. And Herriot shall represent France in the debates on this question. Litvinoff will gain a worthy ally. For is not Herriot a

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Armed Vigilantes Terrorize Calif. Agricultural Workers

By C. CURTISS

SANTA ROSA, Calif., Aug. 23.—Santa Rosa is the chief town in Sonoma county from which come the big, red, juicy, Gravenstein apples and hops. The crops are ripening now. The trees are loaded; the branches sagging to the earth. Labor is needed to harvest the apples and hops. The cry is for labor, labor.

Labor does not respond to the cry because the wages offered are not sufficient to maintain even the low standard of life the agricultural workers are accustomed to. The workers are organizing and forming into unions.

A few weeks ago there was a strike of apple-pickers in Santa Rosa. The workers called a meeting. Vigilantes crashed into this strike meeting, dispersing it, and beating up workers. From this period, the vigilantes have been terrorizing Sonoma county. The highest point to date was reached on the night of Wednesday, August 21, when two active militant workers, accused of being Communists, were tarred and feathered and then marched through town for eight hours.

Patriotism and a Drunken Mob The night riders began their activities by taking Jack Green, a sign painter of Santa Rosa. Jack Green for many years was president of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Sonoma County, and up to two months ago was president of the local union of sign painters. He is at present a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council.

They then descended upon S. Nitzburg, a rancher. Shotgun fire met them at Nitzburg's ranchhouse. The brave mob of 300 then fell back, and sent for tear gas. When the gas arrived it was shot into the ranchhouse, driving Nitzburg and his family out. They rounded up three others, manhandling women in their attempts to capture their victims. The five were ordered to kiss the American flag. Nitzburg and Green refused, while the others "acceded." Finally they beat Nitzburg and Green into doing likewise, but as a reprisal for their refusal, they shaved the heads of the two and then dumped tar and feathers over them. Shouting, the triumphant mob, many of whom were drunk, paraded the two through the streets of Santa Rosa.

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Shipping Clerks Out Solid in NY Strike; Drivers Move Scab Goods

Practically every shipping clerk in the ladies garment industry in New York is on strike. Responding to the call of Ladies Apparel Shipping Clerks Federal Union between 12 to 15,000 walked out on Tuesday. It was an overwhelming response. The union was not prepared to handle such masses and some confusion resulted. With the support of other unions, efforts to perfect the strike machinery are being made.

Besides the usual difficulties such as strike breakers, thugs and cops, the strikers have an additional obstacle to overcome. Truck Drivers Local 102 I.L.G.W.U. is working overtime to move shipments held up by the strike. Feeling against the leaders of Local 102 is running high. Pressure from other unions has been brought to bear on Sol Metz, Secretary-Manager of the Local and other officials and there is some hope that strikebreaking by union truck drivers will be stopped.

Numerous clashes between pickets and company thugs have taken place. The young strikers, in all cases, gave a good account of themselves. Cops and squad cars on horse and foot are getting in their usual strikebreaking. Many pickets have been arrested. One picket, a Negro, who struggled with an armed thug is charged with felonious assault because a shot from the thug's revolver wounded a passer by.

The shipping clerks, some of whom push racks of dresses through the streets, are the lowest paid and the most overworked of all in the

ladies' garment industry. They are striking for union recognition, a \$25 minimum weekly wage and the 35 hour week.

The strike shows a great need of a change in the structure of the I.L.G.W.U. in the direction of an industrial union, with an agreement to cover all workers in the industry. While the shipping clerks are striking, the truck drivers are at work and in some cases actually doing the work formerly done by the strikers. In the shops, dressmakers and cloak makers are at work and though anxious in the main to support the strike, they are bound by contract. Apparently no attempt was made before the strike was called to arrange for what limited support could be given by the Cloakmakers, Dressmakers, Truckdrivers and Elevator Operators unions. As a result all sorts of charges and challenges are being hurled back and forth. Dressmakers charge the officials of Local 102 with strike breaking, and the charge seems well founded. Metz of Local 102 challenges the Dressmakers to call a sympathetic strike though he knows that they are under a contract, which forbids sympathetic strikes. All of this could be avoided or at worst minimized by the proper conferences being held prior to the strike.

Despite the difficulties, the marvelous spirit of the young strikers rises over all. Many shops have signed on with the union and there is every reason to expect a solid organization of shipping clerks as a result of the strike.

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On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

Log of a Hitch-Hiker

"Hop in boy. We'll be in Naashville by 6:30." The driver, a frayed Rabbitt, hailed from Atlanta and eked out a precarious living selling a life-insurance-magazine subscription combination. The car was a model of five years back and broke down before we had gone far. With a little tinkering we were on our way again.

"Lots of Negroes in this town," I remarked as we passed through a bleak, dingy village.

"Not Negroes, niggers to us," he replied. "There are more niggers than whites in this country."

"Are they mostly sharecroppers?" I asked.

"Sharecroppers or hired hands," he replied.

"Do any own their own land?"

"Hell no," he exclaimed in surprise, "we won't let 'em."

He rambled on good-naturedly. "Our governor was all right until he started to attack the President. We Georgia won't let any man knock Roosevelt, not even the governor. He'll be turned out next election. I'm goin' to see my family this week. I've got a wife and two fine boys. Don't get to see them very often. I'm on the road most of the time. I've got a sweet little daisy in Chattanooga—a blond, and boy how she can love! She went with me for three days last week. She'd sit in the car and read magazines while I made my calls. She's a swell baby, and sensible. Not like most giddy girls you run across. I guess that's why I like her, she's so sensible."

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An enormous Cadillac, the back seat filled with luggage, stopped a few feet from my outstretched thumb. A heavy, course-featured woman was the lone occupant. "I thought you were one of the profession," she remarked in a husky voice. "What profession?" I asked innocently. "The show business, the circus. But I see you don't talk our lingo. I'll make room for you in the front seat and you can ride as far as I go. I always like to have a man around, not that they're any good but they make you feel safer." She chattered on. "I work for a circus. My husband's a clown and I work a concession. The show's playing Paducah and I'm taking this chance to visit my old Kentucky home and scout around a bit. I saw in Billboard of an opening in an outfit that's playing Hopkinsville this week. We've been doing hick towns in Illinois and business is rotten. We got the crowds but they won't spend. Some look at the freaks but they steer clear of the big tent. No money, I guess. We heard that business is good in Tennessee and we'll go down there if they lift the infantile paralysis quarantine. My man picked up this Cadillac for a bargain, but god, it's expensive to run. He's going to use it as a taxi this winter."

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Much to my astonishment a large furniture van stopped. "I'm going as far as Lexington," the driver cried. I got in and the driver continued. "I work out of Louisville. I'm a contract driver and can haul for only one company. The furniture man that I'm hauling for keeps me busy. He tells me he's sold more during the last year than in any since he started business 25 years ago. Most of the stuff goes to eastern Tennessee and Kentucky. The governments doing a lot down there and the people are buying furniture. I'd make good time if it wasn't for the cops. They're a fright. They boss us around and we have to take 'em. Yesterday in Indiana I saw 'em arrest a guy and they made him turn around on a narrow pavement. He blocked traffic for twenty minutes and when I kicked they tried to arrest me. They tested my truck and made me show all my papers but couldn't get anything on me."

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The sun beat down unmercifully. One hour, two hours, passed. Traffic was light. Thoughts of taking a freight took form in my mind. But finally a car responded to my agile thumb. The driver was thin and shrewd. "I promised my wife I wouldn't pick anybody up but you look all right. It's lonesome riding alone."

"How far you going," I asked.

"To Grafton, West Virginia, but not all today."

This was good news as we were in the middle of Kentucky. His story: "I'm a carpenter. I'm working on a PWA project, the Tygart river dam. No, there's no union or any other organization there. Most of the men are satisfied, and if they're not they don't last long on the job. The government has men planted all around to weed out the reds. A hundred or more men are fired each week. There's not many niggers on the job. I wouldn't work with one. If there's anything I hate it's a nigger. They're all right if they keep in their place but

Sellout Fixed For N.Y. WPA Relief Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ernment officials in Washington, D. C.

His friendship for General Johnson has not been affected one whit by the present serious situation in which Johnson, with the entire government apparatus behind him, has undertaken to smash union conditions and union wage scales on PWA and WPA projects. Johnson's success (read: U. S. government) in this campaign cannot fail to undermine organized labor standards in the building industry and all classes of private employment. Despite the serious situation Meany, representing labor, finds it possible to utter pleasing words about his "good friend," Gen. Hugh S. Johnson.

On Wednesday, Aug. 28, the PWA strike committee met with Gen. Johnson at his offices in the Port Authority Building. According to Harry Van Ansdale Jr., Business Manager of Electrical Workers Local 3, one of the "major" demands by organized labor is reclassification of all building mechanics. Van Ansdale reported to a meeting of striking electrical workers that Johnson is prepared to accede to this "demand."

In reality reclassification of mechanics can only mean one thing: members of A. F. of L. building trades unions are to be reclassified as "mechanics" while non-union skilled workers are to emerge from this jugglery as "unskilled laborers" with a monthly wage rate of \$55. Thus while the unions involved refuse to organize the unorganized, the officials of these unions are prepared to monopolize all forms of government construction, city, state and federal, against the non-union building trades workers. These workers, because of their unorganized position, are at present unable to obtain consideration from A. F. of L. officials for united action against the anti-union activities of the government and its spokesman in New York.

Unorganized PWA building trades workers, who apply for membership in the unions of their respective crafts, are informed that they "cannot join" but that "protection" will be given those on strike.

George Meany, Pres. of the State Federation of Labor and Joseph P. Ryan, Pres. of the Central Trades and Labor Council, are both members of Johnson's strikebreaking Labor Advisory Board. While it is generally known that this board, over the signatures of Gen. Johnson, informed a group of technical workers employed by the Park Department that they would be discharged if they demonstrated against Gen. Johnson, it is also known that Ryan and Meany, "representatives of organized labor," themselves members of the above-mentioned board, did not utter one word against the strikebreaking action of the board.

The strike committee will continue in conference with Gen. Johnson and Mayor LaGuardia; but the strike is "in the bag"—betrayed by the Ryans and the Meany for the dubious honor of a seat on strikebreaker Johnson's Labor Advisory Board.

The immediate task confronting the building project workers—A. F. of L. and unorganized—is the creation of a coordinated body of city-wide project workers' organizations with militant leadership. Only in this manner will union standards be maintained and unity between A. F. of L. and unorganized workers established.

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nowadays they're taking all the jobs away from white folks. . . I just took my wife and daughter to her folks. My girl's a smart one, only seventeen and she'll graduate from high school next year. She's going to be a school teacher. . . This is the first time I've seen my wife's folks in eight years. I tend to my business and let them tend to theirs. . . My boss is good to me and I do a lot of extra things for him. He promised to get me a job on another project when this one's through. I just work hard and manage to get by."

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"I've read many of Trotsky's works and am inclined to sympathize with his viewpoint." I was astonished by this statement from Mr. X who picked me up in Arkansas. "The trouble with you radicals is that you're not realistic. Huey Long is stealing your thunder. Why don't you take a few lessons from Huey and you'll soon bring about the revolution."

Mr. X has invented a machine that will revolutionize a certain industry. It will do the work of fifty to seventy-five men. (The confidential character of his statements prevent me from being more explicit.) The machine is now on the market but the company that is manufacturing it plans to set aside a large proportion of the profits for the rehabilitation of the men thrown out of work. Perhaps it would be more sensible to use the profits to aid in overthrowing the profit-system and to install a system where labor saving devices would be a blessing rather than a curse. . .

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Calif. Vigilantes Terrorize Agricultural Laborers

Tar and Feather Union Organizers in Desperate Attempt to Stem Unionization; But Crops Rot in Field

(Continued from Page 1)

used against Nitzburg and others. No one else but the police had the bombs nor the guns to fire them.

Police Cooperation

Santa Rosa is not a large town and three hundred men could not organize themselves without police knowledge and connivance. It is definitely charged and proven that public officials, police officials and prominent "honored" citizens were active in the raiding.

U. S. Attorney General Webb, who had given sanction to the vigilantes, by refusing to act in earlier cases in Santa Rosa, had the following statement to make in reply to a demand of the Civil Liberties Union for investigation and action: "There is nothing to investigate."

Let some strikers say "scab" to some strikebreaker and Mr. Webb will be sure to call out all the forces at his disposal to restore "law and order," meanwhile beating and arresting workers by scores. This attack upon the lives of five workers evokes nothing out of him but the implicit support of the vigilantes. Knowing the character of the capitalist state machinery, this need cause us little surprise, no matter how discomfited the San Francisco News, a liberal paper, may be by the declaration of Webb.

The San Francisco News in its timid protest against the Vigilantes has the following to say: "We have every sympathy for growers who see their entire year's work menaced by a few agitators."

How about some sympathy for the underpaid workers, with their substandard existence wages! The position of the News is summed up in the statement: "Could the mob take a better way to arouse sympathy for its victims and to weaken any legitimate case there may be against them?"

The victims' sole crime was that they took a position for the organization of the field workers. To the capitalist class this is a heinous crime. And the News' position is that the vigilante methods do not work in suppressing this crime—these methods merely arouse sympathy for the victims. The News prefers the more regular channels of suppression as offering a more efficient instrument of oppression. To the workers of the state, there is but little to choose between the News' method of "sympathizing with the growers and the vigilante methods."

Made-in-California

Hearst-inspired vigilanteism which is sweeping the state is a Made-in-California variety of fascism. The terror practiced by the small growers, storekeepers, petty officials and hoodlum elements, in the interests

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A Foreunner of the Revolution

By A. J. MUSTE

On a mountain side near Old Fort, N. C. hundreds of men and women gathered last Sunday for the funeral of Larry Hogan, Workers Party member and Southern strike leader. The mountain folks from whom he had sprung, farmers, unemployed, hosiery workers, textile workers whom he had organized and with whom he had fought on a hundred picket lines, union officials, composed that crowd.

Editorials in the capitalist press of North Carolina commented on his death which was the result of an automobile accident, pointing to him as an arch enemy of the employing interests, yet paying grudging praise to his courage, skill and power over the masses. Colorful, dynamic, filled with a passion for social change, were the expressions they used about him.

Less than seven years ago Larry Hogan, a young married man of 24 who had come down out of the hills to work in a cotton mill, was not to be distinguished from tens of thousands of Southern textile workers. When, however, a \$11.00 wage for a 70 hour week, plus a merciless speed-up, finally forced the workers of the Marion Mfg. Company to revolt, Larry was one of the leaders of the union and emerged from the long strike in which six men were killed by drunken deputies on a picket line as an outstanding figure.

Learning from Life

Larry learned many things during that strike. At its beginning the quartette of which he was the leader was singing "We are building Jacob's ladder, soldiers of the cross." Before many days had passed the words were changed to read: "We are building a strong union, workers of the mill." He had learned, in other words, to use the idealism which had been bred in him in the only realistic way possible under modern conditions, namely, for organizing the workers to cope with the oppression and misery to which they were subjected. He learned the basic fact of the class struggle in modern society and from that time on read men and events in the light of that Marxian truth. He learned, furthermore, that the struggle was not a superficial one but must and with the destruction of the prevailing economic system. He had become a revolutionist. He also learned that within the labor movement itself there are the fighters and the class collaborationists, and decided that his place was with the former.

At the close of the strike he could have eased into a secure position as a trade union organizer if he had been willing to trail along with the machine. He felt instead the need of study in order to discover the intellectual justification for the convictions he had reached in the struggle and to equip himself for translating his ideals into reality. Thus he became a student at Brookwood Labor College which had shortly before been placed under the ban of the A. F. of L.

His course at Brookwood was interrupted by an educational period on the chain gang in North Carolina, the state having found "sufficient evidence" in his strike activities to warrant a sentence, though it had not been able to discover "evidence" on which to convict the deputy sheriffs who had killed six strikers.

Plugging Along

Following the completion of his work at Brookwood, Larry went back to North Carolina. It was a period of dullness and slump in the labor movement. He plugged away nevertheless organizing farmers, unemployed, textile workers, building individuals and patiently teaching them the meaning of the class struggle, helping Pioneer Youth to work with groups of mill and mountain children, etc.

Beginning with the general strike in High Point three years ago a change occurred. In one town after another the workers were ready for revolt and wanted instruction and leadership. In 1933 the Hosiery Workers Union launched large-scale organizing campaigns in the South. Larry was a member of the staff and called upon incessantly for strike organization activity. Characteristically, he was on the way from High Point to Durham for a strike meeting when his car was crowded off the road and the accident which in a few days brought on his death occurred. Characteristically also, during this summer he had backed up his father and other progressive natives around Old Fort in having Negroes as well as white children at Pioneer Youth camp in spite of the suspicion and opposition of many of the neighbors. He had plans for putting up in the mountain retreat where he was building his own little house, a couple more buildings to house a training school for organizers. "Pick out the promising young fellows and girls," said Larry, "who emerge in a strike, take them to Old Fort for a month and teach them something of what it is all about, send them back into practical activity, bring them back again for further instruction after six months or a year; that is the way we will

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Crumbs for America's Starving Children

Millions for "Defense"

By G. R.

While the bosses and their government appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars to protect their interests at home and abroad they hand out a few miserable crumbs to the workers. Their motto seems to be: Millions for "defense" but little or nothing for the starving children of the American working class.

Almost every day newspapers all over the country carry such news items as the following:

"About 3,000,000 children in the rural districts of the United States have been deprived of schooling during the whole or part of the school term of 1933-1935 because of insufficient school funds."

"In making public these figures recently the United States Office of Education stated that over 37,000 rural schools were unable to operate the full school term because of lack of funds. In 477 rural districts funds this year were insufficient to pay teachers salaries for even one month. In some of the districts schools remained open only because teachers served in a missionary capacity."

The appropriation for 1936 for the Office of Education was \$251,780 while the appropriation for forage only for army horses is \$602,317. Or maybe we will run across a headline like the following:

"3,000,000 Children Under 16 On Federal Relief Rollo."

"The result," says Katherine Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau, "is seen in increased sickness and death rates in families with curtailed incomes, in malnutrition among children, in curtailed educational facilities, closing of schools and restricted budgets for health services."

Safe for Capitalism

Meanwhile big-hearted "Uncle Sam" grants the army the tidy sum of \$341,348,261.

While millions of children are growing up in illiteracy in the "cultured" U.S.A., while schools are closed down and teachers go without pay, while the infant mortality rate mounts higher and higher, more than a third of a billion dollars goes to make the United States safe for capitalism, for the defense

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Must One Live?

Ed. Note: The following is written by Erich Wollenberg, one of the outstanding revolutionists in the German labor movement. A soldier during the war, he became in turn the military director for the German Communist Party in charge of all military preparations for the abortive 1923 insurrection, the editor of the *Rote Fahne* and other leading C.P. dailies. Prior to the triumph of Hitler he was exiled to Moscow for his stinging criticism of the fatal course of Stalinism. He is now in exile a member of the International Communist League. It is translated from "De Internationale" (April 1935), theoretical organ of our brother Dutch party, the R.S.A.P. by comrade B. Roede.

By ERICH WOLLENBERG

1915. Before Dunaburg.

Night. We lie in a trench 200 metres above our main position. On the right, scarcely 10 metres separate us from the Russians, on the left about 40. Through the unpardonable stupidity of our battalion commander, we are left, just 15 of us, to "defend" some meaningless piece of ground. Of a sudden we hear moaning "Comrades—help me—water—help." About 5 metres in front of us there lies a straggling German soldier. Help is impossible. The Russians keep up an incessant firing. Two of our comrades have already been shot in the head. A lasso is made out of leather straps—it is thrown to him—we pull. The wounded comrade howls like a beast in pain, and lets the lasso go. A soldier ventures over the breastworks and drops dying in the trench. "Mother..." A second ventures on, and so crawls to his death. Upon this the command is given, "No needless sacrifices!" But again—"Comrades... help..." A third soldier defies discipline, and disobeys the harsh command. With a bullet in the chest he tumbles back into the trench.

What drives these people to their death? Do they attach no significance to the principle that "one must live?" Does not that principle properly apply to them? On a false front they stand, these soldiers. They fight on the front of foul and blood-soaked German imperialism. But they die for a glorious cause; these great lovers of humanity are fanatics in the cause of solidarity.

They risk their lives because they cannot endure that even an unknown comrade die without help.

March 1918. On the Somme.

Ten paces in front of the English lines, there lies a German soldier. His chest shot through with English bullets, his right leg riddled by German bullets, and in his left thigh there protrudes a piece of German shrapnel. He still lives despite his terrible suffering. He moans and cries piteously "Mother! Water! Mother!" A burly English soldier crawls towards him. But the German wants to live and cries out "No, no, no, no..." He tries to crawl away. He does not want to be shot, he does not want a knife thrust in his heart. The English Tommy lies next to him. Swabs and dresses his bleeding chest, and bandages his leg. He thrusts his water bottle towards him, but the German is afraid: "Poison?" The Englishman smiles, and raises his head to take a swallow. A German bullet pierces his brain. The smiling-distorted visage of the dead man stares out upon the sorely wounded

German, who now greedily gulps the refreshing drink. What drove this person to his death? Why did not the principle that "One must live" apply to him? He stood on a false front, this English soldier. He fought on the front of foul and blood-soaked British imperialism. But he was a lover of human-kind—a fanatic in the cause of solidarity, and he died for that glorious cause: he risked his life in order to assuage the suffering of a sorely wounded fellowman—an "enemy" who fought on the other side of the line.

July 1934. Oranienburg concentration camp.

Erich Muhsam, the revolutionary writer and fighter, the great lover of human-kind, the great fanatic in the cause of solidarity, is confronted by an S. S. who says: "If you do not hang within two days we shall lend a hand."

The comrades heard and understood what that meant. Erich promises solemnly "never to afford satisfaction to the fascist beasts," not to take his own life. He divides among his comrades his few belongings. They thank him, and press his hand, knowing only too well how soon that hand will be forever cold; their heads become more deeply bowed, their eyes stare more vacantly toward the ground. Not a single comrade throws his head up. Nor do the eyes of a single one take on a look filled with unswerving determination. Not a single comrade says, "Erich we won't let them murder you without resistance. We will not tolerate in silence your being taken from our midst like a beast that is to be led to the slaughter. Erich, that principle that 'one must live' does not apply to us. We are not worms that crawl on the earth and that cannot rid themselves of life. Erich, we will mutiny!"

Muhsam, the great fanatic, the believer in the staunchness, the fighting spirit, the insurgent spirit of man, remains silent and waits. He is silent when the executioner comes and calls him away. Sadly he looks toward his comrades who cast parting glances at him through eyes full of anguish and sorrow. But Muhsam seeks not grief, not sorrow nor desperation—what he seeks is pride; he seeks a fighting spirit, he seeks the spirit of revolt. He seeks among his comrades a lover of human-kind, a fanatic for the cause of solidarity—but a single one—and he finds him not. That is the greatest tragedy in the terrible end of Erich Muhsam. Not one among his comrades rises up, not one revolts against the murder, not one leaves the "safe" trenches,

of putting-up-with-everything. Why is not Muhsam retrieved by his comrades? Why do not the prisoners create an uproar? Why do they not form a living wall around him, that neither club, butt-end nor revolver shot can break down? Why do they not fasten themselves about him, and so shield him, till numbed by death they are torn from off his body? Why does not Oranienburg revolt?

They fight on a correct front, these anti-fascist prisoners in Oranienburg. They wage the only righteous war, the revolutionary fight for liberation from the yoke of capital, imperialism and fascism. But no one risks his life for the glorious cause of solidarity. No one attempts to save his comrade from death.

"Navigare Necesses est, vivere non." "To go to sea is necessary, to live not." Whole generations of sailors—from great-grandfathers, grandfathers to grandsons and great-grandsons—rest, faithful to that proud principle, in their watery graves somewhere on the bottom of the sea.

Leonidas and his men, saved the cause of Greece by blocking the passage of Thermopylae with a living wall, which the Persians had to hew stone by stone, had to conquer and kill, man by man.

The Jacobins of the great French revolution marched, under the banner of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," singing to their death.

The revolutionary history of Russia—from the Decembrists down through the Narodniki and terrorists to the Bolsheviks—has, more emphatically than ever, revealed anew the old truth, that one idea, one nation, one class can hardly live and conquer unless the bearers of the idea, unless the vanguard of the class are great believers, are fanatics, who not only know how to give battle, but are ready to fight though they know it may mean death.

The German working class, like no other in the world, has shown in a thousand street battles: 1918, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1929, that her best representatives, fanatics in the struggles for freedom, know how to fight, and how to make sacrifices.

Is the lack of revolutionary solidarity exhibited in the murder of Muhsam, an isolated case? Unfortunately no. Germany is the only terror-infested country where, in its concentration camps and S.A.-baracks no mutiny has yet occurred in spite of all the terror, torture and murder. Perhaps—one may object—the storm of indignation and protest might not have been able to save the life of Muhsam. Perhaps, on the whole, is not the resistance of prisoners entirely useless? Here there is no evidence to support this contention. One thing is certain: putting-up-with-everything distorts the character of the revolutionary, breaks his backbone, wastes the living spring of revolution, and because of that seems always to be "useless." Hitler fascists terrorize, torture and degrade the German people because they, the people, do not revolt; and because of their patience, their humility, of their submissiveness, their raging passion continues. Everywhere and always, it seems that those who would live and conquer must be prepared to risk their lives.

Skeletons Out of the Comintern Closet

'Pacifist' and 'Warlike' Nations

By HENRY THURMAN

Communist International, No. 18, September 15, 1935, contains a significant article entitled "How The Labour Lieutenants of The Bourgeoisie 'Fight' Against Fascism." In the light of recent events, the following paragraphs from page 593 burn with meaning:

"Just as Carl Legien in August, 1914, so Leon Jouhaux now (still before the war) openly seeks to utilize the machinery of the Amsterdam International in the interests of one imperialist grouping against another, contrasting the 'pacifist' nations to 'belligerent' nations, the 'lands of democracy' to the 'land of dictatorship'."

"The Belgian Social Fascist, Auguste Devine, in the Central Organ of the Belgian Labour Party, People's, explained the meaning of the war discussion of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy sufficiently clear:

"One hears young people saying now: should a new war break out, we will not fight any more; we will reply by a civil war."

"In all cases? We ask. Think of it. Tomorrow the National Socialist government may start a new war. ... Supposing the German people ... do not revolt against their rulers and the fascist bands appear on our borders ready ... to repeat the murders and devastations of 1914. ... Will you let them do this?"

"What! you declare yourselves ready to die in the fight against the fascists here, while on the day that you are faced with the German fascists you will throw away your

arms and refuse to defend our women, our children and socialism?"

"No one will believe you. You are fooling yourselves. Our young socialists are no more cowardly than were their fathers ... and like them they have no intention of betraying the cause of labour."

"In this way does the trade union bureaucracy use the belittling aggression of German fascism to mobilize the masses in their capitalist countries for the best preparation of their national bourgeoisie for war. Under the disguise of a struggle against fascism, by which is meant foreign fascism only, the conditions necessary for a 'civil peace' are created even before the proclamation of war. The enemy outside one's house may be sometimes more dangerous to the working class than the enemy within one's own house," is the way the 'Socialist Herald,' organ of the Menshevik white emigres, sums up the situation." (Communist International, No. 18.)

The Socialist Herald is the same rag of Dan and his Menshevik colleagues that supported the Menshevik line of Stalin in the Chinese Revolution (1927). Now Thorez, who boo-hoos for the protection of French culture, womanhood, socialism, and everything else from the fascist hands of Germany, finds himself lined up all over again with his master's old advisers.

Just as capitalists ought never to put their love for a woman into writing, so socialists who want to venture into the bypaths of opportunism should write their principles in vanishing ink.

Green Dictates to Auto Union

(Continued from Page 1)

arrangement carries the victory won by the progressives will prove to have been a pyrrhic one. The progressives unfortunately have no man of their own, dynamic and experienced enough to win the approval of all the progressive delegations. They have more over come to the convention with no slave prepared, thus making it easy for the reactionary machine to divide their ranks on the question of delegates.

What will perhaps prove to be of even greater importance than the election of candidates will be the question of jurisdiction, which it is expected, will come up tomorrow. The machine has not dared as yet to put the question on the floor. They have been "cooling off" the delegates today by having such eminent "trade unionists" as Charles Ogburn, Prof. Selig Perlman, etc., address them. The progressives are not being diverted, however. They are pledged to fight for an international with jurisdiction over all men and women employed in or around automobile or automobile parts plants and they are preparing to fight for full jurisdictional rights on the floor of the convention.

Boycott of Imperialist Italy Must Begin Now

(Continued from Page 1)

sincere friend of the Soviet Union? So Stalin has stated. The imperialist spiders are waiting, aided and abetted by Stalin and Litvinoff who to this day have not uttered so much as a word either of warning to Italy or encouragement to Ethiopia.

But it is necessary to speak out. This is not going to be a war against Fascism. Rather it will be a war against imperialism. And as such the defense of Ethiopia, its people and independence is the elementary duty of the international working class. What is involved at the present moment is not an evaluation of the merits or demerits of Haile Selassie and his regime; what is important is that Ethiopia is a weak and backward nation which has a right in having its national independence safeguarded. That being the case everything possible must be done to see that Mussolini is defeated in his adventure.

A defeat for Italy would be of tremendous value in undermining the hold of reaction on the masses of Italy. A victory for Ethiopia would be a clarion call to all the oppressed natives and colonials in

Plot Against Mpls. Local 574

(Continued from Page 1)

ment stares Latimer in the face, even as it did Bainbridge. There is one salvation: crush 574.

Needless to say, the Citizens Alliance jumps at the chance to pull the irksome thorn of 574 from its side. Jubilant, it notes the actions of the labor fakers and mayor "with a keen sense of gratification, encouragement and hopefulness ... and takes this opportunity of offering the entire facilities of our organization in cooperating ..."

The entire plan is carried through under the lie of "industrial peace." The employers are to take care of the "incorrigibles" in their own ranks and the unions are to do likewise. The open-shop, wage-slashing Citizens Alliance has already learned the new tune. They boast: "This (being fair to labor) is, and has been one of the main functions of our organization." And the labor leaders give them a helping hand by pointing out "that if the employers would make an effort (!) to require the owners of industry to pay living wages these disturbances would largely disappear." How simple it is to make an "effort" and fail!

To put over the offensive against the wage standards of labor they must make it palatable, by calling it "industrial peace" and they must make it possible by beginning a drive against the spearhead of resistance, Local 574.

The opening gun in the campaign against the Drivers Local was to have been a "test case" regarding a dispute between 574 and the Glenwood-Inglewood company. And here the unholy alliance suffered its first defeat for the bosses of this company signed up with 574, granting all its demands. The brass check press tries to save face by saying that the agreement was made with "employees" although in the very next sentence they are forced to mention that Farrell Dobbs, Secretary-Treasurer of 574 was one of the negotiators.

When Tobin accepted the blessings of the Citizens Alliance last year, he thought that 574 was finished. But they came out of the strike stronger and more influential than ever. So he revoked their charter. But to no avail. 574 emerged from this struggle with more members and more support. Even the Central Labor Union was forced to endorse its case against Tobin. Now Tobin's counterparts in Minnesota, perhaps at his instigation, are taking the same rocky road.

They are bound to failure. For 574 does not stand alone. Behind them are thousands of Minneapolis working men, in and out of the unions, who will rally to their support. And in this struggle they will learn who the real "racketeers" are.

Africa to rid themselves of the yoke of foreign imperialism. Workers in industry supplying materials for Italy must be brought into the struggle on the side of Ethiopia. The methods of strike, sabotage and boycott must be resorted to in an effort to cripple Mussolini's war machine.

Let the workers of all countries understand that a blow at Italian imperialism is a blow to reaction at home!

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M. D., BROOKLYN—Question: Why, if the capitalists benefit by inflation, was there such resistance on the part of the French capitalists to a reduction of the gold content of the franc, particularly if we bear in mind that the American capitalists apparently benefited by reducing the dollar's gold content?

Answer: It is not true that the capitalists benefit, under all circumstances, from an inflation, and they regard it with mixed emotions. Inflation means indirect wage-cuts for the workers, and correspondingly more surplus-value, the money bags benefit. Insofar as, in the early stages of a "devaluation" of the currency, they are better able to undersell their competitors on the foreign market, the financial gentlemen are pleased. Insofar, however, as their income is of a fixed character (e.g. interest on government bonds) they are greatly annoyed by an inflation, since this amounts to a reduction in their real income.

For the capitalists of France (the classical country of the rentier) it is the latter consideration which outweighs all others, since they have a very large share of their wealth invested in government bonds. The internal debt of that country, i.e., the government bonds held by the rentiers, is over 12 billion dollars, whereas the total national wealth probably does not exceed 50 billions.

Because on the other hand the American capitalists expected to at least balance their losses and gains from an inflation they raised no tremendous howl against Roosevelt's reduction of the gold content of the dollar. It might also be added that the economic collapse of 1932-33 hardly gave them any choice.

Question: Why would it have been necessary for the French government to devalue the franc, and how did cutting the wages of the French workers obviate this?

Answer: The possibility that it might have been necessary to reduce the gold content of the franc developed, not because of insufficient gold reserves to meet whatever demands might be made (the gold holdings represented over 80 percent of any claims which might have been made on them but from the need of balancing the budget.

How was this to be done? Reduce military expenditures? A ridiculous idea for imperialist bandits. Raise more taxes? The peasant and shopkeeper were loaded as heavily as the traffic would bear. Two alternate methods were left, by which the balance could be made up: 1. Cut the wages of the government workers, or 2. On the basis of a reduction of the franc's gold content, which would make such a procedure financially sound, issue enough additional currency to meet expenses.

The first threw the burden directly on the backs of the workers; the second would have shifted at least part of it onto the rentiers. In this manner the class antagonisms between proletariat and capitalist were directly reflected in the debates over the currency.

As was to have been expected, Laval, uttering the necessary words about saving the glories of France, etc., protected the interests of the coupon clippers, thus providing the Stalinists with the ideal moment to begin defending the "remnants of bourgeois democracy."

A. W., BROOKLYN—Question: What reliable literature, explaining thoroughly in a simple manner both sides of the "Permanent Revolution" as opposed to "Socialism in One Country", can you recommend?

Answer: It is very difficult to list the theoretical works defending the "theory" of Socialism in One Country because, to all intent and purpose, they do not exist. The entire theoretical reservoir of the Stalinists consists of two quotations from Lenin, which don't mean what the Stalinists claim, followed by the assertion that this proves their point. Your editor knows of no single Stalinist work devoted solely to this subject and you will find that whatever is said by the defenders of the "theory" usually appears as an apparently unimportant appendix to some other work. You will find an authoritative defense of the "theory" by Stalin in his "Problems of Leninism" (1934 edition, International Publishers), particularly in the chapter entitled "The Question of the Victory of Socialism in a Single Country" in which he apologizes for the fact that he once held the view that Socialism could not be built in a single country.

For a criticism of the "theory" and for an explanation of the "Permanent Revolution" the following are sufficient to occupy your reading time for quite a while: "Criticism of the Draft Program" and "The Permanent Revolution" by Trotsky; also the appendices to the first and third volumes of the latter's "History of the Russian Revolution."

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READ THE NEW MILITANT.

Chicago Candy Strike Spiked

A.F. of L. Skate Turns Winning Battle into Defeat

By JACK WALTON

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 26.—On Thursday, Aug. 22, the Crystal Pure Candy strike ended. Today the 250 workers returned to their jobs. The overwhelming majority have not had their wage cut restored; that is to be negotiated. The slab men and cooks received a 5 cent an hour increase. If within 30 days the majority of the workers are members of the union, then the boss will recognize and deal with them on that basis.

But in that time, the bosses will undoubtedly make a strong attempt to win the majority to their side. And when one remembers that the workers are all broke and that they will not get a substantial check

until Sept. 10, thereby keeping them from paying initiation fees and dues, one realizes how strong the boss is. The boss has thirty days in which to defeat the union. The union will be able to sign up people and collect the necessary money to make them real union members only from Sept. 10 to Sept. 22. It was on this sort of agreement that the strike was settled.

Effective Strike
At the time of the settlement, the strike was still on the upswing. The spirit was high and getting better. The picket lines were strong. Nobody was working in the shop. The strikers and their families were being fed. Hardly any trucks had gotten through Berry Landau's flying squads. That very day a truck had been stopped from picking up a load, notwithstanding the fact that the riot squad pulled a gun on Berry and told him not to molest the driver. The next day a strike bulletin was to appear, under Landau's editorship. The boss was begging for negotiations and had already proposed the above compromise agreement. Everything pointed toward a successful strike. But on Wednesday evening the international sent down Jack Sanford, general organizer in charge of the candy industry.

He came to the strike committee meeting that night and immediately demanded the exclusion of Landau on the technical charge that the international did not permit "outsiders" to attend strike committee meetings. Landau pointed out that he really wasn't an "outsider" since he and Mike Pretula had organized the spontaneous walkout into a well-functioning strike; and that he had been elected to the strike committee by the unanimous vote of the strikers. The bureaucrat remained adamant. The strike committee was bluffed into according to his demand, and later to the settlement. Francis Heisler, who, as attorney for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, had been invited to work with the

strike committee, was also forced to leave.

The Strike Meeting

A strike meeting was called for the next day. It had been decided that only those who worked in the shop at the time of the strike be permitted to attend. At the same time Berry and Mike (the "outsiders") continued in charge of picketing. The strike committee was not supposed to tell anyone what the terms of the settlement were. But some of those who were opposed to the settlement asked Berry for advice. The W.P. members immediately began to organize an active opposition to the settlement among the rank and file.

In the hall, before the meeting was officially called to order, Landau asked for the floor. It was granted. He devoted a 20 minute speech to attacking the agreement. He also pointed out that the bureaucrats wanted to oust him from the meeting not because of the technicality, as they would have it; they had not proposed it when he and Mike were working 16 hours a day to make the strike a success; but because the labor fakers knew that if Berry and Mike were able to speak to the strikers, no sell-out would be perpetrated. When he finished, a prolonged roar of applause followed him from the room.

The bureaucrats then proceeded to put over the sell-out. They talked for two hours. Toward the end of that time the strikers started coming into the corridor to ask Landau and Pretula for advice. When the bureaucrats finished speaking the strikers began to yell for "Berry." The moment he walked into the room and was greeted by a roar of applause, the bureaucrats arose and began to leave.

The chairman of the strike committee called upon the strikers to support the international or follow Landau and lose the right of joining the union. That turned the tide. After Landau left, a member

of the Young Communist League District Bureau, who happened to be there as a representative of his union, took the floor. He objectively supported the bureaucrats by merely telling the strikers that if they stayed out two weeks more they would win more of their demands; and did not attack the proposed agreement.

However, the pressure of the W. P. fraction had been strong enough to get the meeting recessed and send the negotiations committee over to the factory to try and get more concessions. During the recess, the W.P. and S.Y.L. passed out a leaflet calling upon the strikers to stand by Berry and Mike and to fight for complete and immediate union recognition.

The meeting reconvened a half-hour later. The negotiations committee had gotten nothing more. The settlement was put over on a disgusted and discouraged strike meeting.

Today the advanced workers are being organized into a Progressive Group to make a union shop out of Crystal Pure and to introduce progressive, militant policies into the union; and eventually, a leadership that will reflect those policies and the real interests of the rank and file workers.

Spartan Comrades Ask Assistance for Activity

Comrade Gould's enforced leave strikes the organization a blow at a crucial moment. He had just begun to straighten out our affairs which had suffered from his absence on the tour, other comrades' summer leaves, and the summer slump generally. Above all, he was taking steps to meet our most pressing financial obligations by systematic canvassing of our sympathizers here in New York City and an intensive campaign of letter writing.

We therefore appeal to all readers to help us meet the emergency created by Gould's illness. Send contributions to Jane Ogden, acting national secretary, 55 E. 11th St., New York City.

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Socialist Youth of Paris Raise Banner of Revolution; Urge General Strike Against Laval's Decree Laws

Youth Leader Appeals for Revolutionary Action

By FRED ZELLER

Secretary of Seine Federation of Young Socialists (From "Revolution")

The French political situation is unwinding at the pace we long ago predicted. After the experiences of Flaudin and Bouisson comes Laval and his decree-laws. New wage reductions are imposed on the workers in order to make up the financial deficit, to save the franc and maintain the regime. At the same time they are reducing the buying power of the falling masses and aggravating the crisis, one of the fruits of the system.

Placed before this dilemma: an incurable and decaying capitalism dragging millions of people in the wake of its fall, or the destruction of the regime by revolution, Laval and his lackeys have chosen. They feel themselves supported by big financial capital and by the militarized fascist gangs and armies, and they count on the weakness and lack of resistance of the workers' organizations. They will pursue their offensive up to the very end and by that very fact we are every day approaching closer to the inevitable denouement.

Revolt is mounting in all corners of France. Everywhere the workers, dissatisfied with their living conditions are reacting violently. In Paris at La Place de l'Opera the public service employees took to the streets. In Brest, in Lorient, in Toulon the munition workers declared strikes and demonstrated in tens of thousands in the streets and were attacked by the Garde Mobile and the army. Blood flows, the dead strew the streets. The coercive apparatus functions in full swing. The bourgeoisie, trembling with fear, wants to drown in blood the rightful revolt of those who will not bend to its will. When a regime must resort to such extreme solutions it has already lost control of the forces it believed domesticated.

Redouble the fire. Enough pacifist meetings and platonic demonstrations. The French working

class wants to fight with the maximum chances for victory; the glorious demonstrations at Brest, Toulon, etc., have just proved that to the hilt.

All the workers must be mobilized for resistance to the government offensive. Never has the situation been more favorable than now for revolutionary struggle. Away with half-measures, away with palliatives, away with nerve-quieting sedatives! The millions of exploited feel that now they must seize complete power to bring order into the situation, to eradicate privileges and abuses of all kinds and to exterminate fascism. They feel that the problem before them is entirely one of revolution. Let us coordinate the efforts of the workers over the entire country and prepare for the insurrectionist general strike, different from the "demonstrative strike" of February 12 which was made against and not for something. The enormous crowd which passed in review at La Place de la Nation and in all of France lacked a precise aim, perspective and a revolutionary direction.

Some will say that dignity must be maintained. Dignity for us is the struggle against fascist barbarism and for the salvation of civilization! Let us denounce the Radical leaders who are at once in the Peoples' Front and in solidarity with the murderers of Brest and Toulon!

We will obtain Bread, Peace and Liberty only by expropriating the capitalist bourgeoisie by force, by the general strike.

Workers violence will expropriate the Banques, the Financiers, the Merciers, the Schneiders, the Wendels who support the fascist regime.

The hour of the transference of power has arrived. Now let us organize in the factories, the yards, the shops, the neighborhoods, strike committees on which the government of workers and peasants will rest.

Forward for the heroic and decisive struggles under the banner of the socialist revolution!

A Word to the Young Communists

(From "Revolution")

Under the title: "Revolution or Counter-Revolution," "L'Avant-Garde" (Vanguard, organ of the Young Communist League (J. C.) of France) for this week attacks our periodical and develops an extensive article to the internal life of the Entente of the Youth of the Seine. The editors of L'Avant-Garde dare to state "Without mixing into the internal affairs of the J. C.," and then, out of mutilated and falsified quotations they build up an edifice of absurd tales. We would not dare to invoke the name of Lenin!!

"Without mixing into the internal affairs of the J. C." we would like to pose several questions to the militants of the J. C.: Are the young communists in agreement with the transformation of L'Avant-Garde into a petty bourgeois democratic paper, a tribute of Pierre Cot (a violent partisan of French imperialism and former Radical minister)? Are the J.C. satisfied when L'Avant-Garde limits itself to printing in bold characters: "Make the rich pay" without saying who will make the rich pay, nor how?

Comrades of the J. C., without going any further, are you in agreement with the attitude of your press on the bloody events at Brest and at Toulon? L'Avant-Garde remains on commenting on the action of the young Brest worker Chevalier, struck by rifle fire when he ripped down the tricolor flag,

the flag of Versailles, the symbol of rotting capitalism and of the decree-laws.

L'Avant-Garde is silent. Probably in order not to embarrass Messieurs the Radical leaders who are covering up in the government the assassinations ordered by Laval. Can you tolerate this declaration of L'Humanite: "They (the fascists) outrage the tricolor flag which the workers placed at the head of their procession beside the red flag on July 14 and these provocateurs are protected by M. Laval..." (L'Humanite, organ of the C. P. of France, August 10.)

The young worker, Chevalier, a provocateur? Struck down on the orders of Laval-Herriot? Chevalier an enemy of the people for wanting to tear down the tricolor flag of the exploiters?

Decidedly, L'Avant-Garde is on a fine road.

Vanguard or Rearguard?

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NUL Demonstrates at Newark City Hall

NEWARK, N. J.—As the first bombardment in an intensive campaign against the WPA slave wages, the Association for Adequate Relief, Newark section of the National Unemployed Leagues picketed seven of Newark's eleven relief stations, and city hall in advertisement of a mass meeting held in the Newark City Hall.

The mass meeting held at night was attended by 200 workers who enthusiastically approved of the plans for further organization of the unemployed and a militant campaign of action against the entire relief setup.

Tony Rammaglia, president of the NUL, evoked a storm of applause when he said "they call us reds for doing things like this, but damn it, I'd rather be red than yellow, and fight for the right to live decently." The speeches of I. Rosenberg and J. Kotz of the Association for Ade-

quate Relief and of Bill Morgan of the Bloomfield City Workers Assn. were also well received. The meeting wound up with announcements of classes, lectures and socials to be run at the Unemployed League speakers, indicates that the unemployed of New Jersey are on the move and more will be heard from them in the near future.

James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT, will deliver the first of a series of four Sunday night lectures on the Fourth International on September 22. The series will cover: the bankruptcy of the Comintern, the 4th International and the coming war, the 4th International and the struggle against Fascism and forces and prospects for the 4th International.

Comination tickets for the series will be sold for forty-five cents each. Admission to individual lectures will be fifteen cents. The series will be given at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

Editor's Note

The articles published herewith are reprinted from a special two-page edition of "Revolution," organ of the Socialist Youth of the Seine District of France. Devoted to the revolt against the decree-laws of the bonapartist Laval-Herriot government at Toulon, Brest and le Havre, they breathe the very spirit of revolution. Together with the Bolshevik-Leninist group they raised the only revolutionary voice in all of France, the Stalinists and the Social Democratic leaders being too interested in covering up Herriot, Paganon, etc.—ministers in the government and responsible for the murder of the workers in the seaport and arsenal cities—with whom they are in alliance in the so-called "Peoples' Front."

In fact, L'Humanite, organ of the C.P., has not a word of criticism for Herriot and company. All of their miserable scribbling is taken up with the obnoxious pink tea liberal aim of establishing the blame for the murders—as if there could be any doubt on this score—and none of it with calling for solidarity and more extensive strike action against the decree-laws throughout the country.

Although the issue of "Revolution" containing the articles below was confiscated by the police

the Young Socialists managed to distribute more than 5,000 copies. Simultaneous with the appearance of this paper, the Bolshevik-Leninists pasted up posters all over Paris calling for the general strike and a struggle against class peace. These were mutilated and torn down systematically by the Stalinists, the fascists and the police. A fitting alliance indeed!

As one of the articles explains the Socialist Youth of the Seine are sold behind their expelled leaders. The committee appointed by the C.A.P. (National Committee) of the S.P. to explore the possibilities for reinstatement has already met and refused to intervene for the expelled comrades. This committee was composed of notorious reformists including Leon Blum, who after some highly hypocritical remarks on how good a conciliator he admits himself to be and how much he inconvenienced himself and how difficult the task was made for him, states the reasons for the committee's decision:

"First we clashed, as is shown in the letter from Zeller, with the conditions posed by him and his friends as a prerequisite and which we could not even consider: the pure and simple null and

voiding of the decisions of Lille.

"Then, because in the course of the conversations a poster appeared on Saturday in the name of the Youth of the Seine and the issue of 'Revolution' published the same day, did not permit us the hope that any agreement to henceforth respect the discipline of the party would be made in good faith."

With crocodile tears the lackey of the bourgeoisie concludes: "This declaration cut me to the quick. But it was necessary." (Populaire, organ of the S. P., Aug. 15.)

In touching unanimity the organ of the Young Stalinists of France, L'Avant-Garde, echoes Blum's outspoken hatred of the expelled revolutionists with the difference that their depraved frenzy lacks Mr. Blum's polished restraint. They speak about the "justice" and the "correctness" of the expulsion and quote approvingly one of the worst reactionaries in the Socialist Youth who vents his bile on the Bolsheviks.

Their howls are in vain. The spirit that animates 'Revolution' is the spirit that animated the Bolsheviks in October 1917. Not all of the combined Mensheviks in France in 1935 will be able to withstand its irresistible force.

Chronicle of Events - Brest and Toulon

The Price of the Decree-Laws

(From "Revolution")

July 14: The Peoples' Front demonstrates for liberty but forgets to protest against the decree-laws.

July 17: MM. Laval, Herriot, Regnier, Paganon, etc., decide to retrieve nine billions from the bones of the poor.

Immediately, protests of the workers break out throughout the land. Everywhere meetings and demonstrations. But nothing is done to organize an irresistible strike movement.

July 19: Despite the government prohibition, 50,000 small functionaries of government.

August 7: Huge funeral services for Barraer in Brest. The workers have returned to work on the orders of the trade unions.

In Toulon, provoked by the military orders, the workers demon-

strates and workers demonstrate.

Postal employees, railroad men, public service employees, workers in private industry demonstrate every day in an ever widening scope. They demand the abolition of the decree-laws.

The Radical leaders maneuver through the Peoples' Front to hamstring the movement.

In the vanguard of the protest movement are the great ports. Already, in Havre, the personnel of the "Normandie" had gone on strike.

The workers of the arsenals, submitting to a rigorous discipline, but also determined and disciplined, full of hatred for the military system, demonstrate vigorously against the starvation government.

August 3-4: The workers demonstrate in Brest and Toulon against the reduction in their wages. The protest is unanimous. The maritime police chief, the police organize systematic provocations, by occupying the arsenal at Brest.

August 5: The Brest workers are driven back, bayoneted at the gates of the arsenal; the workers react on masse. They reply to the military proclamation, to the provocations of the bourgeoisie; at the station they fraternize with the railroad workers and delay the departure of the train to Paris. They bear onward to the sub-poll station, resisting the charges of the troops and shouting for the abolition of the decree-laws.

Barraer is killed by a musket ball; hundreds of workers are wounded; more than a hundred arrests are made.

The trade union leadership gives no concrete goal to the movement, contenting itself with inviting the workers to join them.

August 6: The repercussions of the struggles at Brest are enormous in the entire country and in all the ports. In the absence of a general strike movement of solidarity the workers in Toulon and Cherbourg demonstrate vigorously. Resentment mounts.

The workers want their demonstrations to attain its real aims. They want to defeat the government of the decree-laws, Laval-Herriot, which has become the state vigorously, en masse. The authorities charge into them and

fire. The blood of two dead redden the pavement. Fearing for the fleet, the naval officers give orders to weigh anchor. Street battles continue all through the night.

August 8-9: Thanks to the pressure of the Peoples' Front, the workers return to work.

There are 3 dead, 200 wounded, 100 workers arrested. And the delegation of lefts... decides to send an investigation committee!!

The Entente Continues

(From "Revolution")

At the National Congress at Lille the bureaucracy expelled from the Socialist Youth (J.S.) our comrades Fred Zeller, Corvin, Roussel, Lissansky, Genia, Van, Braude, Kigal, Ivan and Maria Craipeau, Peril, Makarowsky, Bressler, members of the Executive Committee of the Seine district or of the Federal Committee of the Seine-et-Oise district, on the pretext of violation of discipline.

We consider this decision scandalous, illegal and unconstitutional. Our comrades were expelled because together with the J.S. of the Seine they fought against national defense and class peace. We do not accept this decision and we consider our comrades as always and more than ever members of the Socialist Youth! 65 groups out of 70 in the Seine District are in solidarity with them and 30 groups in the Seine-et-Oise district have declared themselves similarly as well as numerous federations and groups in the provinces.

The groups must not listen to the wreckers and the splitters. They have only one Executive Committee and only one Federal Bureau; those which have been regularly elected at the last Administrative Congress at Boulogne and which continues to direct the activities of the Entente.

We will return in detail to the Congress of Lille and its scandalous sessions in the next number of "Revolution."

TO THE SOLDIERS

The Workers in Uniform Will Not Fire At Their Brothers in Civilian Clothes

(From "Revolution")

As the blood of the workers flows in the various regions of France we address ourselves to you, sons of workers in uniform. Comrade soldiers! They are deceiving you! They are forcing you to march in the name of the "nation" against your brothers. There is no united nation; there are only exploiters on the one side and exploited on the other, the parasites and the workers, those who spill the blood of the workers and those who want to defend their lives by relentless class struggle. There are two sides of the barricades!

Will you play the game of the exploiters? Will you march with those who would reduce to misery your fathers and your brothers? And when you have received "the distinction of the fatherland," as veterans, they will cover you with flowers, if they need you, if not they will reduce your pensions so that Monsieur Schneider can continue to coin money out of your blood and your skin. Will you be the tools of those who murder your own?

No!

Under the uniforms beat the hearts of workers. You have nothing in common with the officers who are in the pay of the butchers. They keep you under arms for two years. Hundreds of your own kind perish there like dogs and the Schneiders thrive like crows from your young bodies.

Comrade soldiers! Your place is at our side! You are part of the great family of workers! There are no barriers between the proletarians under arms and those in the factories! We demand for you political rights, the right to express yourselves, the right to make felt your ardent desire for peace and your ferocious hatred of those who are preparing for war, playing with your skin as an unimportant commodity. We demand for you the right to mingle in the life of the country, you, whom they call "heroes" but will not grant any voice.

Soldiers, do not forget that you are not alone! The workers grasp your hand. Your brothers are defending you and calling upon you for common struggle! Listen to this appeal!

Soldiers with us!

—The Executive Committee of the Young Socialists of the Seine.

Teachers Win Victory Over Green Machine

(Continued from Page 1)

"psychological moment" proved a boomerang for the Right wing. Delegate Kiker, legislative representative of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers, declared in an interview:

Denounces Green as Hitler "What I said on the floor of the convention was that according to the fundamental law of the land, anyone has a right to belong to any political party or to practice any political philosophy he desires. There is no regulation of the A. F. of L. to determine political affiliation. Yes, I spoke of the telegram as being from Mr. Hitler. I cannot see where Mr. Green had any right to step into the question."

The struggle over the revocation of the charter of Local 5, the outstanding issue before the convention, began in the sessions of the Executive Council which met before and during the convention, but which was deadlocked over the issue by a tie vote. The representatives of the United Committee to Save the Union, Chas. J. Hendley, Ceila Lewis and Ben Davidson, were given an opportunity to present their case to the Executive Council and the Convention. Their arguments made a profound impression upon the delegates. Many delegates resented the fact that the matter had been brought to the convention without authorization from the membership of Local 5.

The Lefkowitz delegation arguments for revocation were a rehash of the old red herring of Communist domination now worn threadbare throughout the labor movement. They quoted from C. P. publications appearing during the "third period" to prove that the progressive elements were out to wreck the unions of the A. F. of L. They charged the opposition with seeking to foster these policies in Local 5 despite the fact that the United Committee to Save the Union was made of elements representing all shades of opinion, seeking to save the union from mass expulsions, which would have wrecked it. The Lefkowitz administration threatened to resign if they did not have their way.

Reputable Administration Lies In the debate the progressive delegates brought out these facts: That the membership of Local 5 had not given the Lefkowitz delegation any authority to ask for the revocation of the charter; that no responsible organ of the union such as the Executive Board and the Delegate Assembly which the administration controls had ever voted for such a proposition; that the overwhelming majority of the membership opposed the investigation as well as the revocation.

It was stressed that the Lefkowitz delegation had brought revocation issue to the convention because they had lost the confidence of the membership of Local 5 and because they realized that they would soon be ousted from office. The signifi-

cance of the Green telegram was seen as one which not only concerned Local 5 and the existence of the American Federation of Teachers but one which concerned the entire trade union movement. In other words, Green, Borchard and Lefkowitz had issued an ultimatum to the trade unions of the country that unless the militants were expelled from all unions that they would wreck them.

It was a tragic spectacle to see Lefkowitz and Lenville, who had once played a progressive role in the labor movement, even to the extent of having been affiliated with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and basing itself on a militant trade union program; these erstwhile progressives were now allied with the reactionary Green-Wool machine; not only to defeat the progressive labor movement but wreck the very organization with which they had been associated for many years and had helped to build up.

Green's Avowed Treachery

In a private interview which the writer had with a delegate whose reliability can be vouched for, an account was given of an interview this delegate had had with President Green in Washington this summer. He quoted Green as saying that in his opinion the most important issue before the A. F. of L. at present was that of industrial unionism versus craft unionism. If the industrial unionists won out, then Green and his cohorts would secede from and split the A.F.T.

The treachery and disloyalty of these labor fakery and the A. F. of L. was never better illustrated than by these remarks. That is why the action of the A.F.T. in repudiating the Green policies are so extremely significant for the entire labor movement in the present and future struggles. A victory for Green would have meant the immediate wholesale expulsions of all progressives. But the fight of the progressives is not by any means over, it has just begun. Green is determined upon expulsions.

Today it is the duty of all progressives of different shades of opinion to unite their forces as they did at the A.F.T. convention because great battles are ahead. This must be considered as being only a partial victory, much greater and more difficult battles are ahead of us. A complete and permanent victory can only be assured if the progressive forces will unite on a realistic basis to realize their aims. A complete review of the convention will appear in the next issues of the NEW MILITANT.

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with which is merged THE MILITANT

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Vol. 1 AUGUST 31, 1935 No. 38

Defense Conference To Aid Jailed Clerks

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 26.—This Friday, August 30, 8 P.M. at 140 South 11th Street, a conference is being arranged to aid the five arrested fruit clerks facing jail terms.

The conference is being called by the Fruit Clerks Union of Philadelphia, Local 713, in conjunction with the N.P.L.D. and other labor organizations and prominent liberals.

John Dublin, Paul Hirsch, Isadore Klein, Tom Holmes, and Al Lichtman are the five fruit clerks awaiting court. Lichtman is charged with "threat to kill"; Dublin is charged with "malicious mischief"; Holmes, Klein, and Hirsch are charged with "malicious mischief, disorderly conduct, inciting to riot." If convicted they face long terms in prison.

The arrests arise from a militant strike conducted by the Fruit Clerks Union at the Blue Ribbon Fruit Market, Upper Darby, Pa.

and the Public Market, Phila.

That these cases are frame-ups which were utilized by the bosses and the police to break the strikes are obvious from the fact that in Lichtman's case there is no evidence at all against him and in Dublin's case the boss himself is the only witness and in the cases

of the other three, the bosses' wife is the only witness.

The Fruit Clerks Union calls upon organized labor to help smash the frame-ups, which are attempts to break the union. Money is very necessary. Send funds to Lou Roberts, Secretary of the union, at 4156 Poplar St., Philadelphia, Pa.

MASS MEETING

HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA! Protest Mussolini's War on Ethiopia

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary of the W.P.

E. R. McKINNEY

Editor of "Mass Action"

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, at 8:00 P.M.

Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place & 15th St.

Auspices: N. Y. District, Workers Party of the U. S.

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Mussolini Spars for Time in League Palavers

Green Backs Lefkowitz & Co. In Splitting Teachers Local

Aim to Revoke National Charter as Revenge for Defeat at Convention; Progressives Must Rally Resistance Now

NEW YORK, Sept. 5.—A startling new development confronted the Teachers Union of New York, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers with the announcement by Henry L. Lefkowitz, President, and Abraham Lefkowitz, Legislative Representative, of their intention to turn in their resignations at a meeting of the Executive Committee. All of the other officers of the local, elected last spring by a small majority, would follow suit, it was announced.

This splitting move comes as the aftermath of the stunning defeat of the Lefkowitz-Linville forces at the recently concluded national convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Seeking the revocation of the charter of Local 5, which would have meant the wholesale expulsion of the left wing, they were rebuffed on the convention floor by a vote of 100 to 79. In their attempt to head off the rising sentiment at the convention in favor of the united progressive elements in the local, whose spokesmen argued against expulsions and for the right of minority groups to exist, the panic-stricken New York leadership called upon William Green himself to intercede in their behalf. His telegram to the convention, a high-sounding ultimatum calculated to terrorize the delegates into line, was overwhelmingly rejected.

Struggle on National Scale

This announcement gives quick substantiation to the statement in the last issue of the NEW MILITANT that the victory of the left wing at the Cleveland convention was but partial, that greater battles were ahead. The planned resignation of the New York leadership, in the light of the struggle at the national convention, presents a grave danger, which a mere few months ago was scarcely foreseen. The danger of split has, with startling suddenness, broken through its local confines, and is heading straight towards the national organization itself.

Banking on Green's support, the Lefkowitz-Linville clique is clearly out to tear apart the American Federation of Teachers. Not only are they depending upon a substantial number of die-hard supporters to follow them out of Local 5, but they are also counting upon the secession from the Federation of a number of influential out-of-town locals.

The national convention of the A. F. of T. takes place next month. That the A. F. of T. will be under attack there is a foregone conclusion. Green can very well be depended upon to lead the assault. The aim of Green-Lefkowitz-Linville is clearly to seek the revocation of the charter of the A. F. of T. and to charter the secessionists as the new national organization.

Threat to Progressives

Thus the situation in the Teachers Union of New York takes on a new, nationwide significance, profound in its implications. Any move against the American Federation of Teachers at the coming convention of the A. F. of T. will be a dire threat at all progressive forces in the labor movement. A victory for Green (a two-thirds vote is required for the revocation of the charter of a national union) would not only be a disastrous setback for the teachers' movement; it would also set up a towering obstacle in the path of progressive unionism.

A great responsibility now rests upon the United Committee to Save the Union, the united front of left-wing forces in Local 5. Quick, firm, bold steps must be taken. The fight must be broadened. Lefkowitz-Linville must be clearly exposed to the membership as unprincipled splitters; the new Executive Council of the national organization must be brought more closely into the fight; every effort must be made to rally the A. F. of T. membership to the support of the A. F. T.

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your subscription has EXPIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

Publish Pamphlet on Sacramento Case

NEW YORK CITY.—"Union-Smashing in Sacramento—The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial," a 36-page pamphlet selling for 5 cents, has just been published by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee. This thorough-going analysis of the origins, course and results of the trial is simultaneously an absorbing, dramatic story of the class struggle in California and of the role of capitalist courts in that struggle.

The pamphlet is written by Herbert Solow, well-known journalist who spent four months in California last winter directing the Sacramento work of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Solow is now secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee.

Copies of the pamphlet, which contains prefaces by Sam S. White of the San Francisco I.L.W.U. and Travers Clements, well-known author, may be obtained from the N.S.A.C., Room 707, 41 Union Square, N.Y.C. The committee has announced that bundle orders may be had at reduced rates.

Rubber Workers Indignant Over Detroit Auto Deal

AKRON, Ohio.—Warned by the treachery of William Green, A. F. of L. president, at the auto workers convention where he showed his reactionary tools into office, the rubber workers prepared this week for a sharp struggle to prevent the A. F. of L. bureaucracy from pulling the same trick at the coming convention to form an international rubber workers union.

In fact, some of the Akron delegates and also out-of-town workers are so incensed that there is a serious possibility that the unions will be split and the delegates walk out of the convention if Green tries a "Detroit Deal" here.

Fairly good results came from efforts of progressives to co-ordinate their work with out-of-town delegates in a common anti-A. F. of L. bloc in the coming convention. A strength is expected from this bloc.

Talk has already gone around among the rubberworkers that "if they put Clabery or some other stooge in office like they put Dillon in at Detroit, we'll walk out with 90 percent of the delegates."

However, progressives are urging all delegates to rally around a fight within the regular convention and not let the independent international union idea gain headway for it will weaken the strength of the bloc in its fight against Green who will be here to try to play the same role he did in Detroit.

CANNON LECTURE SERIES

Beginning with Sept. 22, comrade James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT, will give a series of lectures "On the Road to the Fourth International" at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street. The lectures will be given on consecutive Sundays.

The Sacramento Case A Statement by the National Committee of the Workers Party

Eight young men and women, organizers of the exploited agricultural workers of California, have been railroaded to the prison hells of San Quentin and Tehachapi for terms up to fourteen years. In the terrorist, anti-labor atmosphere built up by the California bosses after the San Francisco general strike, a hand-picked middle-class jury convicted these eight under the notorious Criminal Syndicalism law. Despite the legal terminology of this instrument of capitalist reaction—is that they courageously organized farm workers and led them in successful struggles for higher wages.

The Sacramento prisoners will be the forerunners of a host of labor victims to this law, unless the Sacramento convictions are reversed under the pressure of the labor movement.

Organized labor everywhere has denounced the criminal syndicalism laws as a union-smashing device. The Sacramento convictions, revealing the stark anti-labor character of these laws, are a most important opportunity to rally the labor movement against the criminal syndicalism laws.

Spartacus Continues Struggle Begun 15 Years Ago on I. Y. D.

International Youth Day Embodies Traditions of Anti-Militarism; Revolutionary Youth of Today Fight under Same Banner

By SAM GORDON

N. Y. District Educational Director, S.Y.L.

Twenty years since that great day in 1915, and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE again celebrated International Youth Day.

But I.Y.D. is not just another holiday to us. In some respects, it is THE holiday of our organization and the living youth because it is the concentrated expression of a big part of what we stand for and fight for.

I. Y. D. began as a resurgent movement. It woke to life wide strata of young people demoralized by the crime and tragedy of 1914. It became a powerful insurgent movement. The force it stirred up did not rest until, with other help and hands, they built the Young Communist International.

Treachery Everywhere

We wait today from moment to moment knowing that war is crowding close to us. Back in 1915 it was already raging on a world scale. Betrayed by the leaders in whom they had placed trust, young factory hands, students and field workers stumbled and were driven into the trenches. Typical of the general disaster to the youth movement, Robert Danneberg of Austria, secretary of the International Bureau of Young Socialists, turned social-patriot and howled in the hyena chorus with the rest. The revolutionary movement ran to low ebb.

"Already influenced by the activity of the International Left, preparations were made for the holding of an international conference of the youth. This conference was held in Bern, Switzerland on April 4, 1915. It established the International Union of Socialist Youth. There were present 13 delegates from nine countries. It marked a turning point in the development of the youth movement.

"The Bern Conference, which was the forerunner of the Young Communist International, decided on the convening of a day of demonstration against militarism on an international scale. There was born International Youth Day, which has been celebrated now for twenty years by the Communist youth of the world. The conference decided on Oct. 3, 1915 as the first International Youth Day. The call was sent out to all countries and to all youth organizations calling upon them to demonstrate against the war and against militarism. During those years these anti-war demonstrations assumed tremendous proportions. In many countries they represented the only voice against the war, drawing in thousands upon thousands of adult workers. Since 1915, every year witnessed a world-wide demonstration against war and militarism. These demonstrations grew larger and larger as the years passed. The slogans of Bern became watchwords of the revolutionary youth."

(YOUNG SPARTACUS, September, 1933.)

The Answer of October

The program of the conference gave a partial answer to the question: what should we young revolutionaries do?

(Continued on Page 4)

Spartacus Plans Int'l Youth Day

"Plans for International Youth Day have been completed," is the report of Bill Streeter, district organizer of the S.Y.L. "Realizing its paramount significance we intend to make it an occasion where the principles of revolutionary internationalism, of revolutionary struggle against war are reiterated."

The district office of the Youth League announces that its plans include rally meets in all parts of the city. A torch light parade, planned for Saturday night, Sept. 7, will start out from 420 E. 19th Street at 7 P.M., march down Ave. A to 7th and Ave. A; after a short meeting, to 10th St. and 2nd Ave., for a final mass rally.

Max Shachtman, Jane Ogden, Bill Streeter and others will address a mass indoor meet at Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Place, Sunday night at 8:30. The program for the meeting includes a presentation of "Lightning Red," the Newton Dames Group, and other items. Spartacists and their friends should keep these evenings free. Don't forget the dates.

Green Extols Capitalism on Labor Day

Lauds Hunger Regime; Silent on Falling Wages

By JACK WILSON

CANTON, Ohio, Sept. 1.—After a string ensemble softly played "I Love You," William Green, reactionary president of the A. F. of L., surrounded by a chamber of commerce president, some state politicians, two priests and a coterie of conservative trade-unionists, preached the philosophy of class-cooperation at a dinner given here in his behalf—and then went into a veritable frenzy to whip up another "red scare."

His after-dinner speech and the dinner itself would have been the envy of a rotarian or any other bourgeois club. But this was but a prelude to and an indication of what workers, waiting throughout the country to hear what he would say, would actually get.

Green spoke before an audience of not over 2,500 workers, a sign of his rapidly declining prestige and an ominous warning of how he will fare in the future with the workers. Coming fresh from Detroit where he had treacherously foisted an ultra-reactionary leadership on the new auto workers' international union, Green still dared to shed crocodile tears over "our democratic rights for which we must fight."

He meant his right to continue betrayals of labor, as for example, at the coming rubber workers' convention. Green told the workers, whose standard of living has been falling to an even more miserable rate than before the Roosevelt administration, that "The nation is emerging from a long-continued period of distressing and painful economic experience," and also that "the economic horizon is becoming brighter."

Horns and Wings

Making a "fine" distinction between "decent employers" and "ruthless, irresponsible employers," Green pledged himself to help the "decent employers" against the competition of the latter in the hope they might toss him a few bread crumbs, so to speak.

Despite the rubber strike betrayal, the Chevrolet strike compromise, the failure of the A. F. of L. to try seriously to organize basic industries on industrial lines; the clubbing down of WPA wages by the Roosevelt administration; the increased misery for the unemployed; despite these and hundreds of other glaring facts that speak eloquently of the failure of the A. F. of L. top leadership, Green bragged of "substantial progress" made by him and his cohorts.

He had nothing but praise for the so-called "Federal Security Act," whose provisions are meaningless to those unemployed in obtaining even an existence. Outside of saying "Congress and the administration made a grave mistake" when they failed to accept and apply the prevailing wage

(Continued on Page 2)

Litvinov Talk Veils Powers Bandit Deals

Shies away from Internal Regime of Fascist Italy

With Italy sparring for time and the League of Nations sessions contributing greatly in the shadow-play of appealing to "public opinion," the final dress rehearsals are being completed before Il Duce marches his fascist hordes into the kingdom of Ethiopia.

The recent session of the League was convened primarily at the behest of British and French imperialism to make one more effort at a "peaceful" rather than military partition of Ethiopia.

The positions of England and France had been made clear before. England desiring "peace" for fear of its African colonies. France ready to back Italy so long as some guarantee could be given it of the status quo remaining undisturbed in Europe.

The "surprise" of the first day's session in Geneva was not the Italian delegate's demonstrative departure, nor even the plain spoken words of the Ethiopian representative, Jeze, but rather the speech of Maxim Litvinov, the first spoken words of the representative of the Stalin bureaucracy to the League of Imperialist Bandits. "...I am bound to declare, with regret," declared Litvinov, "with regret (!) my inability to agree with the attitude which the representatives of Italy wish to adopt."

Diplomatic language you say, but whose diplomacy? The diplomacy of imperialism or that of the proletarian state?

Again: "I have to make a statement upon a question which does not directly affect the interests of my country but which may have the gravest consequences for the fate of international life (!), for the whole of the League of Nations (how touching!) and consequently, sooner or later for our own country."

First things first as they say. Since when has the fate of the Soviet state been linked up with the fate of the Thieves Kitchen of Geneva? It is nothing but a slander to the masses of Soviet Russia to link their fate with that of black reaction.

And still more: "I am certain that there is no one here who feels in sympathy with the internal regime of Ethiopia as described in the documents submitted to us."

What about the internal regime of Italy about which Jeze had at least a few words to say? Yes, "comrade" Litvinov, how about the internal regime of castor oil Italy!

"Investia" has something to say about that. In an editorial on September 6 it declares: "In its estimate of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict Soviet public opinion (read Soviet bureaucracy) does not consider Italy's internal regime." No, not Italy's internal regime, that might offend a "friendly" nation, but let us by all means judge backward Ethiopia's internal regime. What a disgusting spectacle. Rather had Litvinov not spoken at all than have once again dirtied the names Soviet and Communism.

How Long Now?

Concluding the Italo-Ethiopian item on the agenda a committee of five was appointed to sift the matter once more and again try to find a "peaceful" solution. Italy did not object too strenuously to such a committee. Reports from East Africa have it that the rainy season is unduly prolonged this year.

French pressure must have counted considerably, too, in finally determining Italy's delegates to abstain on the proposal for a committee of five. It is likely that Laval, in private conversation, had insisted that the continued backing of Mussolini might prove embarrassing at home if Italy were intent to break them and there.

It is also quite likely that France will suggest that Italy be granted economic control over Ethiopia, with the right to establish what will amount to virtually a military protectorate.

But the traffic through the Suez Canal is dotted with boatloads of troops from which the flags of Italian fascism fly ominously in the breeze.

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL KRECH

Prosperity . . .

Without choking on his false teeth (as he once did while waxing oratorical in Little Rock) Senator Robinson proclaims: "Our president has been charged with everything from communism to despotism, and yet you cannot pick up a daily paper that does not reflect a rise in the stock market, an increase in profits, a resumption of dividends; in fact, every manifestation that tells of a country bound back to prosperity." . . . Says Business Outlook: "Downward movements have been in progress since March." . . . Says The Annalist: "Present business level is below the worst levels seen up to the middle of 1931." . . . Says Construction Industry: "Building construction as a whole is about 75 per cent of the first six months of last year." . . . Says Barons Weekly: "Prices of many agricultural products have risen to levels where consumption is being seriously curtailed." . . . Says Food Industry: "Bread consumption for the first quarter of the year was between five and ten per cent below the corresponding period of 1933." Philadelphia papers carry the story of eight evicted families living on the street for three days. . . In corroboration of his prediction last February that prosperity would be in full swing by "next May or June," Charles (Hell and Maria) Dawes cites increases in the production of razor blades and chewing gum. . .

Equality . . .

In delightful non sequitur Al Smith orates: "It is a mistake to say that we have a property or privileged class in this country. Lincoln said property is only the fruit of labor." . . . As a reward for virtue and full labor, Chicago utilities have restored Samuel Insull's \$21,000 annual pension (\$57.33 a day for life) together with back payments of \$33,250. . . For fruitful labor the duPont family recently received \$15,000,000 from General Motors dividends. . . Seventy per cent of the 58 million dollar incomes in the U.S. in 1932 were accounted for by fourteen families. . . According to figures issued by the Brookings Institution, 6,000,000 families in the U.S. live below subsistence level while 600,000 families or less than 2.3 per cent have incomes in excess of \$10,000. . .

Washington Side Show

Pat Hurley received \$100,000 from the Utility Lobby for handling the Republicans in Congress. Joe Tumulty received \$107,000 for lining up the Democrats. . . Marvin McIntyre, Roosevelt's secretary, believes that presidents come and go but the power trust goes on forever. Caught with Amos Carter, Dallas publisher, in utility pirate H.B. (Cocktail Lobby) Robinson's room, he intimidated Associated Press in suppressing the news. Other reporters told. . . H.C. Hopson suggested to utilities that they increase their advertising in the Hearst papers which are opposing the administration and the "reds." . . . According to the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee, only one in 5000 of the telegrams opposing the Wheeler-Rayburn bill were genuine.

Society Notes . . .

Herbert Hoover of Palo Alto, Cal., has applied for membership in the American Philatelic Society. The most prominent member is F. D. Roosevelt. . . John Jacob Astor recently purchased a \$200,000 yacht to commute to and from his \$25 a week job. . . Edward Schulte, 17 year old Chicago boy, was fatally shot when he attempted to steal a bottle of milk for his crying baby nephew. The mother of the child said it had been crying from hunger for two days. For ten weeks she had applied for relief but was refused. . . From his estate in Scotland, J. P. Morgan reports an abundance of grouse for the hunting season. . . Followers of Father Divine will be registered under such names as Wonderful Wisdom, Pearly Rest and Truth Delight if they win a legal battle with the Board of Elections which has refused to accept the names. . . Hereafter, Michigan will charge its 10,000 prison inmates 70 cents a day for food. . . Debate topic in a Washington, D. C., transient shelter: "Resolved, a transient is a pioneer and not a vagrant." . . Blasted at the increased interest in religion, the Gideon Society reports 46,175 bibles stolen from hotel rooms in 1934.

Albert Goldman, the noted labor lawyer who defended Norman Mini in the Sacramento courtroom, will be the speaker at the monthly membership meeting of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Wednesday, Sept. 11, 8 P.M. at the headquarters of Local 48, I. L. G. W. U., 231 East 14th Street, New York.

Fink AFL Leadership Sabotages Then Betrays KC Battery Strike

By STAN DOLSEN

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 17.—The National Battery strike was settled by a committee of strikers this morning. Called originally for recognition of the union and the reinstatement of five men discharged for union activity, the strike was mishandled from the start by the A. F. of L. leadership in charge. The men, all new to the labor movement, are members of the United Auto Workers, Local 19720, this local also including the organized workers in the Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants of this city. "Boasting" a membership of 250 out of the total working force of 2,500 auto workers, with only 10 to 20 percent of these attending regular union meetings, the National Battery strike presented a splendid opportunity for the reestablishment of the prestige of the union in the eyes of the auto workers and recruitment of the mass of disgruntled workers who had dropped out since the strike of last year.

Situation Favorable

Odds were overwhelmingly favorable for an early and complete victory for the strikers. The busy season—June to December—was commencing. Fully fifty percent of the men struck immediately (on an overnight decision of the union and those entering the plant were favorable to the union and practically all others promising to come out if the A. F. of L. would furnish the additional pickets so glibly promised by President Homer Martens of the Auto Workers and Policy of the Teamsters. Instead of the 500 pickets promised—a dozen Teamsters and quarrymen were supplied. No effort worthy of the name was made to prevent men from entering the plant. The strikers all green men, had confidence in President Martens, who assured them the strike was being handled in "Washington" and that they must by all means "conduct themselves like gentlemen" in order to impress the public and the company with "our absolute fairness in this matter." After four days of peaceful picketing, an anti-picketing injunction was obtained by the company on the flimsy frame-up charge of "dynamite threats." Martens and Polley immediately withdrew all pickets including the four allowed under Missouri state laws, and the company immediately filled up with scabs and additional forces to take care of the seasonal increase in production.

Four days later four pickets were placed back on the line, Martens maintaining that "the strike strategy and tactics" laid down by Missouri State Law (a picket's enough to win any strike) was an age-old axiom of Sam Gompers and must be strictly lived up to by "his" union. So the battle of labor was transferred from the picket line to the cozy little court house, the balance of the men being held off the line for two weeks while the injunction hearing was repeatedly set back by the judge.

Progressive Plans
When the injunction was first issued, Martens was immediately called upon by an experienced West Coast progressive, who presented a definite program of action. Pressure was likewise brought to bear by the Chevrolet Shop Stewards Committee. Martens thereupon agreed to put the following proposals into immediate effect:

1. Reestablish and reinforce the picket line and stop scabs.
2. Broaden the strike committee through the election of three additional battery workers, and delegates from the Chevrolet Shop Stewards and Auto Workers.
3. Secure the cooperation of the American Workers Union (unemployed) for picketing.
4. Mobilize Chevrolet and Fisher Body workers and all other union men possible at a public mass meeting to get pickets and finances necessary to conduct the strike.
5. Issue 30,000 boycott notices to the public and picket Montgomery-Ward, Western Auto, and other distributors, definitely naming trade marks.
6. Issue publicity to the men in the plant.
7. Immediately raise demands for sharp increase in pay, overtime rates, etc. as an effective aid in pulling men in the plant, as well as maintaining the morale of the men on strike. . . .
8. Contact St. Paul and Chicago plants in an endeavor to spread the strike.

As is always the case with Martens' promises—they were either not carried out or so emasculated as to be entirely useless. The men, totally inexperienced, and kept completely in the dark as to the actual situation, led to repeatedly by this preacher-labor faker, did not awaken to a realization of the situation until the lifting of the injunction and their return to the picket lines. Martens, Polley and Dyer, President of the C.L.U., laid the blame on the heads of the strikers themselves, with Martens telling them openly that it was up to them to get back into the plant as best they could.

Martens Insinuates Relief

The men now thoroughly aroused, raised the demands previously outlined; the strike committee was doubled. Arrangements were made with the American Workers Union to supply pickets. Immediately after the Strike Committee left Martens went over their heads, cancelling the agreement with the A.W.U. and in the morning when the A.W.U. workers, unaware of the cancellation notice, arrived on the picket line they were told to withdraw by Martens, Polley and Bledsoe who threatened to withdraw their pickets and all A. F. of L. support if they did not do so.

In spite of this, the new strike committee, now completely awake, succeeded in pulling eleven green men out of the plant and with three-fourths of the men in the plant newly-hired scabs and green, production was thrown clear out of gear. The establishment of a mass picket line at this time would have brought about complete victory.

But Martens did nothing to mo-

bilize either the members of the auto union or assist in any way. Instead a series of arrests of strikers, some at his instigation, occurred. In spite of this the workers tried to extend the strike to Chicago and St. Paul, sending the new chairman of the strike committee there. At this time the company offered a settlement. But Martens and Polley stalled the matter off—then after a number of days announced that they could do nothing more for "you boys." On Saturday four members of the strike committee designated by the men made the following settlement:

Settlement Agreed to

1. Reinstatement of all strikers without discrimination, including the five originally discharged.
2. A shop grievance committee of 6, 3 strikers and 3 scabs.
3. Payment at rate of time-and-a-half for all overtime above 48 hour week. Sunday work to be paid for at rate of time-and-a-half.
4. Recognition of departmental seniority rights.
5. Recognition of the union refused, but right of men to belong to union without discrimination and to wear their buttons in the plant conceded.

The previous settlement offered provided for elections to be held with only those working in the plant prior to the strike voting. This would have given the strikers control. Three former employees who refused to scab and arrested in picketing were refused any guarantee of employment though the committee put up a fight. However, with the danger of a break in the strikers' ranks evident after ten weeks of this "Dillon man" leadership the settlement was agreed to. And another example of what the Kansas City auto workers have in store for them under the Dillon-Martens leadership in the none too distant future was enacted before their eyes.

Faker Undermines K.C. Auto Union

By STAN DOLSEN

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 17.—Since the settlement of the 1934 Chevrolet and Fisher Body strike 54 cases of union workers dismissed on the usual flimsy excuses of the company have all been decided against the union.

Insistence on the part of the militants that all cases be decided by the union directly were pushed to one side—the President's auto board situated 800 miles from the plant at Detroit (just a nice little walk for the men) being much more suitable for the carrying out of the purpose both Martens and the company officials had decided upon. . . . the firing of the militants. Whether decided behind the office doors or just a happy, spontaneous thought on the part of both, one may judge for oneself. However, for months Martens withheld all results of the Detroit Appeal Board from the membership!

Democracy in Union a Farce

Not a semblance of democracy exists in the union meetings, Martens refusing to entertain motions whenever they in any way contain a germ of genuine unionism. Progressives seldom get the floor. The greater part of the time is allotted to "stooges," "innocents" and the "harmless." Even this concession is limited—Martens is very careful to hog the floor himself. Once in a while the "innocents" show signs of dissatisfaction and a growing lack of appreciation of the great man—a tendency that can best be curbed by withdrawing even this limited amount of democracy! In the National Battery strike, not a striker, not even a member of the strike committee was given an opportunity to report or to express his views or to bring forward any proposals before the enlarged body.

On the other hand, a special speaker, the Rev. Myers of the Consumers Cooperative Association was brought in to speak to the assembled Chevrolet-Fisher Body and striking battery workers. This gentleman's organization purchased scab National Batteries in bulk for its members during the entire strike!

Though only an organized progressive group can break this down, no such group is even in a formative stage. There are individual progressives, but they have not yet come to realize the pressing need of an organized group if the union

is to be saved. Martens utilizes his previous training as a sky pilot with considerable skill. Recognizing clearly the implications of Section 7a and the opportunities existent for a gentleman of his ilk, he became an ardent exponent of labor. Leaving the regular church, he launched a Labor Church. As this project also had its limitations he secured work at Chevrolet and shortly after blossomed forth as president of the union. Polley, fake progressive business agent of the Teamsters whose remark, "that he made Martens' possibly gives the clue for Martens' immediate employment by a company which is so careful about hiring "labor agitators."

Present Course Leading to Disaster
If the present condition of the auto union continues, the loss of the great majority of the Chevrolet workers, of the 100 splendid women members, their demoralization and disillusionment in this kind of unionism; the hiding from the union membership of the decision of the Detroit Auto Labor Board on the cases of the dismissed employees; Martens' craven attitude towards the company on the one hand and his deception, evasion and failure to rally the slightest support for the fighting Toledo auto workers on the other, and his treacherous conduct in the battery workers' strike—if all of this does not drive home to the workers the necessity for a complete check on Martens' present power and a sharp turn from the course the union is now pursuing—then nothing less than disaster, a complete miserable collapse faces the union during the coming year.

Only the organization of a progressive wing and the publication of a progressive auto workers' bulletin can change the present disastrous course of the union. It is possible through the bulletin to bring the real issues before the auto workers whether within or without the union, to bring about a restoration of democratic rights, to break the stifling grip of this budding labor faker and propagate the principles and ideals of militant unionism. This course, and only this course, can bring about a sharp change in the internal life of the union. Furthermore it is the only line of action that can restore the confidence of the auto workers in unionism and achieve complete organization and unity of the auto workers in one militant, progressive union.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Do you know how the police, prosecutor, judge, the Hearst press, American Legion, preachers, bankers, boss politicians help send our comrade, Norman Mini, to the San Quentin jute mill? Read:

UNION-SMASHING IN SACRAMENTO

The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial

by Herbert Solow

This pamphlet, published by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, should be in your hands. You can help the struggle to defeat the frame-up Sacramento verdicts by selling it to your friends and fellow-workers. Five cents retail; reductions for bundle orders. Send your orders to

National Sacramento Appeal Committee
Room 707, 41 Union Sq., N. Y. C.

(Space donated by NEW MILITANT to the N.S.A.C.)

The Manager's Corner

As announced elsewhere in this issue, the week's receipts on the 8-page weekly campaign shows a welcome improvement over the last two weeks. But we still have reached a total of only \$596.81. Still to go is \$1,404.19.

The problem now is to keep a steady improvement a steady rise week by week, increasing the speed so that the time of the conclusion of the campaign will not be far off.

This week's remittances in the campaign were as follows:

Contributions	
Newark Branch	\$ 3.00
J. B. Washington	5.00
Los Angeles Branch	20.00
New Haven Branch	13.00
Flatbush Branch, N.Y.C.	2.25
East Side Branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C.	4.40
Brownsville Branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Davenport Branch	2.50
H. Goldenberg, Montreal	5.00
M. G., Massachusetts	10.00
Total	64.15

Advance Subscriptions

L. Goodman, Philadelphia 3.00

Subscriptions (Club Plan)

Bronx Branch, N. Y. C.80

Greetings

Center Branch, N.Y.C. 1.75

Previously recorded \$528.11

Grand Total \$596.81

The New York branches have not yet gone very far in the realization of their extensive plans for the campaign, but they are on the way. None of them has as yet reached their quota. The Harlem branch is coming nearer and is still well in the lead. The comparative standing of the New York branches is as follows:

Branch	Contribution	Quota
Harlem	\$61.78	\$ 86.00
West Side	47.90	105.00
Center	41.50	130.00
Flatbush	26.25	30.00
Bronx	22.80	150.00
Newark	21.50	54.00
Boro Park	15.00	48.00
East Side	11.75	99.00
Astoria	9.34	30.00
Brownsville	5.60	63.00
Paterson	2.00	16.00

The Los Angeles branch has advanced from its previously recorded \$10.00 to a total of \$30.00 contributed, and the New Haven branch from its previously recorded \$4.50 to \$17.50.

SETTLE BUNDLE ACCOUNTS

This month the Philadelphia Kensington branch has set an excellent example in clearing up entirely its account with the NEW MILITANT which on August 1 had fallen to the extent of \$23.60. Comrade R. Lee contributed \$10.00 toward making this settlement. Now, the Philadelphia branch is on an equal

footing with the Minneapolis and Boston branches which previously settled their accounts in full.

For the Chicago branches (three branches) Comrade John Ritz made a donation of \$5.00 toward the payment of their account with the NEW MILITANT. But the total amount due for bundles received, instead of decreasing, has further increased. On August 1 there was a total amount due from the Chicago branches of \$45.98, on September 1, it rose to \$48.53. However, the Allentown branch has moved forward to the dubious honor of being the worst delinquent insofar as any one single branch is concerned. On August 1 it owed a total on the NEW MILITANT bundle account of \$27.50. On September 1 this amount had increased to a total of \$37.50. The branch has failed to make any settlements since May 2.

The branches in the Bay region, California, San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley, show an almost equal record. Between them they owed on August 1 \$19.00. By Sept. 1 the amount had increased to \$28. No payments have been made by these branches since July. The Pittsburgh branch owed on August 1 \$25.00. On September 1 the amount was \$26.54. The Detroit branch owed on August 1 \$17.20. By September 1 it had increased to \$19.20. The Columbus branch owed on August 1 \$14.40. By September 1 it had increased to \$15.30. The Center branch in New York owed on August 1 \$9.40. By September 1 it had increased to \$14.25. The Bronx branch in New York has a similar record. On August 1 it owed \$9.40; by September 1 the amount had increased to \$15.30. The New Castle branch owed on August 1 the amount of \$11.20. On September 1 this had increased to \$12.20. Finally, the Toledo branch has a bad record of \$8.00 due on August 1, and \$11.50 by September 1.

It is needless to mention the fact that most of these branches are in equally bad standing insofar as their accounts with the NEW INTERNATIONAL is concerned. And it is necessary to add, we may ask, that this intolerable negligence in making settlements for accounts imposes a severe strain on the office of the Party publications. To the same extent it becomes a strain on the Party and a factor hampering its work. There is only one conclusion to draw from this situation: namely, that their duty to the Party and its press is to take steps immediately to make substantial payments on their accounts and to shoulder their responsibility in this matter as units of a revolutionary party should do.

Green Extols Capitalism on Labor Day

(Continued from Page 1)

principle on WPA work, no criticism of the anti-worker, capitalist-controlled Washington administration was made!

Green again offered as his solution for the inherent contradictions of capitalism with its devastating toll of unemployment, misery and slavery of the working class, the 30-hour week.

But it wasn't what Green said alone which showed so clearly his poverty as a labor leader and the sources of ideas for betraying the fundamental interests of the working class.

It was in what he didn't say that he was so clearly exposed!

Amnesia Grips Bill

With world imperialism about to send millions of workers to horrible death in war which will inevitably draw America in, Green made no mention of the Italian Fascist aggression in Ethiopia!

With the federal government drastically reducing relief to unemployed, bringing untold misery, not one word was said in condemnation of these criminal policies!

With the sky father Coughlin attempting to build an independent company-dominated auto workers union right on the heels of the bonafide auto workers convention, Green fears to think even of the consequences let alone exposing of

Coughlin!

With all the black, infamous record of Roosevelt and his administration with its serious consequences to the welfare of the working class—the effects of the NRA, the spending of hundreds of millions for war preparations but not much for relief; the role of the government, as strike-breaker in every strike; and so on—with all this record, Green ignores the administration, in fact, he praises it for bringing "economic recovery" to the capitalists!

Thus, in every serious problem facing the working class, we get from Green exactly what one would expect from a labor faker. . . . The working class gets nothing!

P.S. The Minneapolis truck drivers will be interested in knowing who the clergyman was that sat with Green enjoying a fine, fat meal. None other than Rev. Francis J. Haas! He's still up to his old tricks, trying to fool labor. But thanks to the Minneapolis drivers, we have the Indian sign on him.

Brownsville Mass Meeting "THE RAID ON ETHIOPIA!"

Speaker:
A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary, W. P.
Wednesday, Sept. 11, at 8:30 P.M.
1776 Plink Avenue
Aus: Brownsville Branch, W. P.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

MASS MEETING

International Youth Day

Anti-War Rally

Speakers:
BILL STREETER DAVE ATKINS SAM GORDON
JANE OGDEN, Chairman

Sunday, Sept. 8th., 1935 - at 8 P.M.
Irving Plaza Hall - Irving Place & 15 St.

Admission 15 cents
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, N. Y. District

dere emily

mpis
tuesday,

dere emily,

well kid, i hope yure avin a good time in new york, which yure sure deserv after workin without no vaksun for 16 years dont fall for none a those union square peasants an be sure an get those books i asked ya to. stuff is happenin hear thich & fast. a iron workers strike, a strike at Strutwear, a lathers strike an a fur workers strike. they all cum to us at 574 an ask for help an we giv it to em. from the way the bosses is threaten to pick up an moov outa town, you wud think all the factories in minneapolis wuz on roller skates or sompun.

by-the-by, emily, dont forget you an me has got a sub contest on fer the NEW MILITANT. this is the weigh i feel about a workers paper, kid, you remember when we joined the Party after the strike las summer, we both sed we wuz in this thing to win if it took all r life an then sum, we seen then that the job cant be dun in 1 city or 1 state or 1 country even but must be dun in all the countries. all rite. if that is r job, less get to work. the thing we got to do is to bld the Party in America. the weigh to bld the Party is to get members. the weigh to get members is to let the workers no what we're doin an what we think about things. the weigh to let the workers no is by reachin em with our literachor an espeshully the NEW MILITANT.

from the weigh r farmer-labor mayor is usin the cops to eskort the finks past the picket lines, its hi time we got goin on this. from the weigh the stalinists is tellin us what nize peepul the top hats at the League of Nations is, an that there is good bosses and bad bosses, its hi time we got goin on this. hell, emily, a geez cud read the daily worker from now to then an never no what the score wuz. an the socialist is just as bad, emily. a socialist is just a farmer-labor geez with a black ribbon on his i-glasses anyhow.

it is only ourselves, emily, the Workers Party which has got the rite line an nos how to deliver the goods an win for the workers. i goss we seen that in minneapolis, eh, emily?

so you see what the 1 job is—on the "must" list, as the pres. & i sed. its to get readers for r paper and to raise enuf dough so that the paper can be bigger an offener. so far i got 6 subs for the NEW MILITANT, an i rased 4 bucks for the paper from buys which is freinly to us an likes the way we get things dun, and i kicked in with a days wages for the paper.

most of us here in town did the same thing, but r expensis is purty high an we cudnt send all the dough to the paper but had to spend sum of it here on the head-1/4s, so now we are goin to kick in another days wages for this month to the paper, an then we'll hev paid r share to the new 8-pager.

god nos, kid, the bosses papers is gettin wuzer an wuzer, what with that fink, daddy warbucks, an ol man heart's ads an the crappy handlin a strike news. if we're ever goin to get anyplace—as we r—we gotta hav a big paper of r own, a daily paper which will go to 1,000's of workers. the 1 step to this is the 8-pager, an i dont begrudge any wurk or donasshons on my part to make it click. rite now r spehul task is to get subs an dough for the paper. i no you av yure ma giv more'n yure share to the fund, but try an get all the subs ya kin from yure frens in new york, remember, kid, whichever 1 a us has the least subs by sept. 15 treats me to a dinner at red goldens. by that time you'll be back here, an we'll see whose who.

sochully, things has bin rite pleasant. las saturday i went to the Spartacus affair given at the Party head-1/4s, an nites i usually hang around the 574 hall, which they got all fixed up on the 2 floor with tables on a bar, very pleasant like. guys cum up there with there wives and girls an sit aroun an hav a glass a beer or so, an there is a geetar an a mandoline playin, an evry once in a while a guy will get up an dance a jig, or another guy will sing rocked in the cradle an a deep an evryone aplauds an has a swell time. las nite i got up an rested the mask of anarchy by Shelley which you taut me, an ended up with ye are many, they are few, join the Workers Party. it got over big. get those subs, an hurry home.

yours,
Mike.

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A Letter from M. Pivert

To the Comrades Expelled by the National Congress of the Socialist Youth of France at Lille; July 30, 1935

Through "Populaire" (Organ of the S.P. of France—Ed.) I learned of the decision on your expulsion and the circumstances preceding it. I regret not being able to return to Paris to aid you in securing reparation of this injustice. I am in solidarity because this is the first time in the party that they have expelled comrades only for serving socialist ideals, with faults to be sure, but also with tangible results: the development of their organization. I am in solidarity because I believe there is revealed in this procedure an extremely serious political significance which must bring to your side all those who sincerely and not in phrases stand for revolutionary unity.

Revolutionary unity without comrades like Fred Zeller or Makovsky (leaders of the Seine District of the Socialist Youth—Ed.), members of my group is a fraud. The splitting action perpetrated by comrades who have been artificially lined up against you and who do not understand its import (or who have utilized your errors) may have disastrous repercussions not only for the Party but for the entire labor movement.

The first thing I request of you is to do nothing to aggravate matters: to demand of your comrades remaining in the organization that despite what has happened they devote themselves to the development of the Youth (organization—Ed.). You have the right to defend those conceptions which you hold dear. For that, the doors of the Party are immediately open to you. Do not be discouraged, you will not be alone in defending the rights of minorities to live in a democratic Party like ours. Issue an appeal to the Party at once—this ought to bring the Party to revoke an impermissible decision if it is true to its structure. This appeal must be tentative and must allow you to continue your practical work without interruption inside the Seine Federation, if at the same time, and I strongly hope so, the majority which you have won remains loyal to you.

It is in order to aid you, if you believe it useful in your defense, whether by utilizing these lines or by using them in helping you address your appeal to the Federal Bureau and the Bureau of the Party that I occupy myself in discussing the grievances concerning you which you have written me.

The Problem of Factions

Lagorgette (Right wing leader of the Socialist Youth—Ed.) condemned factions and proposed to dissolve them. There is nothing new in that. At a certain Federal Congress at Montreuil the adults launched an extremely heavy and vicious attack on us because of our faction, the "Bataille Socialiste."

Does that mean that they did not belong to any faction in the Party? I do not want here either to examine or analyze such a position. I say merely that it is the undeniable right for comrades of the Party and the Youth who think in this or that way to meet together, to act in concert for the development of the propaganda of their tendency, to visit groups, to seek votes on the eve of a Congress, to designate their representatives for Party functions. You have the right to demand this option, and no more: it is impossible to go any further, that is to say, up to official exteriorization (although in fact it is difficult to conceal ones group preferences in public action). But that, that is what we have always done in the whole life of the Party. That is what we have always done in cases of decisive battles against ministerialism and we have practiced it with Paul Faure, with Zyromsky, with Louis Levy, with Severas, without ever thinking that one day that would be a motive for expulsion... against another faction than ours.

I also read with regret the demand of Mireille Osmun: "Renounce factional activity," and that individually. What is the meaning of this? As for myself I would never sign it. More precisely I say: in the hour when complete unification approaches, the rights of minorities becomes most precious with the single condition that the factions do not hinder the regular work of the Party. I have always seen confused comrades—who have no strong principled position and are often embarrassed by the choice which the existence of factions imposes on them—struggle against tendencies and factions.

You have therefore the right to justify your appeal to the Party by referring to the constant practice of the internal life of the Party. From this point of view the "dissolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists" has no meaning, if they do not at the same time dissolve the other official and secret factions... but then it is impossible to apply such a decision.

As to the especial quality of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and here I will say quite clearly that a psy-

chological error has been committed by those among you who assume this name. Incontestably there is confusion here, and those who expelled you have utilized the weapon which has been given them; if you are loyal to original Bolshevism, you do not accept the democratic structure of the Party, equality for all tendencies and for all members. They therefore impute to you the intention, which has long been that of the Communist Party, "to bore from within," to demolish the socialist organization, in order to win the leadership, but with another structure. All the confusion exploited against you arises from that... And it is necessary to dispel this notion (as the adult Bolshevik-Leninists must also do) under pain of driving the present conflict into a blind alley. The Socialist Party has, in fact, victoriously struggled against all attempts of the C.P. to bore from within. It is instinctively levelled against all attempts at renewing such methods. But I never understood your return to the Party as a method of this kind. You would certainly have avoided the exploitation of your label against yourselves, if you had proclaimed your will to submit to the rules of internal propaganda in the same degree and with the same rights as the other ideological currents in the Party. This is one of the points you must insist upon. And even if, in the aim of obtaining satisfaction, the label Bolshevik-Leninist or Trotskyist has to disappear from circulation, I am certain that you would not hesitate to change it... The essential thing is not to wear the label of an enchanting name but to apply oneself in following the teachings it implies.

But all this does not apply to comrades like Fred (Zeller—Ed.) who are not in the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at least to my knowledge! For the latter the measure is even more unreal and takes on such significance that all minorities threatened by the same token must band together in solidarity!

On the "Illegal" Nature of the Expulsions

I maintain now that the expulsions decided on by the National Conference of the Youth are incompatible with the statutes of the Party. It is not within the province of a congress to transform itself into a High Court and to condemn (since they have neither instruction nor defense, and the delegates to a congress are not judges). From top to bottom in the Party there are control commissions which judge. That is the juridical argument which has always been made against our demands to expel the traitors from the Party. That is why the Federal Bureau of the

Seine, which demanded the expulsion of Poggioli... but which permitted him to remain at the head of socialist municipalities despite serious breaches of discipline in electoral action, against which I revolted in advance, cannot impartially apply an inadmissible decision in your case. After a control commission hands down its verdict there is still the possibility to appeal to a higher body. Such an appeal was made in the case of a notoriously disqualifying gentleman, like Duchanel, who still has his party card. Therefore one cannot consider your expulsion as final for it is impossible to imagine different disciplinary rules for the Youth and the Party. Then the latter is particularly lenient with renegades and traitors, Marquet was not expelled, nor was Bouissou, nor was Comper-Morel (he is even going to enter. I hope in this connection, that Lagorgette will press the demand of expulsion against this gentleman which he accepted with Perigaud and myself).

For comrades careful in keeping the Youth in their place, I think that the action perpetrated lacks deliberation. It would have been necessary to begin by declaring the motion of expulsion unacceptable for one never knows where that will lead to. If in a group, if in a Federation, a Bolshevik-Leninist majority declared, as a reprisal, the expulsion of this or that minority as counter-revolutionists and disloyal to the real fundamental bases of socialist action, where would we be then? In the same way I set myself against this sectarian conception and I rise with indignation against the sectarianism of the majority of the Conference: this or that opponent is in the way? I disdain to answer this (it is too easy!) I believe that many of the young comrades who voted for your expulsion (or whose mandates were utilized in this aim) will regret the deplorable action which has just been perpetrated. As to the editor of "Populaire," Daniel Mayer, I consider his contemptuous comments as an infamy. No! This is not the way we treat young comrades like those whom I know well and whom I have seen at work in direct action and this is not the way to answer them. It is a bad internal regime which we will surely be in, I am certain, if everyone does as he wishes.

The Motives for the Expulsion
In the motion of expulsion there are certain unacceptable considerations and others which might be justifiable but I persist in believing are unacceptable in your case.

To come out in favor of the 4th International? It is the right of the Youth and the Party to appreciate the present situation of the

The Moral Guardian of Capitalist Exploitation

The Church, Fascism and War

By RICHARD ZOITZMAN

Born in an era of chattel slavery, flowering in the epoch of feudal serfdom, declining with and as a loyal servant of capitalist imperialism, the Catholic Church has unflinchingly condoned and glorified the exploitation of man by man. As a beneficiary from the system of organized robbery the Church fears any slight change, any piece of enlightenment which might threaten the status quo and therefore its own income.

At one time the Church was able to organize its own force to combat progressive movements of a past century. The Jesuits were such a spearhead against the democratic bourgeoisie. Developments today however have put the Church in the position of having to depend on finance capital and its gangster formations for the preservation of the present system. It hails and helps every reactionary measure, every downward step which capitalism must take in its efforts at self-maintenance, asking in return only that its "Peter's Pence" be not interfered with. When this latter happens then indeed does Rome thunder against the "excesses of Fascism," as in Germany today, only then do its dupes picket German consulates, declaring "the Church is anti-fascist." Since when?

Unqualifiedly blessed is the venomous arch reactionary Gil Robles, head of the Spanish fascist Catholic Action. With what rage and bitterness do workers recall how, during the February 1934 uprising in Austria, the priesthood went from house to house, appealing to the sons of the wealthy to join with the Heimwehr butchers in putting down the starving proletarians. Today, labor's standard of living having been reduced forty percent, with all unions and workers' organizations under government ban, Austria stands a Rome anointed

Just across the Rio Grande in Mexico, the Christero Guerrillas snipe at workers parades from churches as a Christian protest against "Socialist Education" in the schools, and the curtailment of Catholicism's power and income. At the moment that the Coughlins, Bishop McConnel, and other Christy demagogues beat the tin pan of pseudo radicalism for "social justice," and a "more equitable distribution of wealth" etc., Rome throws its moral and material weight behind capitalism's murder gangs whose sole purpose is to reduce the workers to abject pauperized slaves.

Even programmatically the Papacy upholds Fascism. In his Quadragesimo Anno encyclical of May 24, 1931, Pope Pius states that "Corporations will be appointed as the supreme authority over capitalism. As true and genuine organs and instruments of the state they co-ordinate and direct the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. If the contending parties cannot come to an agreement, public authority intervenes."

Like the Church of Stalin, the Church of Rome finds certain capitalist wars to have progressive features. In two pronouncements on the subject of Mussolini's preparation for war against Ethiopia, His Holiness plausibly remarks that the dead would be compensated for by the conversion of the survivors to the Faith. This three crowned vampire proceeds in his second message to describe with what "horror" he regards a war of conquest, concluding however that a struggle for "expansion is something different, and entirely justifiable."

The international workers' revolution alone can remove this parasitic organism. Only socialism can render such a growth impossible.

Editor's Note

Because of their extraordinary importance for the revolutionary movement of France as well as their educational value everywhere we publish herewith the letter of Marceau Pivert to the expelled Socialist Youth of the Seine District of France and a reply to some of his comments by comrade Leon Trotsky. Comrade Pivert is the leader of an influential left wing group called "Bataille Socialiste" in the Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.). As previously reported in the NEW MILITANT the ousted revolutionary youth leaders are gaining support everywhere. In a recent issue of "La Verite," organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O., just arrived from Paris, there appears a whole series of protests against the expulsions and greetings of solidarity with the expelled.

two Internationals and to hope for a better one, with or without changing the number. Did not the Spanish Young Socialists consider leaving the Second International? Does anyone believe that formal discipline and expulsions can add luster to the prestige of the Second International? Or does it prevent the workers from wanting complete unity? I myself am also a member of the Second International on paper, but no one will prevent me from believing that it no longer has any real existence... and from saying it. I am not the only one who thinks this way. Are they going to expel me?

Systematic denigration, that is, criticism of the point of view of those who think that everything is going well. The right of internal criticism. The right of free choice of the best solutions to the problems posed by events and which the Congresses of the Party have not foreseen, much less resolved. You must proudly demand all of this in your own field, in our activity in the Youth with the care of winning the young generation for socialism. What you must add, is that you have never had the intention of having any other policy than the Party's on essential questions; that is not possible (even though the Belgian Young Socialist Guards have obtained a hundred times more freedom than you on this subject). But certain questions are still being debated in the Party... and it is delaying in taking a position, the question of the struggle against war, for example. We demand the right to examine them as "practises," one might say, and to make our position known. If this is the main grievance they have against you, then I reproach the framers of the motion of expulsion for lack of courage. Would they be expelled if the Youth defended to the letter the position of Blum or Zyromsky on the problem of national defense, that is to say, "In case of aggression by Hitler we will shoulder arms"? No, they would not! Now, I declare that this position does not conform to the regular decisions of the Tours Congress with which I am well acquainted and which Lagorgette has undoubtedly not forgotten. No, under no pretext, consequently, even the pretext of aggression, must the Party lend itself to the propagation of the acceptance of war. If that is the real motive for your expulsion, then it should be said frankly, openly. We will draw from that—we adults who have maintained an attitude of courtesy, even of comradeship which we do not regret, in our discussions—the inevitable consequences. We understand that it would be necessary to struggle by other means than slithering words against the opponents of factions who want to expel us from the socialist community, before perhaps dragging the proletariat into a new 1914... And if this is not the question, then what is at the bottom of your expulsion? And if it is not the problem, then all the rest has only a mediocre importance and provided you emphasize your will to serve the Party, with your methods and your doctrinal preferences, developing them as you have done in the Seine, certainly your reinstatement must be speedy.

Finally I do not believe that they can seriously prove that your position or your action is "anti-unity" or responsible for "intolerable confusionism" in the ranks of the organization. But in any case, there is no impartial arbiter who can judge that this or that responsible comrade must be expelled. And if it is a question of a political line, then all those who have voted for you should be expelled (and are we to suppose that these people really believe that your followers would desert you)? If it is a question of precise facts, of propaganda contrary to the interests of the party, then a control commission must study the documents and decide.

In summary, nothing justifies a measure so fraught with dangers. In the degree that you are able to follow my suggestions, appeal, remain solidly organized, expelled or not. The Party must be consulted. In the last analysis it is it which must straighten matters out or aggravate them. Give it confidence! Fraternally yours,

MARCEAU PIVERT.

"Labels" and "Numbers"

On the Subject of the Letter from Marceau Pivert to the Expelled Comrades of Socialist Youth of France

By LEON TROTSKY

The letter of Marceau Pivert on the expulsions of the leaders of the revolutionary youth of the Seine, despite its laudable aim, reveals some incorrect ideas, which, in their development, can lead to serious errors. The true task of a Marxist is to warn the young comrades against these errors.

Pivert himself accuses our comrades of committing a great "psychological error" by assuming the name Bolshevik-Leninist. Since "original Bolshevism," according to Pivert, denotes the democratic structure of the party, equality (?) for all tendencies, etc., by their very name the Bolshevik-Leninists give the bureaucracy of the Party a weapon against themselves. In other words: the "psychological error" consists in an inadequate adaptation to the psychology of... the bureaucracy of the Party.

This opinion of Pivert represents a very serious "political error," and even a series of errors. It is not true that "original Bolshevism" denotes the democratic structure of the party. I advance the absolutely contrary affirmation: there was not and there is not a more democratic party than that of Lenin. It depended only on the advanced workers. It did not know the hidden, masked dictatorship, and the no less fatal one, the bourgeois "friends" of the proletariat, the careerist parliamentarians, the drawing room journalists, the whole parasitic coterie, which permeates the ranks of the party to speak "freely," democratically, but tenaciously holds on to the apparatus and in the final analysis, does anything it pleases. This kind of "democracy" in the party is nothing else than a replica of the bourgeois democratic state, which also allows the people to speak "freely" but leaves the real power to a handful of capitalists. Pivert commits a very great political error by idealizing and embellishing the hypocritical and fraudulent "democracy" of the S.F.I.O. (S. P. of France—Ed.). (Such curbs and paralyzes the revolutionary education of the workers, drowning out their voice by the chorus of municipal councilors, parliamentarians, etc., who are imbued to the marrow with their bones with egoistic petty bourgeois interests and reactionary prejudices. The task of the revolutionist, even if the march of devel-

opments obliges him to work in the same organization with the reformists, these political exploiters of the proletariat, consists not in taking the attitude of a disciple and of maintaining a lying friendship towards the agents of the bourgeoisie, but of opposing as clearly, as harshly and as unrelentingly as possible, the opportunists, the patriots, the absolutely bourgeois "socialists" before the reformist masses. In the final analysis those who will choose and decide will not be the Blums and the Zyromskys but the masses, the millions of exploited. The party must be built on and for them.

The Name and the Masses
The misfortune of Pivert is that up till now he has not broken the umbilical cord which binds him to the small world of the Blums and the Zyromskys. On every new occasion he looks at his "friends" and feels their pulse with anxiety. It is this policy—false, illusory, unrealistic—which he offers to the Bolshevik-Leninists. They must, you see, renounce their own name. Why? Does the name frighten the workers? On the contrary. If the so-called "Communists," despite all the betrayals and all the crimes which they have perpetrated, retain an important section of the proletariat under their banner, it is only because they present themselves to the masses as the bearers of the traditions of the October revolution. The workers do not fear either Bolshevism or Leninism. They demand only (and they are right): are these the real or the false Bolsheviks? The task of consistent proletarian revolutionists is not to renounce the name Bolshevik, but to show their Bolshevism in action to the masses, that is, the spirit of absolute devotion to the cause of the oppressed.

The Meaning of Bolshevik-Leninist
But why then—insists Pivert—cling to a label? Instead of "following the teachings which it implies"? Now does not Pivert himself wear the "label" socialist? In the field of politics as in all other fields of human activity it is impossible to proceed without "labels," that is, without designations and appellations as precise as possible. The name "socialist" is not only inadequate but absolutely deceptive, for everyone in France who has a mind to, calls himself "socialist." By their name the Bolshevik-Leninists say to each and all that their theory is "Mar-

ism"; that it is not the denatured and prostituted "Marxism" of the reformists (like Paul Faure, J. Longuet, Severas, etc.) but the true Marxism restored by Lenin and applied by him to the fundamental questions of the epoch of imperialism; that they base themselves on the experiences of October, developed in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International; that they are in solidarity with the theoretical and practical work accomplished by the "Left Opposition" of the Communist International (1923-1932); finally that they stand under the banner of the Fourth International. In politics, the "name" is the "banner." Those who renounce today a revolutionary name for the good of Blum and Co. will tomorrow just as easily renounce the red flag for the tricolor flag.

Pivert proclaims the right of every socialist to hope for a better international—"with or without changing the number." This irony, a little misplaced on the "number" (entirely—alas—in the spirit of the philistines of the S.A.P.) represents a political error of the same order as the irony on the "label." Politically the question is posed as follows: Can the world proletariat struggle successfully against war, fascism, capitalism under the leadership of the reformists or of the Stalinists (that is to say, Soviet diplomacy)? We reply: it cannot. The Second and the Third International are outlived and have become obstacles on the revolutionary road. It is impossible to "reform" them, because the whole composition of their leadership is radically hostile to the tasks and the methods of the proletarian revolution. Those who up till now have not understood the collapse of the two Internationals cannot raise the banner of the new International. "With or without changing the number"? This phrase is devoid of meaning. It is not by accident that the three old Internationals were thus numbered. Every "number" signified a distinct epoch, a program and methods of action. The new International must not be the sum of the two corpses, as the old social-patriot Zyromsky dreams, surprised in his unexpected recognition of the "living" "negation" of these corpses and at the same time the "continuation" of the historic work accomplished by the preceding Internationals. In other words: it is a question of the Fourth International. The "number" here signifies a perspective and a distinct program, that is a "banner." Let the philistines wax ironical on the above. We must not imitate them.

The Crime of Hiding the Banner

The aversion for "labels" and numbers in politics is as dangerous as the aversion for precise definitions in science. In one case as in the other we have before us the infallible symptom of lack of clarity in ideas themselves. To invoke the "masses" serves in this case only to cover his own hesitations. The worker who believes in Vandervelde or Stalin, will, undoubtedly be an opponent of the Fourth International. The worker who has understood that the Second and Third Internationals are dead for the cause of the revolution will immediately place himself under our banner. That is precisely why it is criminal to hide this banner under the table.

Pivert is deceiving himself when he thinks that Bolshevism is incompatible with the existence of factions. The principle of Bolshevism organization is "democratic centralism" assured by complete freedom of criticism and by groupings together with a discipline of steel in action. The history of the party is at the same time the history of the internal struggle of ideas, of groupings, of factions. Certainly, in the Spring of 1920, in time of terrible crisis, of famine, of cold, the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, which at that time counted 17 years of existence, suppressed factions, but this measure was considered exceptional, temporary and was applied by the Central Committee with the greatest degree of prudence and elasticity. The real annihilation of factions began only with the victory of the bureaucracy over the proletarian vanguard and rapidly led to the virtual death of the party. The Fourth International will not suffer in its ranks from mechanical "monolithism." On the contrary one of its most important tasks is to regenerate on a new, higher historical plane the "revolutionary democracy of the proletarian vanguard." The Bolshevik-Leninists consider themselves as a faction of the International which is being built. They are completely ready to work hand in hand with other truly revolutionary factions. But they categorically refuse to adapt their policy to the psychology of opportunist cliques and to renounce their own banner.

Trends in Wage Levels

By ALBERT GLOTZER

Some weeks ago the New Republic printed a chart indicating trends in salaries and wages that is highly interesting and instructive, showing how in the most recent years of the crisis, particularly from 1933 to 1934, salaries increased and wages held their own, after a heavy decline in previous years, despite the supposed aid to wages in the form of the NRA. The figures according to the New Republic are taken from two sources, the Securities Exchange Commission for salaries and the U. S. Department of Labor for wages.

The report on salaries are for the leading officials of the outstanding companies in this country and for wages, the average of the workers in the corresponding industries. Weaknesses in the report are many. It does not contrast the salaries and wages for the years 1933-34 to the years preceding the crisis. It does not show the salaries for subordinated officials whose incomes are not far below the highest paid officials of any company. Likewise the report, being purely factual lacking any kind of analysis, does not show that for the officials, salaries did not stop with the opening of the crisis nor during its entire existence.

Important Facts Omitted

On the side of wages the report does not indicate whether these wages include also foremen, salesmen, office workers, etc., which in most cases would raise the average. As in the above, it does not compare wages for the years 1933-34 with those preceding the crisis. Being factual it does not mention the fact that wages in this period were raised on an average because of forced employment through the NRA and indirectly through government projects. That too would raise the average wage. Such a fact as the years of unemployment and the loss of income for the mass of workers is not mentioned. Thus no average wage over a period of five to ten years is presented. Such a figure would again depress the average to a far greater level than is presented in the report.

Granting all the weaknesses indicated in the above it is nevertheless possible to gather the trends in the report. The report concerns itself with 107 leading companies including such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company,

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Diamond Match Co., International Business Machines Corp., Montgomery Ward and Co., Pullman Inc., Standard Oil Co., Westinghouse Electric, U. S. Rubber, Goodrich Rubber, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., etc., etc. While the automobile industry and most of the tobacco companies do not appear in the report, steel, textile, coal, transportation and the like are reported on.

Taking the 107 companies the average salary paid to the leading official is somewhat over \$61,000 a year, for the year 1934. Ten officials out of this total received between \$100,000 and \$300,000 (the top salary). Forty officials received a salary ranging between fifty and a hundred thousand dollars while a like number received between twenty-five and fifty thousand dollars. The remaining salaries ranged between ten and twenty-five thousand dollars a year. The inclusion of automobile and tobacco would find additional numbers in the upper brackets, these industries paying enormous salaries to its officials.

Average Wages—\$21

In the column of wages the year 1934 reveals an average wage of somewhat over \$21.00. Not one (Continued on Page 4)

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Roosevelt's Protest to the S.U.

There is something of a mystery in the recent sharp protests of the United States to the Soviet Government against the activities of the Comintern. On the surface, at least, this move conflicts with the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. The U. S. still wishes the Soviet Union to act as a check against Japanese aggression in the Far East; U. S. corporations still wish to increase their markets in the Soviet Union; and the Administration, not yet ready for war, naturally realizes that a serious blow to U. S.-Soviet relations would aggravate the war crisis.

The protest letters must, therefore, be understood almost entirely in terms of the internal situation in this country. And within the country, not on the international field, lie the possibly dangerous consequences that must be guarded against.

During the closing months of the 74th Congress, Roosevelt completed the political strategy which has guided his course during the past year. After successfully blocking all significant social reform measures during the opening months of the session, he consolidated his position as a liberal reformer by championing the Wagner Bill, the Guffey Bill, the Utilities Bill, and the "Tax the Rich" program. In this way, while granting nothing substantial to labor and the masses generally, Roosevelt aimed to block the moves to build a Third Party to his left, and to force the "progressives" to continue supporting him in the 1936 campaign against the Tories to his right.

However, during this period the attack from the right redoubled in bitterness and extent. Indeed, by now probably the majority of the bourgeois press is lined up against Roosevelt. In its attack, the old charges of "Soviet Washington," "Roosevelt regimentation," "Communist attacks on the Supreme Court and the Constitution" are being featured. These charges, for all their absurdity, have a certain

effect on the confused and frightened middle class.

To this factor must be added the requirements of Roosevelt's ally, the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., which, to maintain its position against the discontent in the trade union ranks, is anxious to start a real drive on "communists"—that is, is anxious to smother the upsurge of any militant left wing. To win the 1936 election, Roosevelt must keep the bulk of the middle class and of higher paid labor behind him.

Consequently, with Congress adjourned and not in a position to raise complications, with Japan temporarily quiet, and with Soviet trade below expectations, Roosevelt was in an easy position to dissociate himself publicly from the taint of Communism.

This is the real explanation of the protest letters. By their means, Roosevelt said to the middle class: "Of course I am a reformer and a liberal and against the Tories. But I am a safe and sane reformer, and I will never do anything to upset the established order. Don't let the wicked bankers scare you with their talk about Soviets and Communism. Just look what I do to Communists, and the way in which I tell their fatherland where to get off." And he said to the A. F. of L.: "This will show you where I stand. You play along with me, and I'll help you out."

Unfortunately the matter cannot stop at that, at the level of a cheap political trick no doubt thought up by Roosevelt's strategist, Postmaster Farley. The effect of the letters is to strengthen the attempts to get a real Red Drive under way. The vigilantes of California, the Citizens' Alliances and Chambers of Commerce, will interpret the letters as tacit permission to go ahead on full steam. And, what is worse, it will strengthen the hand of Green and Woll in their efforts to start a real "purging of the ranks of organized labor."

This is the danger of the letters; and it must be blocked at the start. The Red Drive means, as it has always meant, a drive against every progressive and militant fighter in the labor movement and its allied forces. And the only way to meet it is to fight back, and fight hard.

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Trends in Wages

(Continued from Page 3)

company paid an average of \$30 a week and certainly not over \$30. Fifty-four companies paid wages between twenty and thirty dollars a week, these being divided equally between those paying twenty-five to thirty dollars a week and those paying twenty to twenty-five dollars a week. Thirty companies paid an average of between fifteen and twenty dollars a week, the remaining 23 companies averaged between ten and fifteen dollars a week for the same month.

The figures reveal that the Cluett-Peabody Company paid an average wage of \$12 a week, the Beechnut Packing Company \$13, Pet Milk Company \$13, Phillips-Jones Corp. \$12, U. S. Tobacco, \$14, etc.

All the above figures represent the average for the month of Dec. 1934. While they may not be entirely accurate for a complete survey for all industry over an entire year they do represent the trends in the leading industries.

One thing is positively clear: The owners of industry received either slight losses in comparison to the pre-crisis period, equal salaries or in many instances greater salaries. But not for any period did their salaries cease. The workers, for the most part, suffered losses. In considering these wages it must be borne in mind that the great unemployment periods during a single year would depress these averages sharply, bringing them to even lower levels than the now already low figures when related to the minimum needs of workers' families, even according to the U. S. Department of Labor standards.

Marxist Conception Confirmed

The collapse of the NRA will serve only to further reduce wages of workers. Almost immediately upon the announcement of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court a few weeks ago, wages took a sharp drop, hours of work increased, and then the one presented in the New

Republic would only bear out the trend indicated in its report. But the report is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the complete validity of the Marxian conceptions.

The increasing differentiations between the classes pushes for a greater class consciousness on the part of the American working class and their increasing will to struggle. This has already been present in the wave of strike struggles occurring in the last two years. They are bound to become more intense in the immediate future. The heavy reduction of the standard of living of the American workers will only help to drive them further on the road to class consciousness.

The general standard of working conditions worsened. The collapse of the NRA, the long periods of unemployment, the increase in the cost of living, the spread of wages to include more than one family, but taking in relatives, etc., all further depress the real average of workers' wages. The polarization between the owners of industry, the capitalists, and the workers, are presented very sharply in the report. A more absolute analysis

Militancy High In NY Shipping Clerks Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

walk through the market.

It is undoubtedly true that union dressmakers are giving much greater support to the strike than any other section of the industry. Sympathetic strikes or stoppages of one, two and three days duration were called unofficially by dressmakers wherever scabs or thugs appeared. In some cases all shops in entire buildings were out 100 percent. These unofficial stoppages led by militant union members and the assistance given on the picket line added to the magnificent militancy of the shipping clerks themselves, are the brightest spots in the strike. Individual settlements are being

made by many shops, the officials of the I.L.G.W.U. aiding in such settlements. At the same time conferences with the Manufacturers Association are continuing.

Despite the assistance given by the dressmakers it is clear that such spontaneous actions "from below" is no adequate substitute for a general strike called officially by the union. The unsympathetic—not to say strikebreaking—attitude and actions of the reactionary leaders of the Truck Drivers and other local unions, has done much to nullify the unofficial support given by some locals, particularly by Local 22.

Lessons of the Strike

The first lesson hammered home by the strike is the imperative need of making the I.L.G.W.U. a completely industrial union including all auxiliary trades, striking as one, fighting as one and under a unified leadership.

The second lesson—and the realization of the first—depends on it—is the necessity of uniting the ranks of militant progressives in all local unions coupled with an energetic campaign to place progressives in the leadership of the unions.

Despite all difficulties the strike has every chance of succeeding. Continued and increased financial and picket support to the strikers, coupled with continuous mass picketing and solidarity by the striking clerks themselves will result in the establishment of a strong shipping clerks union and a considerable improvement in wages and conditions.

Press Rages at Mini

(Continued from Page 1)

fense organization known as the National Sacramento Appeal Committee has been organized in New York.

The Bee, which did a good deal of poisonous buzzing at the time of the Mini Appeal Dinner of the N.P.L.D. in New York, not long ago carried a column of squawks because the New York Nation told its few unpleasant truths about its yellow role in the criminal syndicalism frame-up.

Raymond W. Henderson, noted Bakersfield defense attorney, has begun work on preparation of the appeal brief for Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin. It is expected that in another week the court stenographer will turn over the transcript of the proceedings of the 74-day trial and that the appeal hearing will take place before the end of October. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee is in need of funds for the appeal, and has called on all opponents of the criminal syndicalism law to contribute.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

The Crime of the Auto International

Writer Discusses Significance of Green's High-Handed Domination of the Detroit Convention and the Tasks of Progressives

By BURKE COCHRAN

TOLEDO, Ohio.—As a culmination of a year's hard work, during which time their forces were tested in a dozen different battles, the automobile workers sent delegates to Detroit to set up an International union in the automobile industry with full autonomy within the statutes of the American Federation of Labor. The union they expected was to have full jurisdiction over all who work in or around automobile or auto parts plants, it was to be democratically controlled and officers were to be elected by a majority of the delegates in the convention and they were to receive salaries comparable to the wages received by the workers in the plants. Instead the delegates came back with a charter of a craft union with jurisdiction over production workers, with all officers of the new International handpicked by the president of the A. F. of L., Bill Green, and salaries of officers jacked up to as high as \$8,500 per year.

The cruel blow that struck the automobile workers was deliberately aimed and it has weakened their organization as effectively as a successful onslaught of an open shop campaign. But that roar of mighty protest which rose from the floor at the Tuesday session of the convention, when the delegates rejected with indignation and scorn the proposal to appoint Dillon, is a sign of that inexhaustible vitality which has carried the automobile workers forward despite the sabotage and betrayals of the corrupt bureaucracy.

Although most of the union delegates are comparatively new to unionism, the majority of them expected some railroad and were doing all they could to prepare themselves for it; but such open, cynical perfidy, such an arrogant disregard of even the formalities of democratic procedure; such flagrant violations of their expressed wishes—that came as a surprise to even many a die-hard.

The Work of the Bureaucrats

The executive council of the A. F. of L. deliberately pushed the young automobile unions into the labyrinth of craft unionism; it artificially created craft divisions which do not exist in the industry and cynically imposed upon the automobile workers a leadership which they do not want and for whom they have no respect. They have placed their heavy hands around the throat of the young International and deliberately attempted to involve the union with the plague of jurisdictional disputes. They are attempting to cut the membership up into half a dozen different unions and thus effectively paralyze their activity and destroy their militancy. In addition they

harnessed the automobile workers to an incompetent and corrupt bureaucracy which has taken over the powers of the organization with a heavy dictatorial hand, although it heard expressed on the floor of the convention the contempt and hate for it, on the part of the overwhelming majority of the delegates. Ostensibly, Green and Dillon routed the progressives at the convention. The charter of the International limits its jurisdiction to production workers; Dillon and his machine hold the entire national apparatus in their hands. Actually, Green and the executive council suffered one of the most serious setbacks in recent years. The heavy, cumbersome machinery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which appears cunning and well oiled only when serious opposition is lacking, was forced to reveal itself in all its nakedness. No camouflage, no subtle maneuvers were possible here. All of Green's eloquence went for naught. After his first defeat on the floor, he no longer dared chance a vote on any important question.

He bluntly informed the delegates that their voting one way or another made no difference. He was forced to come out with the cold, unadorned ultimatum that the delegates must accept his conditions, or he would smash them! The reverberations of this ultimatum will be heard for many a day in the labor movement of this country.

Strength of Progressives

The progressives, who have organized themselves in a very serious manner since the Chevrolet strike, in their determination to oppose the Dillon machine, have now the duty of reconsidering the scope of their work, in the light of what happened at the automobile convention.

At the Detroit convention, the progressives commanded more strength than they themselves expected. Almost every delegation representing the real unions: Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood, South Bend, Kenosha—voted with the progressives. The only real large local supporting Dillon was the Seaman B. dy local 19059 of Milwaukee. Otherwise the Dillon machine received most of its strength directly from the small locals of a membership of twenty to perhaps a hundred, and some who probably came representing not so much membership as their good intentions; locals such as the ones in Detroit, Flint, Lansing, small locals in Wisconsin, etc., etc. The progressive strength proved larger than expected not because of last minute additions to their bloc, but because the early stages of the fight on the convention floor revolved chiefly on the basis of anti-Dillon sentiment and against any appointment of officers. The Toledo delegation, counting

some 38 votes, were actually the opponents of the progressives in their own local, and were not elected by their local membership, but handpicked by the local executive committee. The pressure of the progressives in Toledo was great and for it, on the part of the other side had no other program of their own, plus the combined pressure of the progressives from the other cities at the convention pushed the entire Toledo delegation to support the progressive bloc at the Detroit convention.

The progressives, although they had come to the convention partially prepared to do battle were not anywhere near organized to the extent of the reactionary machine. The progressives had no slate, and no possibility of agreeing on one at the convention. Had the question of candidates come up for a vote, the delegations would have split wide open.

The Enemy to Overcome
The progressives made a splendid showing at this first convention, but even the short experience has made it obvious that a real progressive group that is to challenge the "leadership" of Dillon, cannot be made up of scraps and patches. It must be systematically built up around a broad program which can command the interest of the great majority of the automobile workers. All unreliable elements, all local union "politicians" who sprout up around election time, must be ruthlessly eliminated.

Long ago the progressive movement of the A. F. of L. in this country came to the conclusion that the fight for a progressive program in the trade unions involves simultaneously a struggle of ruthless extermination with the present "leadership" of the A. F. of L. which is the most venal and stupid of the whole world. To these leaders, the needs and desires of the rank and file workers are as foreign as the customs of the Zulu tribes. They dread the very thought of struggle and fear the development and growth of young progressive movements, as they fear the plague itself. When they find their positions and salaries endangered, they are ready to collaborate with the police, the bosses, with anybody to smash the insurgent movement, even though they may wreck a whole movement in the process. The present fossilized leadership of the A. F. of L. stands today as one of the greatest obstacles in the path of the automobile workers. They will have to be swept aside, before the automobile unions can develop to their fullest potentialities.

It seems, from observing recent trends in the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement in general in this country that many of the new unions in the mass

production industries are beginning to occupy a more conspicuous place in the A. F. of L. and are beginning to displace in importance, to a degree, the older building trades unions.

The automobile industry is led by the most self-confident and aggressive combination of industrial magnates and financiers. It is one of the few remaining branches of industry which is still able to create its own "prosperity" without benefit of the federal government. This business combination is least inclined to "sentimentality" in relations with its employees. They will not yield an inch of ground until they are forced to do so by the combined strength of the automobile workers. That, it is obvious, can only be accomplished on the picket line; but that is precisely the place where Dillon is least interested in going. The automobile industry is super-centralized and integrated. The automobile workers, split up into a dozen different craft unions, are least capable of fighting the confident and ruthless barons of the automobile industry. Again the present leadership and its policies block the road!

The reaction, on the part of the progressives to the treachery of the Green-Dillon machine was very healthy. They did not allow themselves to be provoked, or fall into the trap of quitting the unions, and leaving, at this time, the bulk of the inexperienced workers to the tender mercies of Dillon. They are preparing to appeal the decision of the executive council to the A. F. of L. convention in October; meanwhile they are going back to their locals to strengthen their numbers and to prevent all attempts at splitting them up.

They are beginning to realize that to challenge the leadership of the bureaucracy means the beginning of a battle of ruthless extermination; and that the battle once undertaken, cannot be stopped halfway. Dillon will spare no effort in building up his machine. He will spare neither effort nor cost to destroy the insurgent movement of the progressives. For that he has the support of the whole A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Despite the heavy task and all of the obstacles involved, the progressives can come out of this battle victorious. If they succeed in arousing the still untouched thousands of automobile workers in the industry, whose interests they represent, if they push their progressive program and win ever wider support; if in addition, they rely upon the progressive groups of all the other unions, especially in rubber and steel, they will have created a movement which will prove itself invincible in battle against any and every foe.

Discontent Grips St. Louis

First Successful WPA Strike Prelude to Other Actions

By St. Louis Correspondent

ST. LOUIS.—A strike of WPA workers employed on a St. Louis County highway came to a successful conclusion when 800 men came out, formed a picket line and stayed there until their demands were granted.

The men had been cut from 65 cents an hour to 45 cents an hour. They demanded the return of the former scale. In the original contract the government had stipulated that the rate of 65 cents be paid. When the cut came the Federal Authorities said nothing, pretending to know nothing about it. However, the "reminder" of 800 strikers on a picket line and fighting mad brought them around and they ordered the workers' demand be granted. This strike was not led or initiated by any unemployed organization or relief workers association although such organizations participated.

The different A. F. of L. crafts employed there, particularly those crafts affiliated with the Building Trades Unions of St. Louis County were the leaders and initiators. It is the first strike in which the Building Trades have taken an active and official part in any of the relief projects in this part of the country. But if present indications mean anything it will not be the last.

That the labor skates, with an eye to the favors which will come their way in supporting generally all "elvic improvements," should also support the program of the bankers and the real estate companies in the present issue was a foregone conclusion. But the Building Trades are beginning to ask questions. And so persistent is the pressure of the workers that the leader of these organizations are lining up and the ground is being laid for a nice battle in the very

near future. In spite of the fact that they are assured by the fakers that the prevailing hourly rate (meaning the union scale, we suppose) will be paid they are not satisfied. They have their eye firmly fixed on the \$19-\$34 monthly standard set by the Administration as a "security" wage and rumblings of revolt are plainly to be heard.

Prelude to Wage Slashing

With some 30,000 workers in St. Louis "living" on the "security" wage of \$10.80 a week, what will happen to the wages of the "fortunate" ones who are receiving \$15 to \$18 a week? Or as to the wages of the building workers who receive such fabulous sums as \$35 or \$46 a week—for a month or two out of the year? The establishment of the \$10 weekly scale for relief workers is but the prelude to a gigantic wage slashing attack against the workers in private industry as it was of course intended to be. And that is the answer which the building trade workers are arriving at.

One of the biggest jobs in this project will be the wrecking of the old buildings. On all previous jobs the wages for this work, which is both hard and dangerous, has been 10 to 15 cents an hour. There is nothing to indicate that it will be different on this one. The workers employed to do this work are unorganized and are hired through some wrecking company to whom the contract is let. They are mostly Negro workers.

On the one or two Park projects which are going on in the city there have as yet been no strikes, but discontent is rife. Only a few dozen men are employed at present. But if 30,000 are given jobs by November 1 as the Administration plans at wages of \$10 a week which will force down the living standards to below that of even direct relief for many, it is safe to predict that St. Louis will become a hotbed of strikes. The Building Trades who are almost the last among the organized workers to withstand an attack on their wage structure, will not give up so easily. And in their struggle they will sweep along thousands of others who want more than fine phrases and empty promises.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Internat'l Youth Day

(Continued from Page 1)

tionists do? The program was not complete; the necessary sections were to be supplied later, and the words were to be written in the fire and steel of the October revolution.

But the fact is, the conference did call for international demonstrations against the war-mongers. How the hearts of the revolutionary youth, bitter from a year of betrayal and from the waste and horror of organized mass murder, must have swelled passionately at the call! IYD revitalized the depressed youth fighters, and for once, it even set in motion whole masses of adult workers who had needed just this spark.

Our national Spartacan organization finds similar task today. As they in the midst of the war raised a clarion call for mass action, so we in the midst of reaction issue a call for revolutionary struggle against war.

Spartacus Alone Shows The Way

Just as the Berne conference found itself the vanguard youth group of the day, alone on the international field in its opposition to the war, today the SYL in America is the only voice among young people telling the truth about a system rotten with greed and privilege, and alone among youth groups stands for the Leninist slogan:

"Turn imperialist war into civil war!"

The young Socialist hears his leader tell him: there are several ways of stopping war, and if nec-

essary we will go the limit (perhaps). But pledge ourselves to the revolutionary, the Bolshevik way out?—never. The young Socialist will yet see a good section of his party leadership consorting with the war-mongers (as some of them are already doing abroad) and urging him, as Dannenberg did before them, to join up with the colors.

The young Stalinist, militant and eager to follow in the steps of Lenin, is already learning that Stalin supports the war plans of the French bourgeoisie; that the Seventh Congress of the C.I. favors coalition (unity with capitalists) governments; that the 5 point program of the C.P. on war is completely reactionary and pacifist; that the Stalinist leadership has gone back to Kautsky, social-patriot and renegade, for its reasons to support the wars of "peaceful" capitalist governments (!!) against warlike ones.

And so we find ourselves in close alliance with the anti-war pioneers of Berne. Across the years we extend a comradely hand. We say: what you dared and tried to do, we also can and are trying. We too know how it feels to see the world saturated with the poison of imperialist brewed hatred, to see the world rush careening toward another tide of blood, to hear the voices of betrayers in workers' ranks cover with high sounding phrases the poisoned bait: "Join the next war to save democracy!"

We will pound away all obstacles. We will build. We will fight. We will conquer.

MASS MEETING

HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA!
Protest Mussolini's War on Ethiopia

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary of the W.P.

MARTIN ABERN

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, at 8:00 P.M.

Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place & 15th St.

Auspices: N. Y. District, Workers Party of the U. S.

The Best Answer to Slander!

"I have just finished Olgin's booklet on Trotskyism," writes M. G. of Massachusetts, "which I am answering by enclosing a \$10.00 check for the 8-page NEW MILITANT." An answer worthy of a revolutionist!

The Los Angeles branch sent in a contribution of \$20.00 this week, and the New Haven branch sent in a contribution of \$13.00. Together with other contributions received, this week's total in the campaign for the 8-page weekly has been brought up to \$69.70. This represents a welcome change. The previous week brought a total of only \$35.15, and the week before that, ending August 24, recorded the lowest point of only \$32.00.

The campaign is thus taking on new life and bringing better results. It should be a spur to the many Party branches, readers and sympathizers from whom we have not yet heard. All shoulders to the wheel and we shall soon reach our goal—the 8-page weekly.

NEW MILITANT

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Minneapolis Labor Hits F-L Mayor

Two Workers Dead, Many Wounded, By 'Farm-Labor' Cops

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 14.—A tense situation here. Red scare planned. Indictments possible. Grand Jury absolves police and calls for additional police forces. Farmer-Labor mass meeting condemns police and Mayor Latimer. F-L speakers weak and vacillating with exception of Scott and Balaban. Wm. Brown, president of Local 574 demands expulsion of Latimer from party. Latimer booed and jeered by crowd.

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 13.—Two workers are dead, thirty wounded, and hundreds gassed as a result of a murderous police attack on strike pickets and supporters at the Flour City Ornamental Company's plant here. Five thousand pickets, strike sympathizers and spectators gathered in front of the plant late Wednesday night. Without warning the police opened fire with tear gas on a group of strikers holding a meeting in a vacant lot across the street from the plant. Following the gas barrage which was fired from armored cars, the police fired volley after volley into the crowd. When the meeting was broken up, guns and clubs were turned on the spectators.

Two Dead

Eugene Casper, 18 years old, shot through the chest by a police bullet, died on the way to the hospital. Melvin Bjorkland, 21, died with a bullet in the chest, died on the street. Young Casper was crossing the street followed by a friend, when a policeman drew a pistol and deliberately shot him down. He was not a striker. Among the wounded in the hospital are men who were smashed down by police clubs while walking home with their wives.

Since the brutal police attack on Wednesday, mass meetings and demonstrations of protest have been held. Farmer-Labor Party Mayor Latimer, who attempted to defend his actions at a mass meeting of 2,000 Farmer-Laborites, was booed and jeered. On leaving the hall he engaged in an argument with an iron worker and as a result is nursing a cracked mouth. The election, who cracked himself in the election to remove Bloody Johannes and his kind from the police force, is being bitterly denounced by the workers. William Brown, president of Local 574 was enthusiastically supported at the Farmer-Labor meeting when he demanded the expulsion of the Mayor. After the meeting was hurriedly adjourned by the Farmer-Laborites, Harry Menville of the Iron Workers and Mickey Dunne of 574 addressed the crowd.

"Farmer-Labor" Police

Following Wednesday's battle Mayor Latimer issued a weaselly statement in which he attempted to place the blame for the butchery on the strike leaders and on Tetzloff, manager of the plant, at the same time covering up the police by stating that "all police guns were locked up in the squad cars, but some of the officers must have found themselves in a tight spot and gone and got their guns." The Hennepin County Grand Jury, after "investigating" the murderous attack of the police, and following reports by Mayor Latimer, the Chief of Police and the Mayor's "Labor Board," made up of three time labor leaders, three union hating bosses, and presided over by Doctor Prosser, author of the "Proctor Plan," for blacklisting union members, brought in a report calling for additional police and completely exonerating the police force for the murder of Eugene Casper and Melvin Bjorkland, and the wounding of thirty others.

The police gangster attack on the workers of Minneapolis is but another part of the campaign of labor fakery, Mayor Latimer and the Citizens Alliance to break down the militant spirit of organized labor and is particularly directed against Local 574. The spirit of the workers is high, and they are determined that the murderous police attack directed by Mayor Latimer shall have no more success in 1935 than it had when directed by Mayor Bainbridge in 1934.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Conflict Continues In Teachers Union

Prior to the opening of the convention the Executive Council of the A.F.T. met in executive session to consider the report of the investigation committee concerning Local 5. Members of the Council stressed the fact that the body had not been formed and had not authorized the investigation and that the committee

Teachers Meeting

A. J. Muste, former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, and T. Stamm will speak on the present situation in the New York Local of the A. F. of T. at a meeting to be held at Irving Plaza, Wednesday, Sept. 18, at 8 P.M.

All teachers and other workers interested are invited to be present. There will be questions and discussions from the floor.

The Executive Council had before it a majority report, presented by President Lowry and Executive Secretary Hanson, which rejected revocation of the charter, referred the matter back to Local 5 for settlement and called for the appointment of a mixed committee of teachers and labor leaders to be authorized to step in and straighten out the difficulties. The minority report, presented by Selma Borchart of Washington, called for the revocation of the charter. The Council was thus presented with three propositions: first, a motion

Burning Problems Face 55th A.F.L. Convention

By ARNE SWABECK

Problems of unusual importance face the fifty-fifth annual A. F. of L. convention, scheduled for October 7, at Atlantic City. Some of them cause new conflicts in the movement. Bill Green and his cronies at Washington may watch with dismay the challenge to their position and policy. They do not yet anticipate a direct threat to their leadership; but the fear of progressive tendencies is beginning to haunt them like a nightmare.

Fundamentally this is the outstanding issue before the coming convention. A living movement is compelled to respond to the pressure of conditions under which it exists; and the lower strata of the officialdom as well as the state federations and city central bodies, that are closer to the rank and file membership, begin to reflect this pressure. In several respects they come into conflict with the top bureaucracy and so, while the progressive tendencies are still very much undeveloped and confused, their existence begins to worry the leadership.

This official hierarchy has received some serious blows to its bureaucratic method of domination and control of the movement. Its

to revoke the charter, which was lost by a tie vote of six to six; second, a motion to refer the matter to Local 5, without any action, which was also lost by a tie vote of six to six; and third, a motion to appoint the committee as recommended by the majority report mentioned above, which was carried by a vote of eight to four.

The representatives of the opposition in the local were given a limited opportunity, in the form of ten minutes each, to present their case before the vote was taken. The majority in the Executive Council was anxious to arrive at a compromise agreement with both factions in the local in order to avoid the necessity of bringing the matter before the convention. The administration of Local 5 turned down all offers of conciliation. Dr. Lefkowitz declared that the motion passed by the Council had no legal standing and that he would refuse to recognize it. He presented the Council with an ultimatum in the form of an application or a new charter signed by twenty-five members of Local 5, and threatened that if the charter was not revoked and a new charter granted to his group, he would bring the matter before Green who would see to it that the charter of the American Federation of Teachers was revoked. Later, Bernice Rogers, delegate from Cambridge, Mass., and member of the Council, told the story to the convention on Friday, adding that this threat was like a machine gun pointed at the body to put them "on the spot."

The Executive Council which consisted of a majority of liberal and conservative teachers were flabbergasted. One member, unwilling to believe his own ears, said in a dramatic tone, "Will you repeat that again, Dr. Lefkowitz?" The representatives of the opposition expressed their willingness to a policy

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"red scare" campaign has been given a setback. Its policy of organization is being challenged and its time-honored political policy is subjected to a severe scrutiny.

In turn this despicable officialdom becomes more perfidious and moves closer toward a more outspoken reactionary position. This is the inevitable logic of antagonistic tendencies and it can only become more pronounced the more the conflict intensifies. Finally the struggle must result in the victory of the one or the other. The question of leadership and policy is completely interlocked with the very life of the movement. With the increasing pressure exerted upon the workers by the weight of capitalist exploitation progressive tendencies are bound to make their way in the trade union movement no matter how much the top leaders fluninate against them. But the latter know no other recourse than to lean more directly on their alliance with the enemies of the movement, by more complete collaboration with the bosses and in more outspoken support of the capitalist parties.

Some Blows to Reaction

Both the growth of progressive tendencies in the movement and the increased reaction of its leadership

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Form Unholy Alliance at Geneva For New Imperialist World War

FDR Tells Bosses To Drop Fear

'Breathing Spell' Note To Howard Shows Masses Bear Load

In an exchange of letters with Roy O. Howard, owner of the powerful Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, Roosevelt last week gave the middle class another reassuring pat on the back. The letters were a follow-up to the Soviet protest notes of the week before, and were designed to blast the growing anti-Roosevelt blots now coming from the Hearst papers, the New York Herald Tribune, the Chicago Tribune, and the rest of what Roosevelt likes to call the "Tory" press.

Howard wrote, in his letter to Roosevelt, as a "friend of the Administration." He stated that many business men had been following along with the President as sympathetically as they could, but that they were becoming disturbed over Roosevelt's continued championing of "radical" legislation. He mentioned the Utilities Bill and Roosevelt's Tax Program as two particularly troublesome items. What, he wanted to know, were Roosevelt's plans for the coming period?

The "Breathing Spell" Roosevelt's answer was divided into two principal parts. The first, and longest, was a defense of the measures he has taken, especially a defense of the Tax Program. The second, and the one that the newspaper headlines have been playing up, was the statement that his program had been "substantially completed," and that he was now able to promise business a "breathing spell."

The defense of the Tax Program, if read carefully, was perhaps more revealing than Roosevelt intended it to be. He showed by means of Treasury Department statistics how the percentage of the Federal income derived from "consumers' taxes"—taxes falling primarily on the masses—had risen during the past seven years from around one-third to nearly two-thirds. This meant a corresponding decrease in the percentage derived from Income Taxes, Inheritance Taxes, etc. How, in the face of this, asked the President, can anyone object to the reasonableness of increasing the Income and Inheritance Taxes in the higher brackets? This question was accomplished by long paragraphs about "sharing the burden," "a juster distribution of the nation's wealth," and the usual Roosevelt demagoguery which has been familiar since his campaign days.

It is in this way that Roosevelt aims to keep his liberal and reformist standing with his middle class followers. He is the champion of all against the "inordinate" claims of any group or class. And in this way he continues to draw the teeth from the sporadic efforts to start a liberal or progressive Third Party movement for the 1936 campaign. If you want to share the wealth or

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"Militant" Confab Proves A Failure

The Socialist Call "Institute," held at Bound Brook, New Jersey, September 7-8, which the "Militants" had privately boasted would produce a Left wing bond together by a revolutionary program, was instead an inconclusive and muddled gathering which took no definite steps.

Two months after the last meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, which declared war on the Left wing through the so-called "peace pact" with the Right wing, and only a few months before elections will take place for the biennial national convention, the leaders of the "Militant" Socialists still persist in taking no decisive steps to build a fighting Left wing.

The futility of the "Militant" leaders' arrangements for the two-day "Institute" is characterized by the fact that one of the most important of the four sessions held

was turned over to Norman Thomas, whose capitulation to the Right wing at the last N.E.C. proved to the hilt the hopelessness of the "Militants" leaning on Thomas for support. Despite his abject capitulation, the "Militants" invited Thomas to what was supposed to be a Left wing caucus meeting, and gave Thomas a five minute ovation when he rose to speak.

Ever fearful of what the Right wing will say if they attempt to organize a real caucus, the "Militant" leaders invited all members of the S.P. and the Y.P.S.I. to come to the Bound Brook "Institute," with the result that the 200 present were a heterogeneous group who could not possibly agree on a program.

Following the typical social democratic methods of organizing a conference or convention, the "Militant" leaders cluttered up the four

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Stalinists Hail Laval Argument

'Sanctions' Pleas Conceal Jockeying for War Positions

Laval's speech in support of England's position against Italy in the Ethiopian dispute marks a new stage in the unholy alliance of Franco-British imperialisms, the Popular Front in France and the Second and Third Internationals. The pacifist gestures of Roosevelt both in regard to "neutrality" and the invocation of the Kellogg Pact are on a par with similar acts of his worthy predecessor, the peace-loving President Wilson.

The French minister, who on January 7, 1935 had struck a bargain with Mussolini understood to give the latter a free hand in Ethiopia, astounded the diplomatic world by proclaiming at the League of Nations Council meeting:

"France is faithful to the League covenant. She cannot fall in her obligations. . . I rejoice with my country [over Sir Samuel Hoare's speech], which understands the full necessity of close collaboration with Great Britain for defense of peace and safeguarding Europe."

This cementing of the Franco-British alliance recently, seriously threatened because of the Anglo-German naval agreement which officially recognized and sanctioned German rearmament, is hailed on all sides as a victory for peace.

"Sanctions" against Italy—economic and military measures—are implied in the speech of Laval. The Second International, the Third International and the International Federation of Trade Unions have urged sanctions against Italy. The president of the British Trade Union Congress recently declared:

"There are formidable powers of coercion to be applied in the economic sanctions of the League. They are clearly stated in Article XVI of the Covenant. They constitute a compound group of economic, financial, and military measures. . .

"It is a grave responsibility to counsel measures which may cause war. But what is the alternative, from the trade union standpoint, to this policy? War is a certainty, anyway, unless Italy is restrained." (British New Leader, September 6, 1935)

In a word, the British trade union leaders are ready to support the British imperialists to declare war.

The French Socialist and Communist parties add their voices to this imperialist front by calling upon the British Labour party for agreement with the program of Franco-British imperialisms. Among the demands of these social-imperialists is: "The closing of the Suez Canal to all Italian military transport."

By whom? Obviously by the anti-Italian imperialist powers. And the war among the imperialists which will follow will be loyally supported by these hysterical and treacherous "friends of peace."

Confidence in Pierre Laval and Sir Samuel Hoare to prevent war in Ethiopia or a world war, is preparation for a new world betrayal of the working class. The immediate interests of each imperialist power are constantly changing, leading to new alignments. France, which wants "peace" in Europe—since for the time being it is satisfied with its conquests on the continent after the last war—fears that the recent Italo-German mutual recognition of one another's "needs" means a threat to France; and that therefore a more solid alliance with Great Britain is imperative. At the same time she fears that regardless of Mussolini's promises last January, Italian aggression in Ethiopia will be extended, in view of the renewed Italo-German alliance, into French colonial possessions in Africa.

British imperialism is similarly afraid of Mussolini's encroachments on its colonies in Africa.

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Confidential Report by Oneal to 2nd International Reveals Situation in the Socialist Party of U.S.

For the Session of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International.

Brussels, August 16-18, 1935.

Point 3 on the Agenda

SITUATION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

Memorandum Presented by James O'Neal.

(Received by the Secretariat of the L.S.I. August 9, 1935.)

July 31, 1935.

To the Secretariat of the L.S.I., Brussels, Belgium.

Comrades:

The members of the Socialist Party greatly appreciate the interest shown by the L.S.I. in the conflict in the American movement, and it is in reply to the request of Secretary Adler that I present the following report concerning the

The following document, which throws such a revealing light on the situation in the Socialist Party in this country, is the report submitted to the session of the Executive Committee of the Second International, which met last month in Brussels, by the American member of the Executive, and leading spokesman of the Old Guard in the S.P.—James O'Neal. This confidential report was received by the NEW MILITANT from an entirely authoritative source in Czechoslovakia. We obtained the report in a German translation, from which the memorandum printed below is re-translated into English.

origins of this conflict. However, before beginning the report itself, I am happy to be able to communicate that at the session of the National Executive Committee of the Party, which took place in New York City on July 13 and 15, an agreement was arrived at which put an end to the open conflict and promises to restore the unity of the Party. Enclosed I am sending you a copy of the agreement reached between the National Executive

Committee and the New York State Committee. While the conflict extended to a whole series of cities and states, it is in New York that it was most violent and it is deemed that peace having been concluded in the state of New York, the entire Party will eventually be able to unite.

Obviously, the differences on what Socialist principles and tactics should be, are not completely eliminated by the adoption of this

agreement, but the agreement is a source of hope inasmuch as it regulates some of the most irritating organizational, tactical, and jurisdictional questions which rose out of the conflict regarding Socialist principles. After this promising introduction, I shall now briefly review the origins of the dispute.

The Labor Movement One of the principal problems that has always confronted the American Socialist movement has been to establish fraternal relations of collaboration with the trade unions. As a result of certain historical factors which cannot be enumerated here, the American trade unions have been, with very few exceptions, isolated from the Socialist movement. Many errors committed by the Socialist movement in the past have contributed

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Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH
Among the Patriots...

The Liberty League has secured 56 prominent reactionary attorneys to pass privately on the constitutionality of New Deal legislation and suggests Al Smith for President. In 1919 W. R. Hearst remarked: "Smith has always been too close to Tammany and to certain public service corporations to make him an ideal public official." Al Smith replied: "Hearst is a particularly low type of man. He hasn't a drop of good clean red blood in his body." Recently Hearst announced: "I think Alfred E. Smith would make a powerful candidate for President. He is the accredited leader of the Democratic Party. The genuine Democratic Party should not have its honored name stolen by the autocratic Atlantic party of Karl Marx and Franklin Delano Roosevelt." Father Coughlin slinks from the Roosevelt bandwagon and crawls aboard the Hearst-Smith-Liberty League outfit: "It is an admirable characteristic of Mr. Hearst to put aside personal animosity as he has done in suggesting Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency. Roosevelt's policies are un-American. Norman Thomas is a piker compared to him. After all, Thomas stands for a fairly good brand of American Socialism but Roosevelt stands for a poor brand of Russian Communism." The good Father is also interested in capturing the auto workers from the A. F. of L. with his Automotive Workers Industrial Association. He says, "Labor shouldn't direct its action against the bosses because all we have in Detroit, except Henry Ford, is a bunch of straw bosses carrying out the orders of bankers." My advice is not to say to hell with the stockholder and capitalist but to say 'charge more for your car and take less in profit and pass the money on to labor'.

Soak the Rich...

W. J. Cameron, Henry Ford's publicity agent, says, "Every form of attack has been made to gain control of the Ford Company. Banks have been pulled out from under it; unions have started strikes there; men have come with hundreds of millions of dollars to buy it. Now comes this tax-the-rich idea. We think it is simply a break-up-Ford idea." Oscar De Priest, former Negro Congressman from Illinois, states: "This 'soak the rich' legislation is striking at the Negro's best friend—the wealthy employers of the big factories of America, such as Henry Ford, Standard Oil, General Motors and others. If they are soaked we will be drowned!" Roosevelt's share-the-wealth taxation program will raise less than \$2.75 per capita annually. In some states sales taxes cost as high as \$100 annually per capita. Detailed Treasury figures show that in 1935, 61.3 percent of all Federal taxes will be paid by consumers while only 38.7 percent will be borne by persons best able to pay. In 1930 the conditions were reversed; consumers paid 31.8 percent of the total tax bill, the well-to-do 68.2 percent.

Science and Invention...

Marconi, inventor of wireless telegraphy, has presented Mussolini with the latest device for transmitting "death waves" which he claims will revolutionize warfare. Ethio-plans will have the honor of being murdered in the latest scientific fashion. Julius Streicher, Nazi Jew baiter, advises the use of a small pendulum as a divining rod for detecting Jews. "Jewish blood," he says, "belongs to lead and zinc, products of radioactive decay, while Aryan blood belongs to gold and platinum." In June the Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. attributed the 1934 increase in the birth rate as "the direct result of an upward trend in the economic tide." The current issue attributes the increase as being due to a lowering of the standard of living. "The birth rate is well known to vary inversely with the income class of the family and highest birth rates are found among the economically least favored classes." It is almost certain that families on relief have a higher birth rate than non-relief families.

Prosperity...

The Chicago Tribune reports the number of "paupers" trebled by the dole. Of Illinois 300,000 relief cases, 66,500 are classified as "unemployable." In New York City, General Johnson reports 40,000 people or one sixth of the unemployed on relief as being too ill to work, mostly from malnutrition. The U. S. Department of Commerce reports that the national income increased 10 to 15 percent in 1934. Alexander Kotchevsky, Houston, Texas, dancing master, has introduced a new dance characterized by leaping, flying movements and wide steps symbolizing the return of prosperity.

Stalinists Launch New Phoney Labor Party in San Francisco Opportunist Platform Is to Right of Epic; Devised to Catch All Voters

By CHARLES CURTIS

SAN FRANCISCO.—"Labor Unites with Liberal Democratic and Radical Forces for the Municipal Elections" is the heading of a leaflet stating the program of the San Francisco Municipal Labor Party, which was ratified on August 31. The Labor party being formed under Stalinist aegis in San Francisco, key labor city in California, is an indication of the nature of the Labor parties the Communist party is going to form throughout the state. For this reason it deserves the attention of workers nationally.

The program for the proposed Labor party calls for everything from 100 percent unionization of the city to abolition of one-man street cars; from a demand for referendum, to free school books; from a unified publicly owned transit transportation system, to a statement of opposition to vigilantism; from the improvement and extension of vocational training, to a demand for the freedom of Tom Mooney.

The program lists 21 demands and slogans. The mass-class Labor party so loudly touted by the Stalinists, reveals itself to be a catch-all to attract votes on any basis. But the burning question to literally hundreds of thousands it leaves untouched. To these hundreds of thousands enrolled in the Epics and Utopians, besides thousands of unemployed workers, the present capitalist crisis has driven one fact home: capitalism is an outworn system that must be replaced with a new social order.

Upton Sinclair, on the platform of "End Poverty in California" and "Production for Use," polled nearly a million votes in the gubernatorial elections of last year. The overwhelming majority of these votes were protests against the present system, and for socialism, although a confused type of socialism as popularized by Upton Sinclair in his "production for use and not for profit" platform.

That the methods proposed by Sinclair to attain socialism, would and could not lead to the desired goal, but somewhere far off from it, is very true, but right now we shall not deal with this aspect of the question.

Although nearly a million California voters cast their mandates for a new social order, the fact of the matter is that the proposed program for the Stalinist-inspired Labor party does not even contain a word about the necessity of the abolition of the capitalist system, and the establishment of socialism.

The program of the Stalinist conceived and executed Labor party limits itself to the struggle for immediate demands. The program does not base itself upon the idea of the overthrow of capitalism, but merely to the patching up of this system. It is silent concerning the burning question of the era: capitalism or socialism. The elementary teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the use of parliamentary elections to propagandize the revolutionary solution by the workers of their problems, is thrown overboard by the Communist party. The highest aim of the parliamentary struggle seems to be for the Stalinists to give the workers the idea that capitalism can be reformed. The mistake is two-fold: first, not to utilize the interest aroused in politics around election periods for the advocacy of the revolutionary solution, and second, in giving the workers the illusion that any gains of a substantial nature can be won through parliamentary struggle.

As a matter of tragic fact, the Epic movement, having as its central slogan, Production for Use (in addition to a series of immediate demands), is far to the left of the Stalinist-created Labor party, which bases itself solely upon the struggle for immediate demands, and does not even place before the workers the need of a new social order. The program of the Labor party cannot even be called reformist; the best description that can be given for it is Left-liberal.

The self-proclaimed vanguard of the working class, instead of leading the workers to the broad highway of revolution, is dragging them to the abyss of the most craven type of reformism. The masses have seen the necessity of a new social order (confused though they are as to the means of attaining this social order), but the Labor party does not even pay lip service to this ideal.

The Workers Party of California, however, places before itself an altogether different task. It does not drag behind the masses; it does not strengthen their illusions in parliamentarism. To those workers convinced of the necessity of replacing capitalism by socialism it points out the only real way of attaining this goal; through the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism, the workers' dictatorship over the capitalist class, as a temporary stage to the free communist society. To the workers still imbued with faith in capitalism, it shows the need for a new social order.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Philly Fruit Clerks Ask Aid for Members Facing Jail Terms

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Readers of the NEW MILITANT are aware of the fact that five fruit clerks are facing long terms in prison if convicted as a result of strikes they conducted in Delaware County and Philadelphia.

Certain wisecracks in the labor movement are spreading the rumor that "there is nothing to these cases," "you guys are just making a big howl about nothing," etc.

In reply to these people we want to cite a few examples of "justice" in Delaware County:

1. In March, 1930 Roy Peitz and Tom Holmes were convicted of "sedition" and received \$5,000 fine and 1 to 20 years in County Jail, and two years, respectively. These two workers were trying to organize a union in the Viscose Mill (world's largest manufacturers of rayon) in Marcus Hook, Pa. The "sedition" consisted in giving out a leaflet which advised workers to organize into a union and if necessary to "protect yourselves against police brutality and interference." This was construed by the "just" court to mean "sedition."

2. In the spring of 1932 two young workers, John Adams and Harry Roth were arrested in Chester, Pa. (Delaware County) and charged with "sedition" because they advocated in case of war the workers should "turn their guns against their oppressors." They did one year in jail as peace.

3. There were two other workers who were sentenced to 90 to 180 days in jail because of unemployed activities.

Speaking of Delaware County, we wish to quote from the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, September 9, 1935:

"Governor Earle yesterday at a 'Cornhill' on the Grace Farm, Swarthmore, attacked the McClure organization, declaring 'of all the corrupt political organizations, there was never anything in the United States to equal this.'"

Furthermore, "justice" is a Delaware County is not entirely restricted to Delaware County—Al Lichtman, one of the five fruit clerks, was just sentenced to a \$1,000 cash bond to keep the peace in Philadelphia County in spite of the fact that the only "evidence" against him was the testimony of the boss son.

Now Messrs. Wisecracks, do you see what Earle says about Delaware County, the stronghold of the McClure gang? Do you think that "gentlemen" of the calibre of McClure and his henchmen, who send workers to jail for years when they try to organize a union or conduct unemployed or anti-war activities, will hesitate to send up union members when they have conducted a three months militant strike?

Shipping Clerk Strike in New York Ended

ILGW Heads Paralyze Militant Battle of Striking Workers

The shipping clerks' strike is over. The strikers returned to work Thursday without winning their wage and hour demands, and without union recognition. They have a promise from the bosses' associations to pay a \$15-\$16 minimum for a 44-hour week. At a meeting of the strikers held Wednesday afternoon the "settlement" was put forward by the leaders of the union as a "victory" and accepted by the clerks. Under the conditions the clerks were given little choice in the matter. The stoppages called in various shops in support of the strike had all been called off. Numbers of clerks had returned to work. It was either a case of accepting the terms offered or carrying on with badly weakened forces. But to call such a settlement a victory is quite another matter. It was anything but a victory. An analysis of the causes for such a setback is the first step towards winning the next battle.

To begin with, the refusal of President Dubinsky and the I.L.G.W.U. to give the shipping clerks a charter as a local of the I.L.G.W.U., placed, from the start, a great handicap on the local. As a part of the I.L.G.W.U., with the prestige of the I.L.G.W.U. behind it, and backed by it in their organization campaign, the local could have been put on a real mass base before strike action was considered. The responsibility for this failure lies not with the clerks but with the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U. who turned down the request for a charter.

Secondly, as a Federal union the local was given the "support" of the officials of the Trunkers Local 102. This support was of the kind that a scaffold gives a man about to be hanged. The truck drivers went on strike simultaneously with the shipping clerks, and settled their strike at the expense of the clerks. In other words, they applied the noose and then kicked away the "support," leaving the clerks dangling in mid-air. Metz, manager of Local 102, has a record that is known, and not favorably, throughout the I.L.G.W.U. This action was in line with that record. President Dubinsky, who sanctioned the settlement by Local 102, cannot by later financial support and statements wipe out his share of the responsibility for this act.

Thirdly, when the shipping clerks responded to the strike call in thousands, the inexperienced and youthful strike leaders were unable to properly organize the strike. It was then the bounden duty of the I.L.G.W.U. to loan capable and experienced organizers to the clerks. Again, the failure of proper functioning of the strike machinery cannot be placed on the young and inexperienced militant leaders, but on those who could and should have furnished the experienced leadership.

Again, though unofficial support was given to the strike by some locals and particularly Local 22 through the calling of stoppages, this support was sabotaged by the reactionary leaders of other locals, instead of "benevolent neutrality" with unofficial support, the reactionaries were officially silent and unofficially sabotaging the strike. This was clearly seen by the stoppages. Such stoppages being mainly called in the dressmakers' shops and usually initiated by members of

The Manager's Corner

Contributions this week in the campaign for the 8-page NEW MILITANT again record a drop. The total brought in for the week is only \$33.50. These contributions were received as follows:

Contributions	Grand Total
West Side Branch \$ 5.50	
F. Martin, St. Paul 1.00	
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kans. 1.00	
Robert Merrill, N. Y. C. 1.00	
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C. 6.70	
Anonymous, N. Y. C. 1.00	
Center Branch, N. Y. C. 5.00	
Flatbush Branch, N. Y. C. 1.00	
Astoria Branch, N. Y. C. 2.00	
Charleston, W. Va. Branch 1.00	
Cleveland Branch 1.00	
Total 26.20	
Advance Subscriptions	
Cherloff, Youngstown Branch 2.00	
Club Cards	
Rigby, Utica 1.50	
Youngstown Branch 3.00	
Brownsville Branch, N.Y.C.80	
Previously recorded \$66.81	
Grand Total \$93.13	

Cannon to Lecture on 4th Int'l In Series Starting this Week

Why has the Communist International degenerated from a revolutionary world party to a bureaucratic organization of social patriotism? What is the program of the Workers Party for the impending war? How can the militant workers prepare themselves against Social Democratic and Stalinist betrayal? What are the lessons of the struggle against Fascism in Germany and France for the workers of the United States? What are the forces and prospects for the Fourth International? These and other questions will be answered in the series of four Sunday-night lectures "On the Road to the Fourth International" to be given by James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT, beginning September 15, at Irving Plaza Hall.

The lecture titles are: September 22—From Lenin to Stalin (the Downfall of the Communist International); September 29—Working Class Policy in the Impending War (Revolutionary Defeatism vs. Social Patriotism); October 6—The Struggle Against Fascism (Historical Lessons for America); October 13—The Road to the Fourth International (Forces and Prospects for a New World Party Under the Banner of Marx and Lenin).

Great interest in the series is expected. Tickets for the four lectures will be sold in advance for 45 cents for the series. Individual admissions will be 15 cents, that is, if there is sufficient room. Order tickets in advance from district office of Workers Party, 55 East 13th

Local 22. By the overwhelming response to the strike call and by their militancy on the picket lines, the shipping clerks could not be ignored. Financial support was generously given by the I.L.G.W.U., and President Dubinsky was forced to intervene. This belated intervention could not save the strike. It did, however, gain the "settlement" and by that may pave the way for a future victory.

The shipping clerks and all progressive forces in the I.L.G.W.U. should now press for the unity of the local with the I.L.G.W.U. They should carry on a vigorous organizational campaign. They should force recognition of the minimum wage in all shops—all as part of the preparation for a united struggle with the dressmakers in the general strike scheduled for next January.

Committee to Save the Union. A word must be said concerning the activities of the delegation sponsored by the United Committee to Save the Union, a delegation consisting of about sixty teachers from Local 5, who came to Cleveland at their own expense to oppose the wrecking of their local by machinations of the Lefkowitz outfit. The delegation conducted itself in such a dignified and impressive manner that it served to refute the calumnies heaped upon these teachers by the Lefkowitz-Linville crowd. In their private discussions with individuals and groups of delegates they always received a fair and courteous hearing in presenting the minority's side of the case. The members of the delegation, by their intelligent conduct, contributed in no small measure to the victory that was achieved.

7. The Lefkowitz and Linville Shadows in the N. Y. Press. In conclusion we are compelled to reply briefly to the statements which have recently appeared in the New York press by Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz, which are as false and unfounded as they are distasteful to the American Federation of Teachers. They state that the defeat of their proposal to revoke the charter of Local 5 and the election of a progressive slate was achieved by an unprincipled combination of left wing elements and of office-seeking reactionaries. It is true that in the convention there were two progressive caucuses: one led by Maynard Krueger of Chicago and the other by Clyde Kiker of Toledo. These caucuses negotiated and achieved unity of action upon the principled basis of a program which called for: 1) rejection of the revocation demand; 2) public repudiation of the Green telegram; 3) Active opposition by President Lowry to the Lefkowitz-Green conspiracy to intimidate the convention; and 4) Agreement upon a common slate for national officers and members of the Executive Council. This united front of all progressive forces on a principled basis is a symbol of the new spirit of realism which has manifested itself recently in the struggle to overthrow the reactionary Green machine and their allies Linville, Lefkowitz and the Right wing Socialists.

—A TEACHER.

Conflict Continues In Teachers Union

(Continued from Page 1)

of conciliation, they were willing to confer with the administration, under the supervision of the Council, in order to arrive at a working basis which would result in the effective functioning of the union.

Impressions of the Delegates. It is interesting to note that the delegates to the convention represented a good cross section of the teachers of America. There were present teachers of all ages: the gray-haired and dignified one nearing the age of retirement, the mid-aged and the younger generation, representatives of all teaching levels from elementary school to college. There was also present a sprinkling of Negro delegates from Arkansas, Georgia and Washington, D.C., as well as a delegation of teachers from Cuba who told the convention of the repression of the labor movement by the present reactionary regime. Politically, every shade of opinion was represented. Because the convention was so representative it demonstrated that the A.F.T., though still a small organization compared to the total number of teachers, had become a vital force among the teaching body. It showed also that even the most backward and most difficult to organize of the white collar professions, the teachers, are organization into trade unions: as an organic part and not merely as an ally of the labor movement. Reports presented to the convention showed that progress toward mass organization has already been made in a number of localities. In Cleveland the union movement has succeeded in organizing 2,500 of the 4,500 teachers and has secured recognition by the Board of Education. In Philadelphia, the local which was organized about a year and a half ago with a membership of seven, has grown to over a thousand due to the activities of the progressive leadership. In Arkansas, the land of sharecroppers and closed schools, and payless teachers, 42 locals have

been organized within less than two years. A number of union teachers have also been active in organizing sharecroppers, a phenomenon which gives additional significance to the union movement.

3. Report of Officers of A.F.T. The report of President Lowry was highly academic in character, containing the usual progressive platitudes. It did, however, contain a summary dealing with the fundamental problems which the organized teachers face. He stressed five problems: the education of the teacher to a fuller knowledge of current social problems, factional division, fear of dismissal or union activity, closer fraternalization with organized labor, and finance. The weakness of his report consisted in the fact that he offered no tangible program or recommendations whereby these problems might be dealt with.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer Florence C. Hanson was more interesting from a factual standpoint. It is interesting to note that the organization received \$28,003 in form of per capita dues and that Local 5, N. Y. supplied \$6,852 or approximately one fourth of the total amount. "This fact brings out better than anything else the importance of Local 5 in the national organization. As to membership the report shows that the national organization consisted of 195 locals of which 84 were locals organized this year. The A.F.T. has now a total membership of approximately 15,000, a gain of 451 percent in the number of locals and 12 percent in members. There was a loss of ten locals, which was unusually large, but.

"In face of the attacks upon the teacher union movement this is a remarkable record. Some of our newest and smallest locals have held their position in the face of strong opposition. A barrage of hostility was opened in Ohio last year. It has been intensified this year. In Toledo where attempts

have been made to dismiss the teacher leaders, with success in one case. In Massillon, Ohio, the superintendent endorsed by Local 330, the president and vice-president of the local were not reappointed after a vigorous contest. Please note that Massillon 330 shows a growth. Continuous press accounts put out by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Society of American Federations branding the American Federation of Teachers as radical and communistic and its officers as communists have increased the difficulties of holding and building locals. In spite of this, however, the Ohio membership has more than held its own." (From the annual report of Secretary-Treasurer Hanson.)

We have quoted from this report for various reasons. First it illuminates the role which the Lefkowitz-Linville-Green combination is playing in branding hundreds of members of Local 5 as communists—it is exactly the kind of language which the open-shop, labor-hating Chamber of Commerce and the professional patrioters are using to prevent the organization of teachers in their efforts to smash the locals already in existence by securing the dismissal of teachers who are active in union organizing.

In New York Lefkowitz and Linville, assisted by the capitalist press, and the Right wing Socialist press, the New Leader and the Forward, are preparing the ground for mass dismissal of teachers by their campaign of union wrecking and slander.

The second problem which Mrs. Hanson's report raised are the means to be employed to defeat the terroristic campaigns of the Boards of Education, the Chambers of Commerce and the professional patriots. In the Wagner Bill, the Federal government was compelled to recognize at least on paper, the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing, and to bargain collectively with the bosses. This fundamental right, for teachers, is not recognized by local and state educational and governmental authorities. This can only be obtained by teachers through their own efforts and struggle and by the closest association with the labor movement. In the teacher field, the company unions, which take the

form of local and state associations affiliated with the National Education Association, have been entrenched for a number of years under the guise of neutral professional and academic organizations. Actually they are the agents of the Boards of Education and the employing interests as has been attested time and time again by the position which they have taken on such questions as retrenchment in education, salary cuts, tenure, academic freedom and loyalty oaths. The struggle for the unionization of teachers, a struggle which until now has not received the attention it deserves from the progressive labor forces, has now become one of the important problems of the movement. The unionization movement, as seen in this light, means not only the winning of the teachers; it means the winning of the youth of America—the future generation—for the labor movement. It means also the forging of powerful forces that will aid in the defeat of fascist tendencies.

4. Teacher Tenure and the Treacherous Role of Company Unions of National Education Assn. The teachers of New York State, due largely to the activities of the Teachers Union, are fortunate in having secured the enactment of permanent tenure laws for those possessing permanent licenses. A few other states have also passed such laws. However, in most states this important right has not yet been secured. In such states teachers are usually hired individually on an annual contract basis, which contracts contain clauses regulating their personal life and often violating their most elementary right as citizens. In addition they can be dismissed for any reason and for no reason whatsoever. Under this system of annual contracts, mass dismissals have taken place under the policy of economy and retrenchment pursued by local boards of education. Bids have been advertised for the vacancies thus created, which has resulted in pitting teacher against each other in an effort to secure these jobs. In North Dakota, for example, as a result of this racket, teachers' salaries have been reduced to about an average of thirty dollars a month. In some states, as in Arkansas, no salaries have been paid

for some time, and what salaries teachers have obtained have come from the Federal relief funds.

Again and again the question of tenure was raised in the convention and the term company unionism was frequently used. Evidence was presented which showed that the efforts of the union movement to secure tenure for all teachers were defeated by the opposition of the local and state affiliates of the National Education Association, controlled by the superintendents. The company unions specifically mentioned were the Pennsylvania Education Association, the Ohio Education Association, and the California Teachers Association. In certain academic quarters (see for example The Social Frontier, edited by Prof. Counts who ought to know better), the National Education Association has been treated as though it were merely a useful or at worst a harmless academic professional society. The reports of the delegates concerning the activities of this organization left no doubts as to its company union character. The problem of exposing and defeating these company union outfits has still to be worked out by the teacher union movement.

5. The Struggle for Academic Freedom. Another problem which was much in evidence at the convention was that of the fight against violations of academic freedom expressed in the dismissals of teachers for opinions expressed in the classroom, for activity in the labor movement, and in the movement for loyalty oath legislation initiated by the Hearst press. A number of victimized teachers addressed the convention, among them being Victor B. Jewett of California, who was dismissed for expressing an opinion upon aspects of life in the Soviet Union; and Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, a teacher at Cedar Crest College in Pennsylvania, who was dismissed as a result of his efforts to organize teachers and the unemployed in Allentown, Pa. In Toledo, Columbus, and Massillon, Ohio, a number of dismissals have taken place during the year because of similar activities. The convention, voted, of course, to give active support to these teachers in the effort to secure their reinstatement.

6. The Delegation of the United

Burning Problems Face Fifty-Fifth A.F.L. Convention

MARCH OF EVENTS

F.D.R. Warns Soviets...

Through Secretary of State Hull, Roosevelt has given warning to the Soviet Union that he expects Russia to keep its pledge given at the time recognition was granted. Hull makes it perfectly plain in his statement to the press that what America had in mind in demanding Litvinov's signature to Article 4 of the pledge was one institution and one institution only: the Comintern. "The language of the above-quoted paragraph irrefutably covers activities of the Communist International, which was then, and still is, the outstanding world communist organization, with headquarters at Moscow." Since Kres-tinsky rejected the protest of the United States against the holding of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. in Moscow, Hull warns that the official relations between the two countries may be seriously impaired.

Meantime Walter Duranty expresses for the Stalinists their utter amazement that this Seventh Congress should in any way be confused with the earlier congresses which really aimed at advancing the interests of the world proletarian revolution. Duranty tells the bourgeoisie to look beneath the left phrases at the political realities as expressed in the entire course of Stalinism, and not to take too seriously the mere echoes of the past that have no more real content so far as the C.I. is concerned. But in the matter of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., it is not so much any violations of a pledge that counts, as does the main aim and objective of the American bourgeoisie in the near future. These aims concern the period preceding the Second Imperialist World War for redivision of the world.

Aim of U.S. Capitalism...

Press comment stresses that Roosevelt was motivated in his present move against the Soviet Union by the exigencies of the coming Presidential elections. He desired to rob his reactionary critics of one of their main arguments proving Roosevelt to be "radical": his attitude towards the Soviet Union. But it should be clear that while this is undoubtedly involved, Roosevelt would never have taken this further step toward the break of relations with the Soviet Union if it had not been in line with the major interests of the capitalist class. It follows on the basis of the refusal to grant Russian credits, and on the heel of the withdrawal of consuls and military attaches from the Soviet Union. It is thus a renewed guarantee to Japan that the United States will not aid Russia when the Japanese start the attack.

Recognition of the Soviets came at a time when Japan was threatening a rapid advance and deeper penetration into China. Involved in the domestic crisis and unprepared for a military conclusion, the American capitalist class found it necessary to impede the advance of Japanese imperialism by threatening a military alliance with Russia. This move succeeded for the time being, but could not be a permanent solution of the problem of the Pacific. When Japan resumed its conquest and plunder of China, America changed its course and decided to push Japan into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. This would weaken both and permit the United States to step in at the moment of exhaustion to defeat its Japanese rival as well as the Soviet Union which would meantime be taken care of from the West through the attack by Hitler.

It is with this strategy in mind that the U. S. is now engaged in a vast project of militarizing the entire Pacific, establishing air bases and naval bases in all its posses-

sions and as near to Japan as possible. Every move with respect to the Soviet Union thus has Japan in mind also. H. B. Hinton, writing in the New York Times of Sept. 1, emphasizes this: "Far Eastern experts were called into consultation and the situation was viewed from a perspective including Japan. Our official students of Russian affairs know that Maxim Litvinov, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, obtained at least two years of security on his Far Eastern border when he negotiated the recognition of his government with Pres. Roosevelt. Russian relations with Japan almost immediately took on a better aspect, the Chinese Eastern dispute was settled. . . . What Hinton fails to add is that the American imperialists also secured by this means the holding back for the same period of Japan's march into Asia, at least of the speed of this march."

American diplomacy subordinates all other tasks to this major task: the defeat of Japanese imperialism. The neutrality law—so-called—is a move subordinated to this same aim. The United States wants to have no entanglements in Europe. Her interest in peace is the same profession in words and violation in deeds as that of Mussolini who pours his troops into Africa, or Baldwin who rushes the British navy into the Mediterranean. Similarly Roosevelt is setting the guns in the Pacific and smoothing the path for the air and naval raiders in the coming war. Sept. 2, 1935

Fear of Progressive Tendencies in Labor Movement Disturbs Officials

(Continued from Page 1)

are apparent as the A. F. of L. faces its fifty-fifth annual convention. The heaviest blows to the bureaucratic domination and control of the movement have come from two widely different directions: from the teachers union and from the newly constituted international union of automobile workers. The first was, by far the most decisive.

At its recent national convention the teachers union administered a serious rebuke to the "red scare" campaign of Bill Green and Co. and rejected by a firm majority vote his arrogant demand for expulsion of its New York local which he charged to be under Communist influence. Not content merely with this rebuke the convention elected the entire progressive slate for officers and executive board. When this happened Bill Green had not yet finished his personal supervision of the convention of the newly constituted automobile workers' union. There also he suffered a reverse. The assembled delegates refused to give a vote of confidence to his handpicked crew of officials. Green had his way by use of sheer autocratic measures, but the attitude of the delegates constituted a challenge to his leadership and gave him an indication of what he may expect in the future from the workers in the mass production industries.

Political Policy Challenged

These, however, are not the only manifestations disturbing the tranquility of Green and company.

Their policy is challenged or at least subjected to serious questioning, elsewhere. The Oregon State Federation is going leftward. Its recent convention came out in condemnation of the profit system and voted to establish a new political party. No doubt there was as yet little clarity on what kind of a party is needed, but the outward policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies amongst the agents of privilege does not at all find the same favor as before in trade union ranks. That holds true also for the Connecticut State Federation of Labor. It has decided to conduct a referendum vote of all local A. F. of L. unions in the state on the question of creating a labor party. Likewise the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, now in convention, is giving serious consideration to the labor party question.

These latter manifestations become doubly significant in view of Green's constant reiteration of fictitious labor gains achieved by legislation in the capitalist Congress and presented by him as real. These he hails as new progress in relations between capital and labor. Undoubtedly the Executive Council report to the convention will attempt to bolster up its record with these fictitious gains. The trade unionists may not understand so well the language of the law as the lawyers have entered on the statute books. Their attitude is much more likely motivated by a realization of the effects of these laws on their organizations and on their attempts to struggle for bet-

ter conditions. It is hardly necessary to assume that they have a conscious aim of creating a large reformist party or that they envisage great parliamentary victories. Rather the manifestations in the direction of new parties and labor parties represent a desire to break with the policies of the past and to get a square deal by their own efforts. This aspect invests these manifestations with their greatest significance.

Retreat in Face of Bosses Assault

They are closely tied-up with the whole question of working class economic standards. And it is precisely in this respect that the incompetence of the A. F. of L. leadership is the most glaring and where its return to greater parity and a more reactionary position is the most outstanding. The logic of the opposition encountered in the living movement drives it inexorably in this direction because, like the capitalists, this leadership has vested interests to protect.

Many grandiose proclamations were issued from A. F. of L. headquarters against the coolie wage level set by the WPA relief administration. Much active lobbying was conducted in Congress and at its committee hearings. The scale of \$19 to \$24 repeated Green, and all his cronies after him,—and they were correct—will tear down the whole American standard of wages. But the coolie scale went into effect. And, out of sheer incompetence to ward it off and downright sabotage of the struggle against it by the A. F. of L. officialdom, the American workers now face this scale as their basic standard. In this field things are much more real than are the so-called favorable labor laws on the statute books. And in this

Bankrupt Union Leadership Must Be Challenged by Awakened Membership

field the miserable capitulation to the coolie wage scale sacrificed important trade union principles and squandered many real gains attained in hard-fought struggles.

Faith in System of Exploitation

But the A. F. of L. Executive Council does not intend to tolerate any of the new manifestations in the trade union movement. It rallies to the support of the capitalist system and its present spokesman who so shrewdly put over again the old capital and labor relations in a brand new clothing. It backs up Roosevelt's declaration that the economic emergency is passed and supports his promise of a "breathing spell" for business. It is preparing to strengthen his political fences for 1936. In the most contemptible fashion it hails the present upswing as the "healthiest thus far," for it is "due chiefly to inherent economic strength. . . . Dividend payments in August exceeded last year by \$11,000,000," says the Executive Council report preparing to whip it up at the coming convention; for are not these higher officials all interested in dividend payments? What other feature is "healthy" about this upswing? It cannot be the employment feature, for in regard to this the Executive Council states: "Employment this Spring has been below last year's level although production was higher." In other words: with the upswing, proclaimed as healthy by Green and company, unemployment is growing and the speed-up system is growing with it. And the Council statement further makes clear that while the cost of living continues

to rise, recording in July this year 62 percent above last year, the share of the workers in the total national income had dropped from its 21.9 percent in 1929 to 18.1 percent in 1934. A "healthy upswing" indeed.

Crucial Issues Still Remain

In face of these facts the decrepit A. F. of L. leadership proclaims as healthy an upswing accomplished entirely at the expense of the workers, through increased exploitation, and it reiterates its faith in this system of exploitation. This, let us not forget, comes also as a prelude to the coming convention. It makes only so much more clear that this leadership remains wedded to capitalism in theory and practice and depends upon the active forces of capitalism to sharpen its own class in order to deal the more effectively with any opposition to its reactionary policies and bureaucratic domination.

But the crucial issues still remain to be decided in the future. The coming A. F. of L. convention may proceed in comparative calm and without the serious conflicts yet coming to the fore. Nevertheless the reactionary course of its corrupt regime lays the trade union movement ever more open to new capitalist assaults. "What direction the workers will take when facing these assaults should not be in doubt. That can be clearly ascertained from their attitude and their actions up to now."

In the coming battles both ideas and leadership will be put to the test.

Roosevelt Assures Business It Will Get New "Breather"

(Continued from Page 1)

get old-age pensions, go not to the ghost of Long or the dreams of Townsend, but to the sane and sound original share-the-wealther and old-age-pensioner, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is a past master at stealing thunder; and making it crack for him.

Roosevelt Program a Fraud

The easiest way to expose the Roosevelt hypocrisy, on the share the wealth Tax Program as on old age pensions or any other presumable liberal reform, is to compare what Roosevelt actually does with the high-sounding phrases he is so fond of. The Roosevelt Tax Program is a fake through and through. It does nothing whatever about eliminating tax-exempt securities, the means whereby the majority of the very rich escape practically all income taxation. It does next to nothing to regulate so-called "personal holding companies," another favorite device whereby the wealthy report "No Income" while they live on \$10,000,000 a year. And, if all of its provisions worked as the Treasury itself predicts, the whole Program would net only a little over \$200,000,000 yearly—a mere drop in the bucket of the Federal income, which would leave "sharing of the burden" within a fraction of the percentages which Roosevelt himself gives.

This does not mean, of course, that the present Tax Program is the last in the rise of income and inheritance taxes. This will come, will have to come, but it will wait for the most part until after 1936. And at that time it will be not the higher brackets that will share the burden, but the lower income range. The ones who will be really hit will be from the same middle class which Roosevelt now so widdlingly tries to charm with his paper blows at the Tories.

Roosevelt does not, however, in his letter to Howard, stop on a Left note. As in the case of the Soviet correspondence, he is anxious to assure the public that, though he is a real reforming liberal, through and through, yet he is a safe and sane liberal—nothing that a sensible business man, or an owner of a large newspaper chain, need be worried about. He has no new upsetting acts up his sleeve; he grants business a breathing spell; his program is substantially completed.

Profits Mount

And well might Roosevelt feel that, for the moment at any rate, his program is substantially completed. Profits are once more rolling in. The automobile companies are doing their biggest business since 1930; steel, since 1931. General Motors and General Electric have just raised their dividends. The Stock Market is continuing its longest sustained advance since the crash. Merchandising expects the biggest year since 1930. The army and navy have the largest appropriations in peace-time history, and a new high in personnel. The chemical companies are operating full time. Electric output has been up during several weeks, to all time highs. Business will indeed have

to have a breathing spell—for at least long enough to add up the profits.

Naturally, a few details are not yet taken care of. Unemployment seems to remain close to its low levels. Real wages have been declining during the present year. The Schechter Decision has given an impetus to a wide-spread increase in hours. The influence of WPA is rapidly lowering relief standards.

Indeed, somehow or other, the present partial revival of prosperity seems to be leaving out the working class altogether. It is a prosperity exclusively designed for the "business men" about whom Howard and Roosevelt so solicitously correspond. And this is no accident. Capitalist prosperity was always of a kind that gave 90 percent of its relative benefits to the capitalists, and a poor 10 percent to the masses. It always meant a prosperity for profits, with perhaps a few dollars extra for the workers as a by-product. But now, in the decline of capitalism, with the expansive and self-reviving powers of capitalist economy exhausted, "prosperity" becomes a grotesque caricature even of its former self. Prosperity—that is, profits—can be rehabilitated only by the impoverishment of the masses. No possible business upturn can absorb any large section of the unemployed, and the contradictions between wages and profits—always present but often hidden during the advance of capitalism—becomes glaring and open.

Roosevelt's program is substantially complete—at least it is his own words, that say so. We can stop, then, to taste the favor of the New Era he promised. It is for the working class to make judgment.

RALLY TO SUPPORT EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT. SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAMPAIGN FUND. JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

New War Alliances

On one and the same day, the Daily Worker printed the following comments on the Ethiopian situation: On September 14, 1935, page 1: "Laval Asks Concessions for Italy and Military Rule Over Ethiopia." On September 14, 1935, page 4, in the column conducted by Harry Gammon:

"The last important bulwark of the League for a possible support of Italian Fascism has given way. In an unwilling, but quite definite speech, Premier Laval has spoken with the voice of the French masses, and not his own war of de la Roquette, and the de Wendels, of the Comité des Forges, the war munitions makers and the pro-Fascist exploiters."

(Continued from Page 1)

And what of Ethiopia, the pawn in the imperialist game? The independence of this small country of less than 11 million people, living under semi-federal conditions, has in the last decades been dependent on the conflicts among the imperialist powers themselves. Even this tenuous independence is now threatened by Mussolini.

If Mussolini is to be repelled it can be accomplished only by international working class action. The quarrel between France and England against Italy is a conflict of imperialist powers; war between them is immediate cause. To support imperialist "sanctions" against Italy is to pledge support for this imperialist war which will go far beyond a "defense of independent Ethiopia."

The genuine independence of Ethiopia requires arousing the colonial masses of Africa against their predatory masters, the French, English and Italian imperialists and an active movement of solidarity by the workers in the advanced countries. Such a movement will also have its effect on the masses in the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialist America who are oppressed under the iron heel of Wall Street.

The task of the workers of the United States is to expose the hypocrisy of the Roosevelt government in its "neutrality" position, to get the railroad men, longshoremen and seamen to refuse to handle any munitions, arms or foodstuffs going to Italy. Means must be found to give material aid to the Ethiopian people in the struggle for independence.

The slogan of "Boycott Goods for Fascist Italy" has been launched by the International Communist League. Everything in our power must be done to arouse the masses for the revolutionary struggle in defense of the Ethiopian people and against imperialist war.

This is possible only by an uncompromising struggle against those in the ranks of the labor movement who wittingly or unwittingly aid in the deception of the masses as to the aims of French and British imperialism and prepare for a new world slaughter and betrayal. In every working class organization, the militant voice of fraternity with the Ethiopian people should be raised.

SMALL QUESTION BOX

The September 11 issue of the New York Times asks, on its editorial page:

"Can it be said that the Russian wheat is being sold to Italy by the Comintern over which the Soviet Government has no control?"

We can see no objection to making the proper reply to this question. The answer is:

"No. The Russian wheat is being sold to Italy by the Soviet Government over which the Comintern has no control."

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Rubber Workers Convention Rejects Appointed Officials

(Continued from Page 1)

above Green to assimilate one or two of them in the international union as a sop to the workers. This depends on how strong the opposition to the bureaucracy becomes.

Plans to carry a protest to the national convention of the American Federation of Labor are being made in the event Green and his cohorts use the outrageous methods which marked their actions at the auto-workers convention.

The rubber workers likewise feel certain that the convention will be miraculously revived by Claherty out of town in order to assure the bureaucrats of automatic control of the sessions.

Rubber Workers Aroused

The indignation aroused by Green's treacherous methods in Detroit has been reflected among the workers here who have seized eagerly all reports from the autoworkers convention and most of the delegates realize what sort of a convention they are facing.

The ample warning received by the delegates from the experience of autoworkers will probably have a two-fold effect. Oil in the form of minor concessions to the rubber workers will be used by Green to smooth the "troubled waters." A crystallization of more anti-bureaucratic forces will strengthen the small progressive bloc elected as delegates.

Feeling for an independent union has not been entirely allayed as rubberworkers recall vividly to mind the two-year history of their struggle for an international union which threatens to be climaxed with another betrayal.

Expulsions from the spring of 1934 thwarted a move for an international union. Then the United Rubberworkers Council was formed at a national convention to head the unions but Claherty became president and again kept the reins of control.

Now after months of delay, a convention is to be held which all indications say will be another "Detroit affair."

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Oneal Makes His Report

Confidential Memorandum of Right Wing to Second Internat'l Shows Reactionary Contempt Towards Young Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

struggles which were of a vital interest to the working class as a whole.

But when the United States entered the World War, the American Federation of Labor and the majority of the unions supported the war whereas the Socialist Party became an anti-war party. The old Socialist militants who survived the persecutions of the war period think that their position was right, that they could not have acted differently.

The different positions of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party toward the war alienated these two movements from each other. This marked the end of the collaboration between the two movements. With very few exceptions, the trade union movement slipped towards a conservative policy and the Party became isolated from the organized working class. While we were thus isolated, the war came to an end and the Party had to fight against a powerfully organized Communist movement in its midst which led to the splitting of the Party in 1919. Three Communist parties were organized by former members of the Socialist Party, while inside the Party there still remained members influenced by Moscow. The fight inside the Party continued for a number of years, producing a serious loss of membership; the morale of the Party continued to decline and discouragement took hold everywhere.

Contrary to the European countries, the United States emerged from the World War prosperous. Generally speaking, the workers were content and Socialist propaganda made no progress among them. With the exception of a slight depression in 1921-22, the period from 1916 to 1929 may be called the Golden Age of American capitalism. There was relatively little unemployment, and wages and working conditions were, on the whole, satisfactory to the workers.

In the course of this period, the Communist organizations conducted a violent war upon the trades unions and the Socialist Party. In certain cases the Communists destroyed the trade union organizations and exhausted the workers before the employers. The trades unions, for their part, declared war upon the Communists. However, they did not yet establish with sufficient clarity the distinction between the Communist and the Socialist position, with the result that our Party was looked upon with suspicion if not with a virtual hostility by a large part of the organized workers. It must be said that certain Socialists, notably among the numerous so-called "intellectuals" and among the inexperienced youth, whom our position against the war had attracted into the Party, did a good deal to provoke this hostility by their harsh criticism of the trade union movement. Meanwhile, there was also a decline in the membership of the Communist Party, and bitter internal struggles provoked expulsions and splits.

The Crisis

The great industrial crisis which began in October, 1929, produced a new situation. The Socialist Party which numbered more than 100,000 members in 1919, had fallen down to less than 10,000 members. With the sharpening of the crisis, new elements joined the Party. The growth was not very consistent and even today the membership is only about 18,000. Many of the new members were young people who had just quit high schools or colleges and there was a considerable difference in age between the Party veterans and the new members, which produced an abnormal situation leading to conflicts and disharmony. Ignorant of the objective conditions which led to the decline of the Party, of the Communist movement and of the trade union movement, the younger elements concluded that the veterans were responsible for the weakness of the Party.

At the same time, the trades unions were, at the outset, so absorbed by the problems raised by the crisis, and which even threatened certain trades unions with disruption, that it was difficult to recruit members for the Party among them. However, with the continuation of the crisis, the trades unions little by little abandoned a number of their views and their conservative policies. Up till then they had been very little interested in social legislation. But since 1929 they have progressively changed their attitude and they are now fighting for numerous important measures of this kind, and the prejudices against the Socialist Party are disappearing little by little. In the meantime, the Communists continue their intrigues within the trade unions and toward the end of 1934 the American Federation of Labor issued a new manifesto declaring war on the Communist movement.

Since 1932

The conflict inside the Party came out into the open at the National Party Convention held in 1932, when the new elements sought

to remove Morris Hillquit from his post as National Chairman. Hillquit, while going to the extreme limit in his attempts to reconcile the diverse elements and to contribute to harmony inside the Party, had a clear and firm position on the fundamental questions of principles and tactics. He always considered that it would be impossible to build up a genuine Socialist movement in the political field unless mutually friendly relations and collaboration between the Socialist Party and the American trade union movement were established. He also considered that in view of the very nature of American institutions, it was an indispensable condition to all progress and all Socialist success to base ourselves entirely upon democratic and constitutional methods of political action. And that is why, since 1922, he had more and more violently condemned every attempt to flirt with the Communists and their sympathizers and had just as vigorously opposed the Socialist Party being drawn into alliances with various types of bourgeois reformists.

The essence of the question at the Milwaukee Convention was not the personality of Morris Hillquit but the conception of Socialism which he held. However, during the underground campaign which was conducted against him for several months, especially outside of New York City, his opponents spoke of "Americanizing" the Party, dwelt upon the fact that he was a foreigner by birth, accused him of submitting to the old traditions of the European movement, and also made use of the popular prejudice against New York which is intimately linked with American nationalism and with the agrarian tendencies of the south and the west. Hillquit was reelected by a very small majority, but his opponents obtained a strong representation in the new National Executive Committee; he was then afflicted by his illness which ended with his death in October, 1933, and which gave them the upper hand.

When the National Convention met in June 1934, the division inside the Party had become very serious and the events in Europe had contributed to increase further the fundamental differences of opinion. The defeat of the working class in Germany and in Austria, the seizure of power by the Nazis, the danger of a new war, and the discouragement which resulted from the continuation of the crisis, had strong repercussions upon the immature mind of the membership and above all, upon our youth. They began to despise cynically the whole European movement and argued that the defeat was due to the "old policies and the old leaders." They argued that the program of the Party had to be radically revised "to the Left."

Inside the Party, a very distinct Communist faction was formed and various Communist groups blandly sent their members into the Party and into the youth organization in order to "bore from within." The new elements obtained the majority on the National Executive Committee during this convention, which also adopted a new Declaration of Principles which aroused controversies the like of which had not been seen in so violent a form since the struggle with the Communists in 1919. United front attempts with Communist organizations also contributed to the conflict.

The new Declaration was adopted by the membership in a referendum by a vote of 5,933 against 4,872, that is, by a majority of 1,061. Its opponents declared that it was a step towards a Communist declaration and its supporters denied it. The Oregon state organization withdrew from the Party and the Indiana state organization organized a referendum for withdrawal from the Party when its charter was suspended and later revoked. The struggle between the two groups continued. In November, 1934, the vote for the Party declined in five or six states, and in these states a strong decline in membership was recorded. Altogether the Party lost 5,500 members, the activities of the Party were paralyzed and the National Bureau was incapable of gathering the funds necessary for the continuation of its work.

Another argument against the new Declaration was that a score of states or even more had adopted draconic anti-syndicalist laws which endangered the very existence of any party which alluded to the use of any form of violence or illegal methods for the accomplishment of its aims. The Oregon Socialists withdrew from the Party because of a severe anti-syndicalist law existing in this state, because they believed that by accepting the new Declaration the Party would be unable to continue its activities.

The United Front

Since the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Party had followed an unchanging policy with regard to Soviet Russia. It demanded the recognition of Russia and the establishment of trade relations with

Soviet Russia, while rejecting all the united front offers which it received from Communist organizations, and demanding the restoration of democracy for the Russian working class. This was the Party policy up to the 1932 convention when a tendency manifested itself, changed this policy in favor of a united front with various Communist organizations for "specific aims." This also contributed to extend the conflict existing in the Party.

The entire trade union movement was mortally opposed to the Communist movement and the Socialist veterans considered that to conclude a united front with the Communists would be to conclude a united front against the organized working class. It would be to abandon the fraternal relations which were developing between the Party and the trades unions in spite of the internal conflict in the Party. The Party organization of New York State, the oldest state organization, counting the largest number of members, was the most categorical in its opposition to the united front and in its opposition to the new Declaration of Principles. That is why the State of New York was the center of the Party conflicts.

The Youth Movement

These various ideological solutions and tendencies in turn affected the organization of the Socialist youth (Y.P.S.L.). It was influenced by all the "Leftist" forms of ideology and politics. In two months it produced two Communist groupings, one of which joined the Trotskyists en bloc. At its last National Convention, it raised the age limit to 30 years which, if it is permitted, will make it a rival party to the Socialist Party. In New York City the local section of the youth movement came into conflict with the Party organization, which resulted in a split within this section, but as a result of the peace agreement of July 13-15 it is hoped that a united youth movement will soon be reestablished.

Organizational Conflicts

From the intellectual conflict there naturally arose conflicts between the national, state and local organizations and the youth movement, centering for the most part around the State of New York. Since its organization in 1901, the Party had been based upon the conception of "State autonomy." That is to say, the state organizations have always enjoyed the exclusive jurisdiction with regard to problems concerning affiliation, propaganda, election campaigns, etc. This form of organization flowed from the experience undergone with the Socialist Labor Party, which had centralized all power in the hands of the National Executive Committee, which abused arbitrarily this power in order to crush all opposition to its decisions by the expulsions of members, of sections and of State organizations.

The jurisdictional decisions adopted during the conflict between the local and State organizations have been too numerous and too complicated for an attempt to discuss them here. The result of it was accusations and counter-accusations of bad faith and of illegal or arbitrary actions, the essential point of this form of controversy being constituted by the power attributed to the State organizations and to the National Executive Committee. Here, however, it was above all the veteran members of the Party who defended the powers of the State organizations, whereas the new members gave their assent to the powers demanded by the National Executive Committee.

Summary

In summarizing the situation in the United States, it can be said that the conflicts in the Socialist Party are due essentially to a new movement arising out of the world crisis with all the abnormal phenomena which it involves. (1) **The War.** The youth are so obsessed with fears of a new world war that they want to put an end to the anguish of these apprehensions. Hence, the attraction that any pseudo-revolutionary program holds for them. (2) **The Crisis.** For five years millions of young people have been unable to find employment and this has led to a morbid psychology of vengeance against capitalist society which hardly promotes intelligent reflection. (3) **Russia.** Premature reactions toward the Five Year Plan and the tremendous Communist propaganda on the "seizure of power" have influenced the opinions of new members to a certain degree. (4) **The European Defeat.** The defeats of the working class in Germany and in Austria and the reverse suffered by our Spanish comrades foster the point of view that the blame for them devolves upon the organizations and the programs of the Socialist and Labor parties of the world, and that they must be completely reorganized. They consider that the veterans are incapable of doing it and that this task falls to the youth. (5) **Fascism.** They

have a morbid fear of fascism and in general they believe that its rise in Europe could have been prevented if the youth with its vigor, its enthusiasm and its clearer views upon social and economic forces had been invested with the leadership.

Many of these new elements did not come from proletarian families, but from the liberal professions and the petty-bourgeoisie, above all from the colleges, the theological schools and the universities. They constitute a raw material which a workers party does not find it easy to assimilate because they bring with them the ideologies of their class. The hope of the Socialist Party rests in bringing into the movement an increasing number of men and women coming from the working class, above all workers who have been educated by the trades unions. They will have a stabilizing influence on the Party and will guarantee it a strong proletarian base.

The agreement which I am enclosing to you is the first step accomplished towards this stabilization. The veteran comrades have displayed tolerance and patience in their efforts to avert a fatal split. However, they have not shown themselves inclined to condone any compromises with certain ideas and certain programs which would be just as fatal to the Socialist movement of the United States, but to the international, to maintain a healthy party of the working masses free from all utopian ideas and rejecting dangerous adventures, a party based upon the interests of the proletarian class and not upon emotional reactions and fears. We have good reason to hope that the Party has now accomplished a turn in the sense of such a movement and that our comrades will do all that is possible to bring peace and unity into its ranks.

I should like to insist strongly on the fact that all those who are concurrently called the "Old guard" have not for a single moment projected or desired a split in the Party. We have openly exercised our rights to discuss the principles and the policy which were the cause of the disagreements in the movement, and in the states and the cities where our point of view carried we have, naturally, by the regular Party methods, fought the tendencies which, in our opinion, threatened to isolate us from the organized labor movement, to obscure the differences between Socialism and Communism, and to undermine the faith of the young generations in democratic and peaceful methods of labor action. That has been the case notably in New York.

The danger of a split became genuinely imminent during the first half of this year when the so-called "militants," confident in the majority they believed they had in the National Executive Committee, demanded of this organ to "reorganize" the New York movement—that is, to expel all the members and to readmit only those who were in agreement with them or who promised to obey their orders. Obviously, if this threat had been carried out the expelled majority would not have been disorganized and would not have disappeared from political life. The demand for this categorical measure becoming more and more violent, it nevertheless appeared quite obvious that the majorities of certain states and strong minorities of others could not tolerate such an expulsion en masse and the "reorganization" proposed for New York would have produced a split of the Party on a national scale. When the National Executive Committee met on July 13-15, it appeared that among its members only three out of eleven were determined to vote for the expulsion en masse of the New York Socialists. The New York Committee was then invited to confer with the representatives of the national organ, and an agreement was worked out which was ratified by two-thirds of the votes of the National Executive Committee and unanimously by the New York Committee.

We may hope that this agreement will lead to the reestablishment of a spirit of good feeling in the ranks of the Party, to the dissolution of organized groups and factions, will permit the elimination of practices which have up to now caused needless friction, and will thus put us in a position to work together actively to build the Party and to propagate its ideas while discussing as comrades the differences in the theory and in tactics.

The American movement has always been a very weak link of the international and we are fully conscious that it is our duty and that upon us devolves the responsibility towards the comrades of all countries to build up in the United States a strong Party, a party which will be able to contribute to the struggles of the masses of all countries and which will fulfill its duty in every crisis that may confront the working class here or abroad.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) JAMES O'NEAL.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

France Faces The Crisis

Labor Displays Its Readiness To Battle Against The Regime But Socialists and Stalinists Sabotage Struggle

By H. FRANK ROBERTS

France is today pregnant with change. The imminence of imperialist war and the exceedingly acute growth of internal contradictions are hastening the convulsions which will exert a decisive influence upon the march of events in Europe and in Africa. The government of Laval-Herriot is a stop-gap. It cannot for much longer maintain its precarious balance between class forces moving toward decisive conflicts. It seems to be generally expected that the Laval cabinet will give way either to a cabinet of the extreme Right which will base itself not on a parliamentary majority but directly upon the Croix de Feu and other Fascist groupings, or a Radical government headed by Daladier and supported by his allies in the Front Populaire, the Socialist and Stalinist parties. A government supported by or including de la Roque, which may take power, if need be, with the help of a coup d'état engineered by the General Staff, would mean the launching of an immediate intensified offensive against the organizations of the French proletariat. A government of Daladier, loyally supported by Blum, Cachin & Co., would be a further step in the gross and staggering betrayal of the French workers inherent in the Front Populaire. If French finance capital entrusts the direction of its government to a so-called "Left coalition," it will be because it can count on that betrayal. The Front Populaire promises not revolution but "civil peace." It stands committed not to revolutionary defeatism in the event of war but to the support of the French bourgeoisie in the holy war against German Fascism.

The events last month at Brest and Toulon showed that the French workers want to fight for their bread and that to carry it through they are prepared to wage and win the struggle for power. But the Front Populaire desires not struggle but civil peace. Listen to Jacques Duclos in an article headed "A Government of Peace? Yes!" (L'Humanité, Aug. 23, 1935):

"The (Laval) Government is heading for battles between Frenchmen at a time when we must concern ourselves with giving work to the unemployed and stimulating national economy. We certainly want a government of peace which will not marshal the workers in uniform against the workers in the factories and offices. We certainly want a government of peace which will unite all Frenchmen in defense of their bread against the two hun-

dred families which pillage the country. . . . But, to realize the union of France working under the aegis of a government of peace, we must have an end to the policy of the government of national disunity. And the Communist party, declaring itself ready to support a government of the Left, demonstrates its concern for national recovery and for a real peace." (My emphasis—R.)

This, today, is the language of the "revolutionary vanguard" of the French proletariat! Not "battles between Frenchmen" but the "union of France," the unity of "all Frenchmen"! Not the struggle for power, but "national recovery" and an end to "national disunity"!

In the name of national unity, the French Stalinists have embraced as their own the Tricolor standard of the French Republic, the flag of the French bourgeoisie, red with the blood of the workers of 1848, 1871, 1914-18 and of 1935. When the preparations for the parade of July 14 were being discussed by a joint Radical-Socialist-Stalinist committee, the Radicals indicated their desire to carry the Tricolor. The Stalinists readily assented. But, added the Radical delegate, our party is weak here in Paris and our flag display will seem puny next to the combined forces of the S.P. and C.P.! Whereupon the Stalinist delegate voluntarily offered the services of the C. P. sections in the parade as carriers of the Tricolor—if the Radicals would be good enough to provide the flags! And so it was done.

On July 14 Paris was treated to the spectacle of communists on the march, with the Tricolor side by side with the Red flag at their head, singing the Marseillaise! And at the head of the parade was Daladier, denounced not so long ago by L'Humanité as the murderer and assassin of February 6 and whom now they call to power! "We do not abandon to the enemy the Tricolor flag of the Revolution," said Marcel Thorez in a speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, "We do not abandon the Marseillaise, song of the soldiers of the Revolution." (L'Humanité, Aug. 5, 1935). Was it so long ago that the Communist International proclaimed for the Chinese revolution: "We will not abandon the blue banner of the Kuomintang to the enemy"? The tragic betrayal of the Chinese workers marshalled by the Comintern behind the blue banner of Chiang Kai-shek will now be repeated, if the Comintern has its way, for the French workers, marshalled behind the Tricolor standard of the French bourgeoisie.

Another incident of the July 14 demonstration reveals the extent to which the Stalinists have carried their capitulation to the Radicals—i.e., to the French bourgeoisie. The socialist section of the 20th ward carried a banner which read: "Down with the Decrees of Laval-Herriot!" The Stalinist leader of the same district rushed over in a rage just as the parade was starting and ripped away the name of Herriot! Herriot is in the government and stands responsible for the starvation decrees of Laval—but he is a Radical and therefore not to be offended!

The fierce clashes at Toulon and Brest the first week in August—when workers trying to defend their livelihood came into bloody conflict with the armed forces of the state—brought forth from the organs of the Front Populaire—the charge of provocation! It was to be expected that the organs of French capitalism, like Le Petit Parisien and Le Matin would refer to the demonstrators as "rabble." But what could workers have thought who read in Populaire, the Socialist organ, that "human scum" were responsible for the demonstrations, and in L'Humanité that the Toulon and Brest events were due to "persons living on the fringes of labor" carrying out as "provocateurs" their "job as incendiaries"! These scum, rages Vaillant-Couturier, the Stalinist No. 1 Publicist, "outraged the Tricolor flag which the workers put at the head of their processions, next to the Red flag, on July 14!"

And as a political conclusion from the Toulon events, the French Stalinist party issued special instructions to watch out for provocateurs who are trying to incite the workers to onward acts!

In all France only one revolutionary organization is fighting hard and courageously to block the path of treachery down which the Front Populaire is leading the working class. That organization is the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the Socialist party which alone in France today is upholding the banner of Lenin and Liebknecht for revolutionary defeatism in the event of war, which alone is calling for the armed mobilization of the working class in the fight against Fascism and which when the crisis breaks will alone be capable of providing the revolutionary point of polarization to which the workers, betrayed by the Second and Third Internationals, will be able to turn. The Bolshevik-Leninists of France are carrying on the struggle for the Fourth International against terrific odds but with incomparable courage.

"Militant" Confab Proves A Failure

(Continued from Page 1)

sessions with a multitude of platform speakers, leaving very little time for discussion from the floor. The little time there was for discussion was limited to five minutes per speaker. Thus little clarification could result from the "Institute." Even one of the "Militants," Frank Trager of Baltimore, denounced the arrangements of the conference, during the session on the Labor Party, and demanded that arrangements be made for a serious discussion of this point. An extra hour was given to the Labor party question, out of which resulted the only arrangement for additional discussion; Paul Porter and J. N. Thurber being authorized to hold a conference on this question preceding the A. F. of L. convention.

The first session, "The Road to Socialism," was given over to two main speakers, David Berenberg, who is essentially a Right winger, and David Felix, who is typical of the Right-Contrist contemptuous of "theory." The short hour's discussion that followed saw a number of Yipsels come out for the dictatorship of the proletariat, while Zam, ex-Lovestonette, declared against including this fundamental concept in the theoretical program.

The second session was largely given over to a meandering speech by Norman Thomas on the "Practical Problems of the Party." Frank Trager also spoke on the agricultural situation, taking an empirical approach with no hint of the problem of a proletarian strategy toward the diverse elements who constitute "agriculture."

The third session, on the Labor Party, was occupied mainly with speeches by Paul Porter and minor trade union functionaries, merely giving pictures of the various situations in the trade union movement. There was no time for discussion. Frank Trager at this point denounced the arrangements which prevented discussion.

Pacifist Leads War Discussion
The fourth and final session on "War and Fascism" was given over to a paper by the pacifist, Devere

Allen, and to speeches by Amicus Most, Mary Fox and Ernest Erber. Most denounced Allen's paper as "sloppy thinking" but himself took the same pacifist line of "stopping war." Mary Fox expressed the general desire of the "Militants," who desire a Socialist "American League Against War and Fascism," merely objecting to the present League because it is Stalinist-controlled and not because of its pacifist program. Fox, however, was very pessimistic, describing the sabotaging of the Right wing and the labor fakery of any attempt to build on the basis of the unions. Erber, newly elected chairman of the Yipsels, was the only speaker who came near to a Leninist line on the war question.

Albert Goldman was the first speaker in the discussion, criticizing the pacifism of the "Militants," and introduced a series of points, which were referred to an editorial committee. He was strongly supported by Francis Henson, secretary of the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association. David Felix, speaking on Goldman's proposal said: "Here is a man who comes from a group (Trotskyists) who have long discussed this problem. We're children on this. It's like good whiskey. We want it once in a while, but we're not really ready for it."

All proposals went back to the editorial committee, since the proposed "Militant" program was not officially adopted.

Program Ambiguous

The program, written by the ex-Lovestonettes, Zam and Becker, on behalf of the top caucus of the "Militants," deserves the sharpest criticism. It is highly ambiguous on the fundamental questions of the proletarian revolution, envisioning a working class government arising only out of the defense against Fascism rather than as an offensive movement, giving no hint of the nature of the civil war attending the conquest of power, and slurring over completely the proletarian dictatorship as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It does not even declare for socializa-

tion of industry without compensation to capitalists! It is thoroughly pacifist on the war question, saying nothing about transformation of imperialist war into civil war. Its analysis of American capitalism has no section on the farmers, but incidental references show it to conceive, in typical social democratic style, of the farmers as a homogeneous class. In Lovestonette fashion, it goes even further than "most Militants," and calls not for a Labor party, which would be bad enough, but for a Farmer-Labor party. To cap it all the trade union section contains not a whit of criticism of the trade union bureaucracy. In succeeding issues of the NEW MILITANT this Contrist program will receive the extended criticism it merits.

The Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association, whose newly re-elected secretary, Francis Henson, at the last "Institute" session affirmed the desire of his group for unity with the "Militants" on the basis of a revolutionary program, held a conference in New York on August 23-25, with representatives present from Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Tennessee, Buffalo and New York City.

The conference adopted the general line of a document, which will be published in the next issue of the Revolutionary Socialist Review, which among other things criticizes the "principle deviations" of the Communist International on the war question and the class struggle, repudiates national defense, and declares against any type of coalition government. Other documents were adopted which will shortly be analyzed in the NEW MILITANT.

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The 'Thieves Kitchen' and Workers' Policy in War

Reformists and liberals of all shades and varieties are fond of calling Marxists "sectarians," "dogmatists," fantastic "extremists." This is the way in which jelly-backed individuals always describe those who have principles and who take them seriously. It is a verbal cover that reformists use to hide their own cowardly refusal to face facts and draw conclusions.

Nowhere is this more evident than on the question of war. Reformists are grievously "offended" when Marxists are not merely scornful of every form of pacifism but fight mercilessly against it. "So many good people," the reformists complain, "are honestly and sincerely against war; we must all join with them and if enough of us genuinely wish for peace, then peace will surely come." But Marxists have an inconvenient habit of looking beneath men's wishes and hopes to the material reality underlying them. Consequently they reply that pacifism, far from being a force against war, in practice aids the war-makers; they describe pacifism as the hypocritical front for imperialism, a means whereby, under the pretense of opposition to "war in general," this particular war—whatever it may be—is made morally respectable.

Lenin's Analysis of the League of Nations

In a similar manner, reformists objected to the Marxist analysis of the League of Nations. "The League," said the reformists, "may not be perfect. But it represents a great step forward. It symbolizes the desire of the peoples for peace, after the carnage of the Great War. We must aid in strengthening it." Alas, once again the Marxists

spoiled the party. No, they declared, the League is not an agency for peace. On the contrary, it is only a gauging up of the imperialist robbers. Its purposes, its real purposes, are: (1) To make an imperialist united front against the post-war threat of international proletarian revolution; (2) To enforce the Versailles Treaty, and ensure the hegemony of France on the European continent; (3) To protect the colonial empire of Great Britain and to prevent any attempt by Germany to regain its colonies; and (4) to provide a legal and moral coloration for the next war which the dominant imperialist powers undertake.

This analysis of the League, made by Lenin at its foundation, holds as firmly today as ever. The only alteration is to realize that the League is becoming outworn even for these purposes. The issues of proletarian revolution, preservation of France's continental position, and prevention of German colonial recovery, have been intensified to a point that takes them outside the League orbit. Nevertheless, the League has still its role to perform. Before it is thrown into the discard, it can still be used triumphantly for purpose (4): to provide a legal and moral coloration for the next war which the dominant imperialist powers undertake.

Crime of Stalinism

Herein rests one of the great historical crimes of Stalinism. The League can fulfill this function effectively, a function that strikes to the very heart of the working class, solely because of the Soviet Union's entry. Hopelessly discredited by

Continued on Page 3

Minneapolis Workers Battle

Rubber Workers Ride Over Green Machine

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Sept. 16.—Delegates here were rallying around the banner of their autonomous new international union, the United Rubberworkers of America, this week to consolidate the gains of their tremendous victory over William Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Led by progressives, the delegates resisted successfully every effort of Green to choke down their throats through threats and intimidation the reactionary leadership of Coleman C. Claberty, symbol of the betrayal policies used in the past two years by the bureaucrats in the rubber industry.

Cannon to Speak Sunday Night on "Lenin to Stalin"

"From Lenin to Stalin, the De-generation of the Communist International," is the subject of James P. Cannon's lecture this Sunday evening at Irving Plaza. It is the first of a series of four lectures "On the Road to the Fourth International."

Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, the founder of the Communist International, is the symbol of revolutionary Marxism. Stalin, head of the Soviet bureaucracy, revisionist of Marxism, symbolizes the distortions and falsifications of the early Comintern theories and practices which are responsible for the working class defeats of the last decade.

The social democratic scribes of our time try to pass off "Stalinism" as a logical continuation of "Leninism." They write that the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat leads to the dictatorship of the leaders within the party, to the stifling of workers' democracy and the supremacy of the bureaucracy. Stalinism conspires with the social democrats to make effective this distortion of Lenin's views.

All the more important is it therefore that a sharp contrast be made between the Comintern under Lenin and the organization using the same name, under Stalin's domination.

The lecture "From Lenin to Stalin" will clearly reveal the unbridgeable gap between Leninism and Stalinism.

The other lectures of the series include: Sept. 29—Working Class Policy in the Impending War! Oct. 6—The Struggle Against Fascism; Oct. 13—The Road to the Fourth International.

They refused to compromise whatsoever on the issue of democratic election, sending Green fleeing from the convention with the roar of their protest over his dictatorial policies at the autoworkers convention, ringing in his ears.

Refuse to Bar Communists

They wiped out of the proposed constitution a clause which would bar "communists" from the new unions.

They told Green bluntly that the "A. F. of L. leadership today is too antiquated to give the workers in mass industries correct leadership."

They declared they would appeal to the national convention the ruling of the executive council of the A. F. of L. that the rubberworkers couldn't organize on an industrial basis.

Backed by unions in Akron who are already sending protests to Washington, the delegates are demanding Green withdraw his threat of no financial support to the international unless he can appoint Claberty.

They passed resolutions unanimously protesting the Italian Fascist aggression in Ethiopia and urging the workers of the world to unite in a fight against German fascism.

Progressives Take Heart

At this writing, the delegates were preparing the groundwork for further action against Claberty and Green in order to prevent them from still obtaining control of the new international by hook or crook.

Anti-Claberty forces in the Central Labor movement took heart at the victory of the progressives and immediately voted back into good standing delegates whom he had succeeded in ousting.

The Akron typographical union passed a resolution demanding that their international officers fight for financial support of the new rubberworkers international at the next meeting of the executive council and they sharply criticized Green for his threats against the rubberworkers.

(Continued on Page 4)

Tarov Makes Escape From Stalin Prison

The heroic Russian Bolshevik-Leninist, Tarov, who has been in prison and exile since 1928, has made his escape and is now in Asia awaiting financial aid from his international comrades to enable him to make the journey to Europe where he will unfold the full story of the bestial persecutions and tortures inflicted on the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union. Comrade Tarov, a locksmith by trade, is the first Bolshevik-Leninist to escape from a Stalinist jail.

Comrade Tarov spent three years in exile and four years in prison, the Werchne-Uralski "Isolator." In this one prison alone 485 Bolshevik-Leninists were confined. After a great hunger strike, during which they were subjected to terrible beatings and tortures, they were dispersed to various other prisons. The hunger strike was declared because the prison terms of the comrades were automatically extended from two to three years after the original sentences had been served. The intention is not to let our comrades get out alive.

During the hunger strike, which lasted 18 days, the prisoners were artificially fed, beaten and shot at through the windows of their cells. Several comrades attempted to commit suicide.

In the near future we will be able to publish extensive and detailed information about the conditions in Stalin's exile camps and prisons. Already, from this brief report, the situation of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union is shown. The Stalinists are seeking to annihilate them physically. They can pursue this course only because the truth has been hidden from the international working class. The escape of comrade Tarov, and the information supplied by him, will now make possible a campaign to mobilize proletarian public opinion throughout the world. We must set ourselves resolutely to this task.

First in order is the collection of a fund to provide comrade Tarov with the necessities of life and the means to travel to Europe. Every internationalist must regard it as an urgent duty to contribute to this fund. Collections will be received by the National Office of the Workers Party, A. J. Muste, Secretary, 55 East 11th Street, New York City.

Mass Uprising against Traitor 'Labor' Mayor

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Sept. 16.—Not for a year has Minneapolis had such a hectic week of working class struggles as took place during the past week. On Monday, September 9, around 9 o'clock at night, a group of strikers and sympathizers staged a demonstration at the Flour City Ornamental Iron Company, where a strike of structural iron workers, Local 1313, A. F. of L., has been in progress for about two months. Again on Tuesday night, over 5,000 demonstrators gathered at the plant, to be finally scattered at midnight by repeated police charges. Armored cars patrolled the district, drenching block after block with tear gas, and mercilessly clubbing men and women.

Scores were injured by the police, acting under the orders of Mayor Tom ("Let 'em have it") Latimer, Farmer-Laborite.

Latimer Convicted As Murderer At Mpls Mass Trial

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Sept. 17.—A jury of more than 800 workers met last night and after hearing testimony on the massacre of pickets by the Minneapolis police unanimously convicted Farmer-Labor Mayor Thomas Latimer and his administration as exclusively responsible.

The public trial, widely reported in the local press, was held under the auspices of the Minneapolis Committee of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Francis Heisler, Chicago attorney who represented the N.P.L.D. in the Fargo "riot" cases early this year, and who will shortly take the Fargo appeal to the North Dakota Supreme Court, acted as prosecuting attorney at the mass trial.

Latimer having announced he would hold his own investigation of the murders committed by his police, the N.P.L.D. tried on Sunday to get in touch with him to discuss methods of establishing the truth of what caused the massacre. When Latimer evaded the N.P.L.D., a public statement was issued by the N.P.L.D. asking him to hear its witnesses and to permit its attorney to cross-examine witnesses assembled by the Mayor.

The N.P.L.D. also declared that, should the Mayor abandon the hearing or forbid the N.P.L.D.'s participation, the N.P.L.D. would hold a trial of its own.

While the white-wash hearing was going on in the Mayor's office, leaflets appeared, announcing the N.P.L.D. mass trial. Attorney Heisler visited pickets, by-standers and neighbors of the Flour City plant where the massacre occurred, and last night appeared before the workers to present the truth about Latimer's police.

Wednesday night climaxed the picketing demonstrations. By nine o'clock in the evening, over 5,000 workers and sympathizers had again gathered outside the plant. A double shift of police and half-a-dozen armored cars were on hand to greet the crowd. Within the plant were over a dozen imported Pinkerton thugs, armed to the teeth, protecting two scabs. It was this provocation, staged by Walter Tetzlaff, plant owner, which had aroused the ire of Minneapolis workers. At eleven o'clock sharp, things began to happen. There are many differences of opinion as to just how events developed. Some workers on the picket line claim that the first shots came from the Pinkerton gangsters within the plant. Others say the cops, after tear-gassing the crowd across the street from the plant and driving them back between the houses, whipped out revolvers and began to fire hysterically into the crowd. Other cops fired shotguns into the demonstration from the confines of the armored cars. Inspector Fritz Ohman, on the other hand, when questioned Friday by the grand jury, said, "It just started. No one knows just how."

One fact is indisputable. Aside from slight injuries sustained from thrown rocks, no cop was hurt. Two innocent bystanders were instantly killed from gunshot wounds in the chests. An eye-witness has described the death of 18-year old Eugene Casper, killed on his way home from a church gathering: "I saw a policeman shoot Casper as he was crossing the street in a little trot. Casper staggered when struck by the bullet. He walked on a few steps, tried to say something, and then slumped to the ground." Aside from the two killed, a dozen or more were injured by police gunfire. Dozens more were injured by the clubs and blackjacks of the cops. One woman was struck in the head.

(Continued on Page 4)

"Flying Squadrons" Tie Up WPA Projects in Allentown Strike

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 17.—With every one of the 1017 workers on strike, WPA projects have been closed tight in Allentown and surrounding communities in protest to 140 hour-\$55 per month wage scale being foisted on the unemployed of Pennsylvania. Hundreds of pickets organized into flying squadrons persuaded workers in Catasauqua, Northampton and Trechters to join the strike which is being conducted jointly by the Pennsylvania Unemployed League and the Keystone Workers Association.

The following demands have been formulated: 1) A minimum wage of \$1 per hour. 2) A minimum of 30 hours per week. 3) Recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. 4) Weekly pay. 5) Pay for rainy days. 6) Adequate compensation for injury. 8) No discrimination against strikers or members of unemployed organizations.

Militant Women Picket

The strike started on Sept. 11 when an attempt was made to open the first WPA project. Four hundred men threw down tools after working for two hours. Picket lines were immediately formed and kept on every job. Militant women were instrumental in preventing scabs from working, on one occasion

taking picks, shovels and wheelbarrows from the scabs and throwing them into the river.

Henry Mack, district WPA director, issued an ultimatum that all workers who did not report for work on Monday, Sept. 16, would be struck from the relief rolls. When Monday came, over a thousand pickets were at hand. Not a pick or shovel budged. Afraid to carry out their threat, relief officials ordered a two-day holiday with pay, offering the excuse that Tuesday was election day. They extended the deadline to Wednesday. But huge picketlines on that day again showed the solidarity of the workers and the projects remain 100 percent closed. So far, nobody has been cut off of relief.

Strikers' Spirit Strong

In spite of adverse propaganda in the capitalist press, the spirit of the strikers remains solid and the community sympathetic. A daily bulletin, Strike News, is issued by the strike committee to inform the public of the true state of affairs. Daily mass meetings open to the public are held.

At a conference on Sept. 15 attended by 25 delegates from as many labor organizations, including the Central Trades and Labor Council, the WPA strike was unanimously endorsed and a committee was appointed to work in conjunction with the project workers' strike committee in conducting the struggle. The conference called upon the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to support WPA strikes wherever they occur and offered to do anything in its power to aid in winning the local strike, even to the extent of calling a general walk-out of all union labor.

Organizations at Conference

Among the organizations represented at the conference were: The Central Trades and Labor Council, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Carpenters and Joiners, Brick Layers, American Federation of Teachers, Typographical Union, Electrical Workers Union, Stagehands, Keystone Workers, Citizens Welfare League and the Pennsylvania Unemployed League.

On Monday, Sept. 16, when Ray Bader, local labor faker, appealed to the strikers to go back to work pending arbitration of the demands before the WPA appeal board, he was given a loud and long Bronx cheer. At a mass meeting later in the day, the strikers passed a resolution condemning Bader's strike-breaking appeal and calling upon the Central Trades and Labor Council, of which he is secretary, to take appropriate action in the matter.

Capitulation Planned by Stalinists to Right Wing Of Teachers

Reports reaching us from reliable sources state that the trade union opposition groups under the influence of the Stalinists in Local 60 and 22 in the I.L.G.U. and in the Teachers Union have announced their willingness to dissolve and even give up their opposition to the administrations in these unions. This policy shows that the local Stalinists have not been slow in carrying out the new class collaborationist policies adopted by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International and already carried into practice in France in the unity agreement between the two central trade union bodies: the General Confederation of Labor and the Red Unions, which provides among other things for the dissolution of trade union factions. In practice this means the capitulation to the policies of the reformist bureaucracy. This new policy is also in line with the policy of the Stalinists to make blocs and election agreements with shady careeristic cliques and reactionary elements, the most glaring examples of which were those made in the recent elections in Local 22 and attempted in the Furriers Council.

Plan Expulsion of the French Bolshevik-Leninists as War Nears

By H. F. ROBERTS

The bureaucracy of the French Socialist Party has openly announced its intention to smash, if it can, the revolutionary left wing represented by the Bolshevik-Leninist group. In the face of the imminent threat of war the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies with one voice call for "pressure on the League of Nations" and the extermination of the revolutionary left wing of the French labor movement. Shouting loudly to drown out the rumble of tomorrow's war and of tomorrow's betrayal, the bureaucrats hope to silence the one voice in France which is calling for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses for the seizure of power, for the proletariat's only answer to the threat of imperialist war—the overthrow of the war-mongers and imperialist freebooters.

A set of special decisions adopted by the Permanent Administrative Committee of the S.F.I.O. (French Socialist Party) on August 28 (Populaire, August 30) call for the excommunication of La Verite, organ of the French Bolshevik-Leninists, which is "no longer to be regarded as an organ of the Socialist Party." Populaire is expressly forbidden to mention or cite from the columns of La Verite, or to publish any announcements of meetings of any groups in any way connected with La Verite. Party members who help distribute this journal are to be informed that they are carrying out work "prejudicial to the interests of the whole party and of the International to which they belong." Finally—and here is the threat itself—the committee decided to "request that the very next National Council of the Party take any measures, however grave they may be, against the comrades responsible for the editing of La Verite, as are required by the interests and unity of the Party."

The "Crime" of La Verite

What, according to the French Socialist bureaucrats, has been the crime of La Verite? That representative little sheet, it seems, has been guilty of "outrageous attacks" on good, sterling revolutionaries,

the coming Italo-Ethiopian war. What this program and protest amount to, we already know. Aristide Briand himself was never more eloquent than the Socialist and Stalinist leaders of today who offer the workers of the world no other way out of the war danger but reliance upon the League of Nations, the league of what Lenin called "imperialist brigands." In France last month the Young Communist League, self-styled "vanguard of the proletarian youth," offered to hurl itself into the struggle against war by inviting the Socialist Youth to join it in a delegation to Geneva to "exert pressure" upon the League of Nations!

Spectre of New Party

What, then, is going to happen? This annoying left wing, these bothersome Trotskyists with that scurrilous journal, La Verite, insist upon exposing these policies as policies of betrayal. They insist upon exposing the bankruptcy of the two old internationalisms and call for a new, Fourth International. Their voice is beginning to be heard by broadening sections of the French proletariat. What is it that the bureaucrats fear? They fear the spectre of a new revolutionary party in France which will cut loose once and for all from the bankruptcies of reformism and Stalinism. They are afraid that this new party will win to its banners a section of the French proletariat large enough to put a spoke in the plan for social patrie betrayal!

Ample evidence of this perspective is already at hand in the situation which exists today in the French Socialist Youth. Readers of the NEW MILITANT know that in August the first barrage of the anti-Bolshevik-Leninist offensive was laid down with the expulsion of

thirteen leaders of the revolutionary Socialist Youth of the Seine Federation. The majority of these were Bolshevik-Leninists. Since the expulsions, which took place early in August, the Socialist Youth organization throughout France has been thrown into turmoil. The new and "safe" committee installed in the Seine Federation by the bureaucrats has been unable to establish its leadership. Instead 65 sections of the Seine Federation and 30 out of the 44 sections in Seine-et-Oise have solidarized with the expelled leaders. On this support the Bolshevik-Leninists and their allies led by Fred Zeller knew they could count. But all during the month of August the fight was carried out to the provinces with results to date which already prove to the hilt that a large section of the revolutionary youth of France is ready to assume its full responsibilities in the struggle against war, against Fascism—in the struggle for power. Letters of solidarity have poured in from the Federations of the Rhone, Pyrenees Orientales, Haute-Savoie, Var, Alpes Maritimes, Angers, Puy-de-Dome, from Morocco and Algeria, from the Maritime Alps, Morbihan, the North, Bouches-du-Rhone, Indre-et-Loire and others.

Youth Support Left

The last issue at hand of Revolution, organ of the left-wing youth, reports that "half of the Federation of Loiret is in agreement with the revolutionary left." A letter from the Orleans leadership says: "We urgently await your directives." In the Federation of Gard one section, that of Ales, writes that the little group of eight adherents of the left of a year ago has now grown to ninety and that they are all awaiting orders. From the group in Nimes comes word: "The hour has come to show the struggling

proletariat the road to victory. . . . Forward to the battles of the future!" A youth comrade writes from Tarn: "Words fail me, but I bid you keep courage. Do not forget you have comrades behind you!" The secretary from Lot: "I can assure you that the Federation of Lot is entirely in solidarity with you." From Grenoble in the Federation of L'Isere: "The Socialist Youth of Grenoble declare themselves prepared if necessary to follow their comrades of the Seine along the path of revolutionary action against the capitalists." From the Federation of Finistere: "We have decided to govern our future conduct by the instructions of the comrades of the Paris region." Scores of such letters, official communications from whole sections of the youth, overflow the columns of Revolution. Step by step but surely the revolutionary youth are drawing the necessary conclusions from the reformist-Stalinist betrayal.

Voice after voice joins those of the Bolshevik-Leninists and their allies. In Paris, the unemployed organization of St. Denis, counting in its ranks 8,000 workers, has announced solidarity with the revolutionary left wing. The Communist Youth of St. Denis, expelled from the Stalinist Party, announced on August 10, its readiness to work with the expelled youth leaders for "the regrouping of truly revolutionary forces."

Convulsions in S. P.

It is this ferment which is driving the bureaucracies of both parties to hasten their unholy union and to sharpen, if they can, their blows to the left. The attempt to amputate the living, vital left wing of the French Socialist Party will not take place without terrific convulsions within the whole party.

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dere emily

mple, winsday

dere emily, well kid, things is shure hot n heavy here, what with all the strikin goin on between the workers an the bosses. for the past 2 nites there has bin hevry picketin goin on at waiter tetzla's bordin house, the Flour City Iron cunpny, ya no, he brot in a lotta gangstirs with machine guns an bombs an summa the scabs is livin in the plant with the gangstirs. las nite about 5,000 pickets an frens gathered at the plant, marchin aroun an yellin at the finks. there wuz a lotta yung kids with slingshots, an they had more fun peggin away at the rats in the plant. finally mayor latimer's cops cum up with there armored cars an gas guns an giv it to the crowd, an a big fite broke out.

the bosses an the mayor an summa the fakirs like honest john cunningham has aggrived out a industrial piece polly, which is just like the ol commitee a 100, only with a clean shirt on—an will probly get about as far. honest, r farmer-labor mayor can pucker up his face an talk about Law an Order just like ol bainbridge used to. what the bosses mean by Law an Order is that they got the worker down an is sittin on his bed. an evry time he wriggles, why thats disturbin the Law and Order.

ya no, emily, the difference between us an the guys that vote farmer-laborite is that we got sum-merys an they havent. like sum 1 sed, the memory a the working class is in its Party. but the workers aint mind readers an so the way we refresh there memories all the time is to get em readin r paper, the NEW MILITANT. an by the way, i got 2 more subs last week, what did you do? ya better get goin, baby, or yure goin to owe me that meal.

we had a swell tag day the other sunday up in north mpls for the NEW MILITANT—8 of us collected \$12.40 in a couple hours, almost evry house wud giv us a nikkel or a dime. one house we cum to, there wuz Spaniards livin there, an i sed Buenas Dias like ol gonzales used to say bak in turtle creek, remember. the Spaniards sed Buenas Dias, an i cudnt think of what to say next, so i just shoved the coleskun can an a Workers Party tag at them. oh, sez one of the yung Spanish fellas, its to fite fascism, eh. sure, mister, i'll kick in. ya cudda knocked me over with a crow bar, emily, here i wuzt expekting they knew what i wuz all about. the guy gave us 2 bits, to. next sunday about 20 of us is goin out agin, an we shud raze about 25 smackers. yure oughta pass the word aroun, emily, this is 1 good way to raze money for the paper. with things gettin so hot all around the whole U. S. baby, we gotta have a daily paper, an thats all there is to it. the 8-pager will be a long step in that direksun. if a comrade is serious about his or her work, why theyll go thru alot to get that paper.

we was sittin aroun the head-1/4s after the meetin the other nite talkin, an jack pulled a good one. he sez, i dont mind a scab who goes aroun lookin ashamed an sinlins in the back door of a plant. but when i sees a scab with a smile on his map walk rite in towards the front door, why then i see red, an i juss have to give em the works. i gess thats about the way mosta the workers feel, eh, emily, which is why the bosses an the cops is havin so much trouble here in mpls an all over the country. an once all the workers gets to feelin this way an actin this way, why we'll all get sunwuhers. the 1 step is to get em to read r press, an thats why i feel so keenly about the campaign for the 8-pager.

yure ma sent me down a brace a ducks las week, kid, an they sure tasted good. a course they were outa season. but then the farmers up aroun turtle creek never were great ones for believin in law or the seasons. when theyre hungry, they go out an get it, which seems rite sensibol to me.

i appreciated that LA VERITE ya sent me. unfortunately, i cant read french without my glasses. an i never had no glasses, emily, so ya mite as well save em. or teach me french when ya get home. tho its bin sum job to master the english language. i'll sure be happy to see ya soon.

mike.

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The Party at Work

BOSTON

A successful lecture with comrade James P. Cannon was held Friday evening, Sept. 13, at 6 Byron St., Boston. The subject, "The 7th Congress of the Third International," was a very attractive subject and it brought the most class conscious workers to the meeting. The lecture started at 8:30 and, with a free discussion and question period, went on for three and a half hours. The appeal which comrade Larry made to help us finance our revolutionary work brought the response of \$38.00. That shows that the workers in Boston are very sympathetic and respond to our work.

The plans of the Educational Committee include a few classes a week and lectures, so our headquarters are not large enough for the work which we will carry through next winter. A committee was elected to look for new headquarters.

This week a meeting of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee was held which worked out plans for future work. A united front open air meeting will be held at the Boston Common Sept. 29, where many organizations will be invited to participate. It was also decided to have a conference and to invite all political organizations, unions, and fraternal organizations. The date will be announced.

Our Spartacus Youth League is growing rapidly. Many members came in this week and, with the

plans they are going to carry through this winter, a strong organization will be built up in Boston.

MINNEAPOLIS

The Minneapolis branch has instituted a series of Tag Days. Every other Sunday morning from five to ten couples cover the North Side selling "Fight Fascism" tags. On Sept. 1, over twelve dollars was raised. Another Tag Day is scheduled for Sunday, Sept. 15. All comrades are to meet at the Labor Lyceum at 9:30 A.M.

Delegates from a number of other working class organizations are co-operating in the building of a local committee of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Two committee meetings have already been held, and a larger delegat conference is planned for the near future, where the Labor Defense work in this section will finally get under way on a strictly non-partisan basis.

A dance-and-card party is planned for October 5, to be given in the branch headquarters at 631 3rd Avenue S. A new entertainment committee of seven members has just been elected, and has already held its first meeting. The committee and the entire branch is working hard and swinging enthusiastically into the autumn season.

Over twenty dollars worth of Workers Party literature was sold by the Minneapolis branch during the month of August.

Budenz and The Stalinists

The revolutionist in the modern world has no trustworthy guide except the principles and method of Marx and Lenin—to be used, of course, not as a dogma but a tool and a weapon. Those who go off the Marxian road even at what appears to be a small angle find themselves in the end in a swamp, far indeed from their starting-point and from the goal toward which they thought they were heading.

Making these observations at this particular time is prompted by the recent course of Louis F. Budenz whose resignation from the Workers Party the NEW MILITANT announced some months ago.

Last year Budenz was among the first in the American Workers Party to cry out against the subordination of the C. I. to the Soviet foreign office. "The first thing we know," Budenz shouted in anger and disgust, "the C. P. will be calling on us to fight in the U. S. army in the next war on the plea that there is an alliance between Roosevelt and Stalin!"

But Budenz had no time for the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. All that, he said, was logic-chopping, "theology," etc. Furthermore, Budenz wanted an "American" revolutionary party, by which he meant not only a party which would apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the realities of the American scene (a sound requirement) but that, for example, we must build a party here first and only after that concern ourselves about international problems and organization!

In March he blossomed out in the Modern Monthly with an article setting forth in a solemn and somewhat pontifical manner the fantastically absurd idea of achieving the abolition of capitalism in the U. S. by an amendment to the Constitution! Today he talks like an under-cover recruiting agent for the Stalinist party. In the present period, when it has capitulated to social-democracy and social-patriotism, the C. P. will of course have no qualms about welcoming an advocate of "revolution by constitutional amendment." Budenz on his part is drawn to an organization which has become so "realistic," which shouts even more eloquently and uncritically than he was wont to do about "American revolutionary traditions"—though Stalin now openly approves the "defense" plans of French imperialism, though the C. I. openly propagates the concepts of "good" and "bad" capitalist powers and of defending "bourgeois democracy," though the secretary of the Young Communists brazenly tells the Young Socialists of France that they will be "traitors" to the working class if they seek to overthrow the French state in a war in which France and the Soviet Union are allies! Clean forgotten by Budenz, it would seem, his fulminations against these things when the tendency was by no means so completely carried out and so openly registered as by the recent Comintern Congress.

The next step presumably is for Budenz to step forward as an official of some "non-partisan" C. P. innocent outfit.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Vigilantism Shows Growing Peril To West Coast Labor

SAN FRANCISCO.—Vigilantism, which started its activity as a movement against the red, alien agitators, has, as predicted by the Workers Party, developed until now it is being used as a method to deal with men whose only crime is that as A. F. of L. organizers they incur the displeasure of the lumber barons of Oregon.

This is the report from the capitalist press of September 9.

Challenge Lovestone Group to Debate

The Lovestone group, which continues to talk about the "reform" of the Comintern after its social-patriotic betrayal, has been challenged to debate in the following letter. The NEW MILITANT will print the reply to this challenge as soon as it is received.

September 18, 1934.
Communist Party (Opposition)
51 West 14th Street
New York City
Comrades,

In view of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the decisions of your recent national conference, the Workers Party proposes that representatives of our respective organizations debate the question: the Fourth International or the reform of the Comintern?

You no doubt recall that the debate on the same subject a year and a half ago between Jay Lovestone and James P. Cannon aroused great interest. Comrade Cannon has signified his readiness to defend the Fourth International in a second debate in the light of the new developments.

We urge that you consider the matter and reply at an early date. A joint committee can make all the necessary detail arrangements.

Fraternally,
JOSEPH CARTER,
Educational Dir.

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(Revolutionary Defeatism vs. Social Patriotism)
Oct. 6—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM
(Historical Lessons for America)
Oct. 13—THE ROAD TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
(Forces and Prospects for a New World Party Under the Banner of Marx and Lenin)

Speaker:

James P. Cannon

Editor of New Militant

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

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Auspices: Workers Party, New York District.

DETROIT NOTES

By BURKE COCHRAN

DETROIT, Mich., Sept. 15.—On the heels of the betrayal of the automobile workers by the top-officialdom of the American Federation of Labor in setting up the International union in the automobile industry, the Mechanics Educational Society of America has inaugurated an organization campaign to stage a comeback in the Detroit area, today, at its first mass meeting, held at Carpathia Hall. Mathew Smith, national secretary of the society, reported on the plans for the campaign and the enthusiasm which the Detroit locals have shown in the organization drive. The recent action of Green in handpicking the executive committee of the new automobile International has made joint action and cooperation between the A. F. of L. and the M.E.S.A. much more difficult and has convinced anew the members of this society that they must remain as an independent union, at the present time.

The automobile unions in Detroit are still in a very precarious state and the recent action of the A. F. of L. at its automobile convention has helped sow more confusion in the trade unions and has added indecision and hesitation to the whole movement.

The various federal locals of the A. F. of L. in Detroit continue stagnating; Dillon is threatening that "a campaign to unionize 141 U. S. auto plants will be in full swing by Oct. 1"; but Dillon has been threatening the automobile workers with an organization drive for the last year.

A new savior of the automobile workers has entered into the Detroit ring; none other than the justice-loving radio priest—Father Coughlin. This unscrupulous demagogue is already beginning an attack against the A. F. of L. International union on the grounds that the officials were appointed and were not democratically elected by the membership. Without question this attack will meet with a sympathetic reception on the part of many automobile workers.

At the Dodge-Chrysler plant, the local union, which arose out of the collective bargaining board of the Automobile Labor Board, has after a long evolution become a bona-fide independent union with considerable influence at the Dodge plant. Recently it has decided to start an organization drive for all Dodge workers and, at the suggestion of some member, Father Coughlin was invited as the first guest speaker. The Father has remained to help the union officials "direct" the campaign; he is attempting to use his position at the Dodge local to organize new "Coughlin" unions, based upon peace and justice and to take the whole thing in tow to his "League for Social Justice." As a result, the union is now engaged in a death struggle between two factions—"Pro-Coughlin" and "Anti-Coughlin."

Those workers who favor allowing Coughlin to remain only have in mind, of course, the building up of their union; but they must realize that Coughlin can only wreck their union and make it an adjunct to his reactionary "League for Social Justice." Father Coughlin demagogically attacks the A. F. of L. leadership for a lack of democracy, but as was suggested at a recent meeting of the Dodge local, no one has ever heard of any elections ever taking place in the "League for Social Justice." These attacks have all the earmarks of a home-grown variety of propaganda used by Hitler or Mussolini in their own respective countries prior to their seizure of power; after they seized power, they smashed the trade union movement by open and undisguised terror. Coughlin is interested in exploiting the dissatisfaction of the workers with their own treacherous trade union officials only for his own reactionary ends; the automobile workers, in order to grow and build fighting unions must steer clear of Coughlin!

Manager's Corner

Our contributions this week toward the eight page weekly did not reach even last week's low point. However, many party branches have made a prompt response to a call for finances to take care of other needs of the party press. This helps to secure its economic foundation and makes the coming enlargement of the present weekly more feasible. But even this support leaves the campaign for the total sum necessary to launch the eight-page weekly still far short.

We have to date collected less than one third of this sum, and, while we look out first of all for a secure economic foundation before the expansion actually takes place, we cannot afford to delay. The season more favorable for activities of this sort is here now. It should be taken advantage of. We would urge in particular that our supporters now concentrate on activities to obtain more subscriptions. Let us remind you again of the prizes for the best sub-getters. The prizes offered are, for a total of 10 yearly subs (\$2.00 each) or 20 six months subs (\$1.00 each), turned in by one individual: "History of the Russian Revolution," by Leon Trotsky. For a total of 5 yearly or 10 six months subscriptions, a bound copy of the "Correspondence of Marx and Engels."

These prizes apply only for new subscriptions. During the week we have received the following amounts:

Contributions
Berkeley branch \$ 5.50
Boston branch 8.75
Los Angeles branch 1.50
West Side branch, N.Y.C. 3.00

R. Gardner, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C. 2.50
East Side branch, N.Y.C. 1.00
Total \$24.25
Advance Subscriptions
Schlossberg, Boston 2.00
H. Lewis, New Castle 1.00
Club Card Subs
Center branch, N.Y.C. 3.00
Previously reported \$31.31
Grand Total \$66.56

From the point of view of total contributions the Boston branch is now back in the lead, having again outstripped the Harlem branch. The Boston branch has made a total contribution to date of \$70.25. Next comes the Harlem branch with a total contribution of \$68.40. The West Side branch, N.Y.C. follows with a total of \$56.40; Center branch, N.Y.C. \$49.40; Kensington branch, Philadelphia, \$37.78; Minneapolis branch, \$33.50; Los Angeles branch, \$31.50; Chicago branches (three branches) \$30.25; Flatbush branch, N. Y. C., \$28.50; Bronx branch, N.Y.C., \$22.50; Newark branch, \$21.50; New Haven branch and Boro Park branch, N. Y. C., \$17.50 each; East Side branch, N.Y.C., \$12.75; Astoria branch, N.Y.C., \$11.50; Brownsville branch, N.Y.C., \$10.55; Youngstown branch \$9.00; Detroit branch \$8.00; branches of Cleveland, Kansas City and Gulfport, Miss., each \$8.00; Berkeley branch \$5.50; Pittsburgh branch and St. Louis branch \$4.00 each; Davenport branch \$3.50; Utica, N. Y. branch \$1.50; and Charleston, W. Va. and Cleveland branch \$1.00 each.

Toledo Militants Lead Winning Strike of 400 at Defiance, Ohio

DEFIANCE, Ohio. — Production at the Defiance Pressed Steel Co., largest employer of labor at Defiance—was at a complete standstill for two days, as over 400 workers walked out on strike, at the call of the Defiance Local No. 1p of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, after the company had flatly turned down the contract proposed by the union, establishment of the 40-hour week, time and a half for overtime, no discrimination against union members, seniority, 50c base rate and a signed contract. For two days a mass picket line of 350-400 men and women employees of the Pressed Steel Co. kept the plant shut tight as a drum. Late Thursday afternoon, the management gave in to most of the union demands and the workers accepted the agreement, by a vote of an overwhelming majority.

At first glance, there is nothing extraordinary about this comparatively small strike. The Defiance Pressed Steel Co. is one of the many independent companies around the Toledo area engaged in the manufacture of automobile parts. Competition in the field is very keen, and the management obviously could not afford to hold out for very long, if the union ranks remained solid. The strike took place in a small town and involved only some 400 workers; nothing different in this strike than any one of the thousand petty disputes between labor and capital that occur every year throughout the country. And yet a study of this small strike contains a clue to a great deal in the development of unionism in this country, since the NRA.

First, there has been no strike in Defiance within the memory of anybody living in the town. There is absolutely no labor tradition of any kind; a few of the more skilled workers had worked in railroad machine shops and have had previous contact with unionism but were lost among the overwhelming majority of the men and women who had come off the farm only several years ago, and whose ties with the rural sections were not yet entirely severed.

National Guardsmen in Strike
Defiance is not only a typically peaceful Ohio town removed from the battle and strife of the larger cities, but has in addition the reputation of being a particularly reactionary city. It boasts a large vigilante committee and one of the largest national guard contingents in the Toledo area. At least eight percent of the Pressed Steel strikers belong to the National Guard and were present in uniform at the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo, gassing and attacking the strikers of the Auto-Lite plant.

But there is something relentless in the workings of the capitalist system with its large, disciplined armies of factory workers. The very people who but yesterday were used by the industrialists of Ohio to smash any attempt at organization on the part of the automobile workers are today themselves employed in the same factories and are driven inexorably onto the path of unionism and strike against their employers. And the very people whom they gassed and attacked come down to Defiance to lend them a helping hand in the battle against their common enemy! Many of the boys, no older than 17-18 years,

have had their fingers cut off because the company finds it cheaper to operate without any safety devices on its machinery. The wages paid are in many cases almost half of what a worker would receive in Toledo for the same work. The naive and ignorant farm boys of 1933 have had a taste of what a factory workers' life means, and have become the strikers of 1935!

Naturally, with the inexperience of all of the strikers and their lack of understanding of what a strike implies, the first day of the strike was like a nightmare. The picket lines looked like a Sunday picnic; nobody had the courage to boo the scabs as they walked out of the plant; the management was trying to divide the strike committee and thus break the strike.

That night about a dozen M.E.S.A. men came from Toledo to attend the mass meeting at Woodmen's Hall and help organize the strike. Burke Cochran of M.E.S.A. local No. 4 of Toledo remained at the request of the strike committee to organize the picket line and put some spirit into the strike. Next day, with Earl Streeter, secretary of M.E.S.A. local No. 4 acting as spokesman for the strike committee, and Burke Cochran in charge of the now spirited and well-organized picket line, the strike really began looking more like a strike. The local newspapers began running large scare headlines (Defiance has never seen a strike before) and the strikers began commanding the sympathy and moral support of all the farmers and small business men around Defiance! No more than 6 or 6 scabs entered the plant during the whole day, and as previously stated the management met with the strike committee and at about two o'clock in the afternoon agreed to most of the strikers' demands.

The Defiance strikers did not possess any superior intelligence or greater class consciousness than the ordinary mine-run of men in any other Ohio city of 10,000. On the contrary, there probably was not an illusion that these men were not burdened with at the beginning of the strike. They were afraid that the company would move out of town; they thought the mayor was on their side and fighting for them; they thought that Col. Light, head of the National Guard of Ohio, who had been sent in by Gov. Davey, was "impartial"; they thought the deputy sheriffs were "neutral." But it was surprising how their class instinct saved them in almost every situation, that arose, and how the spirit of "fight" and solidarity communicated itself to everyone of those 400 workers on the first picket line they had ever walked!

In Ohio today you probably cannot travel 100 miles in any direction but come up with some plant employing over 150 workers. In every rural community the farmers' sons or daughters are employed in the neighboring steel plant or auto-parts plants, etc. It is becoming more and more difficult for the capitalists to artificially divide the rural communities from the cities, because the factory system has bound them together. When faithful national guardsmen are beginning to strike and walk picket lines the capitalist class has good reason to tremble for its property and monopoly of wealth.

LEFT JABS

MARCH TO VICTORY . . .

From the Daily Worker of Sept. 17 we clip the following:

"The March of Victory"
(To the tune of "O Susanna")
Words by JAMES CASEY

If you want more jobs
If you want more pay
And want to have your say
Then line-up for Carl Brodsky
And for C. A. Hathaway.

CHORUS

Unit! Fellow-voters!
You can make things turn your way;
Vote the C. P. with Carl Brodsky
And with C. A. Hathaway!

For an end to all high prices
For the sales tax, not a cent;
For relief we want more money
For us all, a cut in rent.

Not since Simon Squibbs ran for dog-catcher in Tonawanda have we seen such a popular program as the one embodied in this song. With songs like that and a platform and candidates that smell equally as good we really believe the C. P. has the edge on Tammany Hall in the 8th Assembly District. A tip for Casey: an excellent quartette to sing that song—Phil Frankfeld, Bill Dunne, Jack Stachel, and George Mink, with Amter at the piano.

"OH SUSANNA"

If all articles written in the Daily Worker on the united front, the Labor Party, trade unions, fascism and democracy were placed together, they could be sung to the tune of "Oh Susanna" and would fit in well with "It rained all day the night I left, the weather was so dry; the sun so hot I froze myself, Susanna, don't you cry." . . . "Mighty Casey" could arrange it, in between managing the Daily Worker and conducting Hathaway's "Share-the-wealth" campaign.

PROOF OF CHRISTIANITY . . .

Al Smith, the great American statesman, in a recent speech, stated "The United States is a Christian country. We are the only country that puts on its cash money: 'In God we Trust'." . . . And he might have added, the only country where you will find tens of thousands of signs saying "In God we trust, all others pay cash."

CROOKED GOVERNMENT . . .

In the same speech, Al took a crack at Mexico for its attacks on the Catholic clergy. "What about Mexico? A Congressman recently told me that of 28 state governments there, 26 are crooked." Well, Al, even that is a better average than we can find in the U.S.A.; but, of course, a Tammany brave like Al, a friend of the devout and honest John Curry—God rest his soul—can speak with authority on crooked government.

SHADOWS OVER LOVESTONE . . .

The Lovestone Group is in an embarrassing position. Its business during its five years of existence has been defending the theories of Stalinism, criticizing the "ultra-left" errors of the individual sections of the C. I. outside the U.S. S.R., and denouncing Trotskyism. At last, after years of patient service, the reward seems to be just around the corner. "Real progress" was noted in the C. P. It was "coming to our position." Letters were exchanged. "Happy days are here again!" became the theme song of the Communist Party Majority Opposition Group. But alas and alack, without consulting either Lovestone or Brandler, the C. I., with Stalin not only at the head, but leading all others by several lengths, caught up with and surpassed Lovestone; and with a dazzling speed that left the reformers dizzy with success, went over to a social-chauvinist position. Enough is enough, and 200 percent success is too much. Lovestone did some fancy squirming. First, the French and American sections were blamed for "confusing the matter"; but at last the horrible truth must come out; and with bitter blasts at Trotskyism, Lovestone was forced to announce "Shadows of 1914 over C.I." Even Wolfe, whose anxiety to do all others, acknowledged that "degeneration threatens the C.I." Some in Lovestone's ranks are still ready to shoulder a rifle for Uncle Sam if Stalin says so, but others place "world revolution as the only real defense of the U.S.S.R." Between these two, the revolutionary and the chauvinist position, Lovestone and Wolfe teeter back and forth with eyes longingly cast on the fleshpots of Stalinism. The "mass workers" haven't said much as yet; but if they could be induced to swallow their disgust with the antics of the Stalinists in the needle trades, chauvinism would just make a good chaser.

Brownsville Mass Meeting
"56th CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L."
A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary, W. P.
FRIDAY, SEPT. 27th, 8 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

DESTRUCTION THREATENS ROBBER LEAGUE

The League of Nations was organized by the victorious Allies after the first World War to safeguard their plunder against the attacks of the defeated powers. Its function as the "organizer of peace" was to maintain the status quo, to guarantee to the imperialists their colonial possessions and the right to exploit the colonial peoples. The attempt by Mussolini to seize Ethiopia is a threat to the very existence of the robbers' League precisely because it ends the truce, threatens the status quo, and reopens all the antagonistic issues temporarily "settled" by the first World War. Rearmament and realignments of the advanced capitalist nations are the preparations for the assault by each against all for a new division of the earth. One after the other, each great power that is forced by its internal economic crisis to seek desperately for a solution by outward expansion, quits the League in order to be free to act without hindrance. First it was Japan in order to plunder China, then Germany to rear for expansion to the East, and now Italy for the swallowing of Ethiopia. Not even the bourgeois press tries to foster any illusion that France or Great Britain is in the least concerned about the fate of the Ethiopian people. Each of these powers, with a tremendous colonial empire, is acutely aware that the "deprived" states aim to capture part of the plunder it took earlier. It is the fear of the deep repercussions of Mussolini's adventure that causes England and France to threaten Italy with sanctions to force a compromise without war. But the very threat is driving Italy out of the League.

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH LABOR

The Ethiopian crisis is a class issue of fundamental significance. It becomes the test of the working class movement in all countries. For in face of the threat of the second World War, the working class must once more take a stand on the question of defense of the national capitalist state in an imperialist war. The answer of the British Labor Party and of the official labor movement is a shameful betrayal of the proletariat. The demand of the official labor leaders for the support of the League of Nations in the applications of sanctions, means not the support of the Ethiopian people against Italian aggression, but the support of Eng-

lish imperialism against Italian. To suppose that the League of Nations could act in the interest of the exploited peoples, is to place confidence in the English capitalists. Where is there any demand that the English ruling class give up British Somaliland, or India or Egypt? How is it that no voice is raised by the "official" movement against the small war just started in India, against the mere punitive expedition into the territory of the Mohmands in the Northern native states? It is by such fakes as the support of "sanctions" that the leaders of British labor tie the workers to the bourgeoisie, enlist them for national defense and for the support of English imperialism. True there is a small minority of "left socialists" like Cripps who warn the workers against putting their heads in a noose by supporting sanctions and who point to British imperialism. But these elements organize no real mass movement against British imperialism and its role in the next World War. The Bolshevik-Leninists of England, who understand the need for rallying the masses against the enemy at home, who set forth clearly the steps necessary to convert imperialist war into civil war, are too meager a force as yet to exert much influence. They have before them the tremendous task of building the revolutionary party.

EFFECT ON BRITISH GENERAL ELECTIONS

The betrayal of the working class by the Labor Party in its class collaborationist attitude on the war danger plays directly into the hands of the ruling class in the coming general elections. By covering the national capitalists with the cloak of national defense and the supposed desire for peace, the Labor Party leads the workers to believe that in the national emergency the bourgeoisie may be trusted with the power. If it is all right to conduct a war, if necessary, the masses will prefer to leave things in the hands of those who are more experienced in such matters. By showing this readiness for civil peace in case of war the Labor Party aids the bourgeois campaign of patriotism. It furthers, whether it likes it or not, the armament propaganda, for sanctions mean the need for force to back them up and force might just as well be as effective as possible. Thus the Labor Party is helping to defeat itself in the coming elections. The masses will prefer to give support to the masters directly rather than to their lackeys in the labor movement.

Plan Expulsion of French Bolshevik - Leninists

(Continued from Page 1)
Out of these and out of the ferment now shaking the ranks of the youth, a unified process which will sift the revolutionary gold from the reactionary and reformist dross will begin to clarify itself.

The initial reaction among the leftward moving masses in both the youth and adult parties to the attempts of the bureaucracy to amputate the left-wing takes the form of a stiffening resistance to this amputation. It is expressed in the Youth now, for example, in a widespread

sentiment against the expulsions of the revolutionary youth leaders and the demand for their reintegration into the party. Far from heeding this demand, the bureaucracy now moves forward to its next step, the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists from the adult party.

From this, coming at so critical a moment, increasing sections of the workers, both in and outside the parties, will in the heat of events swiftly draw the necessary conclusions. The voice of revolutionary internationalism, calling today for the Fourth International, will redouble in strength. As the war crisis hits France and all Europe in full force, it will bring forth a resounding echo from the very depths of a proletariat unwilling to let itself be strangled or shattered to pieces against the guns of an imperialist enemy of its own bourgeoisie. Blum, Cachin and Co., with all their conspiracies, will only uncover themselves before the French workers as the traitors they have become. The struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists of France for a revolutionary solution to the problems of the day will be carried a mighty step forward.

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Vol. 1 SEPTEMBER 21, 1935 No. 39

Anti-Union Conspiracy Revealed in Chamber of Commerce Letter

NEW YORK.—The operations of a secret and heavily financed apparatus set up by bankers and businessmen to control the California State Legislature and courts, and large-scale preparations by the California Chamber of Commerce to launch an anti-union drive, are revealed by a confidential letter of the Chamber, made public today here by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, 41 Union Square.

The letter, dated August 7, on the official stationery of the powerful Stockton, California, Savings and Loan Bank, and signed by fourteen leading industrialists, financiers and ranchers of the Golden State, after taking credit for the defeat of "many radical and unsound tax measures," goes on to boast that the Chamber, by securing the enactment of legislation enlarging the powers of the Attorney General, "proved perhaps the most important factor in winning the recent trial" of eight Sacramento unionists.

This boast refers to the conviction of Norman Mini, 26-year old ex-West Pointer and Workers Party member now in San Quentin Prison, and seven other union organizers, sentenced to 14-year terms under the notorious criminal syndicalism act and to the recent statute, admittedly passed by the pressure of the Chamber of Commerce, which enabled the Attorney General to remove, as prosecutor District Attorney Babcock and substitute Neil R. McAlister, who had just failed of re-election but who was in the pay of banking interests in the Sacramento valley.

The signers of the Chamber letter characterize the low-paid agricultural workers who organized unions as "agitators who are fomenting strikes and trouble," declare "the

STOCKTON SAVINGS AND LOAN BANK
Savings Department
August 7, 1935

Dear Sir:

At the last Legislature our California State Chamber of Commerce was able, by vigorous opposition, to defeat many radical and unsound tax measures. It also secured legislation that will prove beneficial to all California business. It is continuing its efforts for economy in county budgets and for the elimination of many duplicate services in state and local governments.

The State Chamber is now active through its Councils in all sections of California in vigorously combating all subversive influences that threaten to overthrow our government. It feels the growing menace of radicalism must be stamped out.

We find that as soon as one community has dealt properly with these agitators who are fomenting strife and trouble, they move into other communities where there has been no training in organization to effect them.

It appears that the only effective means to combat the situation is state-wide leadership for training community leaders in this work. The problem is costing us all money and is undermining the very foundations of our business and social structure.

At the recent election the State Chamber secured the enactment of four measures calling for better administration of justice. One of these measures, Constitutional Amendment No. 4, giving to the Attorney General the power to uniformly and adequately enforce laws in the various counties of the State, proved perhaps the most important factor in winning the recent trial of communists in Sacramento.

These matters are so important to business in California we feel we must call them to your attention, feeling that you will want to do your share to support the Chamber in the fight it is making.

It is vitally important that the Central Valley district subscribe its pro rata of the funds necessary to carry on this fight and we would greatly appreciate

problem is costing us all money," and "must be stamped out." They propose, therefore, that "the only effective means to combat the situation is state-wide leadership for training community leaders in this work," and then refer to the Sacramento convictions as an example of the kind of work the Chamber wishes

to push throughout California. The letter concludes with an appeal to the rich Central Valley district to "subscribe its pro rata of the funds necessary to carry on this fight," since "the need for immediate, organized, united effort on our part is obvious."

The letter thus substantiates the

charges made in the National Sacramento Appeal Committee's pamphlet "Union Smashing in Sacramento," by Herbert Solow, that the Sacramento convictions were part of a state-wide conspiracy of anti-union employers to use the criminal syndicalism statute to destroy the trade unions.

In a letter just sent to the N. S. A. C. by Raymond W. Henderson, Bakersfield Socialist and noted labor attorney, he reports that the transcript of the trial record will not be delivered by the court until Sept. 28. As soon as it is delivered Henderson will begin work on the Mini brief.

PROGRESSIVE ISSUES CONFRONT THE A.F.L.

By ARNE SWABECK

Bill Green and the whole A. F. of L. leadership was challenged at the rubber workers' convention. It suffered another heavy blow, directed simultaneously at its methods of bureaucratic domination and its reactionary "red baiting" campaign.

Coming, as it did, right upon the heels of the defeat administered to this leadership by the teachers' convention, the rebuke by the automobile workers' convention and the manifestations of certain progressive elements elsewhere, the issues involved are sure to loom large as a prelude to the fifty-fifth annual A. F. of L. convention.

The new-born rubber workers' international union refused, by a vote of 44 to 9, to accept certain A. F. of L. charter provisions, presented to the convention by Green, which would confer upon him the right of appointment of officers for a probationary period to be left at his discretion. With that vote the convention also rejected his choice of handpicked officers.

Overwhelmed by this decisive vote, Green had to beat a hasty retreat. He accepted it, packed up his belongings and left for the more tranquil atmosphere of his home town Conshohocken, Ohio, where he still remains a deacon of the Baptist church.

Problem of New Unions

These recent experiences cannot be easily ignored by the A. F. of L. officials. No doubt they are beginning to ask themselves some serious questions and preparing to straighten their own fences. But there are many difficulties to overcome, particularly in regard to the new unions.

It was with the greatest reluctance that they had agreed in the first place to grant international union charters to these unions. They fought to the last against the idea of granting industrial union charters and accepted it in principle only to sabotage it in actual practice, as they have done so far. But they are still faced with the dilemma of pressure from present economic conditions out of which grow the demands of the rank and file workers. These demands begin to crystallize into distinctly progressive tendencies. Naturally this is much more marked in the basic

and the mass production industries where exploitation is most ruthless. And here the A. F. of L. officials will be much more closely bound up with the development and growth of these unions than has been the case in the past.

Old Basis Undermined

So long as the hidebound craft unions of the skilled trades formed the backbone of the movement matters were comparatively simple. These workers enjoyed certain privileges and questioned much less the doings of their union officials. The unions could be managed fairly easily and the bureaucratic regime solidified. It was not so difficult for the latter to make all kinds of shady deals with the bosses. Much has now changed. Many of the privileges formerly enjoyed in the skilled trades have disappeared. Mass production has advanced and the unions of the skilled trades play a far less important role. For the future the very existence of an effective trade union movement depends upon its ability to build up a solid backbone of unions organized in the mass production industries. Despite the official reluctance that must be the orientation.

Trade Union Democracy

It is very interesting to note that the change toward the new conditions places as the first point on the agenda the question of trade union democracy. This was inevitable. Only by means of its bureaucratic control were the reactionary officials able to function effectively as the agents of capitalism and prevent the unions from engaging in serious struggles for their rightful demands. As a result the unions were stunted in their growth and their power of organization remained largely ineffective.

The free and unhampered development of the trade union movement therefore demands democratic union control as a first prerequisite. It becomes a first class progressive issue and it will play an important role in the crystallization of a progressive movement in the trade unions. The attitude to this issue will be of a determining character in the test for leadership.

In these recent experiences the fact that the progressive tendencies reflect the needs of the movement and represent its vital interests is verified once again. On the opposite side, the retarding reactionary influence of the A. F. of L. top officials is just as clearly revealed. Not only did the latter attempt to maintain its control by the celebrated steam-roller method, but they actually succeeded in preventing the new-born international unions in automobile and rubber from taking on their necessary industrial form. According to the charters, the shop crafts are to be organized as heretofore in their old craft unions, separate and apart from the production workers.

Industrial Unionism

In the light of recent economic changes, the question of the industrial form of organization is only reinforced as a progressive issue. It is likewise connected up intimately with the future life and growth of the trade union movement. If the unions in the mass production industries are to meet the ruthless onslaughts of the gigantic corporations effectively, this form of organization is imperative.

At the time of receiving their charters, both the automobile workers and the rubber workers' unions appeared with greatly reduced ranks. The reason for this is not difficult to find. It was due essentially to the sheer incompetence and downright treason of the A. F. of L. officials who had been in charge of affairs up to now. Still, with an aggressive policy of organization, there are undoubtedly good prospects for the building up of strong unions in these industries. For the life of the movement as a whole this is necessary; but this has very much to do with the kind of leadership.

Progressives Grow in Struggle
It is no accident that more voices are heard every day in the trade unions demanding an aggressive policy of organization. In many instances on a local scale the demand has been carried out in practice, and thereby the progressive tendencies gained. Wherever unions have set to work, organizing aggressively without fear of the bitter struggle that it involves and ready to meet the sacrifices that it imposes,

progress has been made. A good timber for a new and progressive leadership is being seasoned in such struggles.

The coming A. F. of L. convention cannot escape facing these issues in one way or another. Of course, they will not be reflected at this gathering in the same direct and decisive manner as in the general field of the class struggle. The labor party issue will most likely appear. There is little chance that very many distinctly progressive spokesmen will slip into the convention hall. But it is to be expected that perhaps several of the well-paid officials already now in or near to the higher councils, out of fear of the potential progressive movement for one reason, or due to pressure from below for another, will take up some of these issues in order to appear as spokesmen and head off the actual crystallization of a genuine progressive movement. When that occurs it is well for real progressives to be on guard.

Political Tendencies
It is yet too early to speak of a progressive movement already in

existence. Only tendencies in that direction are manifested so far; and much confusion still prevails among these tendencies. Where they appear they represent, generally speaking, a combination of elements of various degrees of political consciousness. But in most cases they are not yet strongly influenced by the workers' political parties.

Without at this moment going into the positions that these parties hold in regard to the problems of the trade unions and the issues and struggles within them, it is necessary to remember that the building up of a progressive movement is a first class political job. But it will also be a test of these parties, not only of their ability to organize the movement, but above all of their ability to influence it in the direction of political consciousness. There will be a struggle of political tendencies in this movement.

It should not be difficult for the revolutionary party to meet this test. But there is more required than merely to counterpose its program to those of the other political tendencies and parties. It will be necessary also to take over the responsibility for active, persistent and devoted work right on the firing line of the movement.

'Thieves Kitchen' at Geneva

(Continued from Page 1)

the withdrawal of Japan and Germany, by the miserable showing in the Manchurian and Chaco affairs, the League has been kept actively alive only because of the prestige and new blood pumped into it by Stalin. Litvinov, in the League, speaks with the voice of the Workers' State, but his words are the words of the British Lion.

Whoever doubts this, let him review the facts.

Why does Great Britain try to preserve "peace"? Why does she object to Mussolini's campaign in Ethiopia? One glance at the map gives the answers. (1) Italian rule over Ethiopia would threaten the sources of the Blue Nile, and thus put Egypt at the mercy of Italy. (2) Italian expansion in Northeast Africa threatens the Suez Canal, the route to Britain's colonies—"the life line of the Empire." (3) Increasing Italian strength in the Mediterranean, together with the development of air fighting, have already placed in jeopardy the British route from Gibraltar to Port Said. Malta, for example, is already helpless. (4) A serious conflict between Europeans and native Africans would promote unrest or even rebellion on the part of the natives throughout the British colonies. (5) Great Britain would likewise enjoy sharing in the exploitation of Ethiopia. Two further reasons, of a somewhat different kind, must be added: (6) Great Britain fears the repercussions on the European proletariat of the possible failure of Mussolini to conquer quickly. Such failure might well prove a mighty impulse in awakening revolutionary consciousness. (7) The National Government, faced with an election in the near future, wishes to consolidate England internally around slogans of "national unity" before the war danger, against the chance of a production industries are to meet the ruthless onslaughts of the gigantic corporations effectively, this form of organization is imperative.

and so do the diplomats of every other nation.

Imperialist Bargains
The present League session is, then, seeking a "solution" of the Ethiopian question. That is to say, it is seeking a deal that will reconcile these requirements on the part of Great Britain with, first, France's need to get British guarantees against German aggression on the Continent, and second, the drive of pent-up Italian capital for an outlet together with Mussolini's desperate necessity for consolidating his rotting internal regime.

But whether or not the "solution" is found, the fundamental issues are not altered in the slightest. War will be not stopped, but merely postponed, and postponed for a short time only. The solution will be not a triumph for the peace-loving League, but an imperialist maneuver of the most brazen and reactionary kind. Its sole purpose will be to strengthen temporarily the lines of the world imperialist forces.

Working Class "Sanctions"

The elementary duty of Marxists is clear beyond argument. It is for them to sound the alarm against all the machinations of the imperialist powers. It is for them to expose every facet of the war dangers. And this means not merely to fulminate against the tyrant Mussolini, and to beg the League to step in to save the world. It means to expose every step of the League's robber course. It means not to call on "peace-loving Great Britain" to close the Suez Canal and apply sanctions—but to reveal the rottenness of British imperialist policy beneath the mush-mouthed peace talk.

It means to call on the international working class, the only force against war, to apply its own sanctions, to make its own boycotts, to voice its own material and ideological solidarity with the Ethiopian masses—rejecting all talk of "national unity," all pretense that a capitalist nation is ever or will ever

be "peace-loving"; and to call on the working class at the same time, not to cease its own class struggle before the war danger, but to intensify a thousand-fold the revolutionary fight at home.

And it is to explain this—these elementary working-class principles that Litvinov uses the public forum of the League meetings, and that the C. I. uses its press throughout the world. The direct opposite is true. Litvinov speaks in the League as the stooge of Hoare and Eden. Even in phrasing, nothing distinguishes his remarks from those of the agents of British imperialism.

Policy of Betrayal

And what of the sections of the C. I.? Do they "make up" for Litvinov's diplomatic necessities? Quite the contrary. In Sept. 18th's *Daily Worker* the Communist party calls on Great Britain "to close the Suez Canal"; it appeals (on the front page) "For united action of—the international working class? How naive, comrade, to suspect that Stalin still has his eyes even partly turned toward the international working class. No—the united front of all nations to prevent war on Ethiopia." So thoroughly has the Communist party now gone from the Third Period rejection of the united front, that united fronts are to be made—with the political instruments of the class enemy. In Great Britain, the Communist party calling for sanctions applied by the government, supports thus the building up of national unity and lays the full basis for acceptance of imperialist war on the part of Great Britain as (shades of the United States in 1917!) a war to prevent war.

Workers, this is the witness of betrayal. Before it is too late, reject capitulation. Turn from "national unity," take your eyes off the "national governments" of "peace-loving nations," tear the mask from the League, and drive from your ranks the social-patriots who make ready to give you up to the war makers.

There is only one force against imperialist war: the international proletariat. There is only one solution for war: the international revolution.

Rubber Workers Ride Over Green's Plans

Already rubber workers began to rejoice the union from which they had fled after the A. F. of L. bureaucracy's treacherous betrayal this spring during the strike threat.

The only serious threat on the horizon which faced the delegates was the perplexing question of selection of officers. There is a possibility of a split between Akron and out-of-town progressives over which man should become president.

Defeat Green 44 to 9

Smashing through every treacherous move, every ruse and false argument, the rubber workers brought to a brilliant climax their terrific fight for democracy by overwhelmingly voting 44 to 9 against a resolution which would sanction Green's appointment of president.

The blunt repudiation of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and its disastrous policies in the rubber industry was so decisive that Green, to save his face, declared, "I accept your judgment as final. No one can ignore the preponderance of your vote."

The defeated resolution would have given him the approval of the convention to appoint Coleman C. Claherty, his rubber organizer, as president of the new international. But, as predicted in the NEW MILITANT, the rubber workers were so incensed at Claherty and his policies that his defeat was a foregone conclusion.

To show how strong the anti-bureaucracy feeling was, it is only necessary to realize that the resolution defeated was a compromise by the bureaucracy to the delegates. It specified that all other officers be elected. All Green asked was "let me appoint Claherty."

Green Threatens Delegate

When Green spoke for the resolution he threatened Thomas Burns, of Chicopee Falls, Mass., a leader for democracy, because of an alleged association with a dual union movement in the rubber industry.

Burns took the floor in his defense and flung back into Green's teeth every argument used against him. In fact, he proved that Green had appointed Phillips, a dual unionist, to a high post where Burns first met him. Burns proved that Green, not he, had associated with the dual unionist.

The progressive bloc began its fight for democracy by presenting Green, when he arrived at the convention, with a petition signed by 40 out of 47 delegates asking for democratic procedure and election of all officers. From then, Green and Claherty were on the defensive.

The bureaucracy went so far as to threaten reporters time and again, newspapers said, for printing accounts of the inner-struggles and thereby, indirectly, exposing each move of Claherty and Green. Mention of the "auto workers' convention by anyone brought panic to the bureaucrats."

Green Bars Industrial Unionism

Although delegates were prepared to fight for industrial unionism, Green effectively stopped that by reading a mandate from the executive council which declared that those who accepted the international charter must obey the following provision: "To organize all rubber workers in mass production of rubber products, same not to include building and construction employees; making and installing machinery employees, and employees engaged in maintenance work or in work outside the factories."

In other words, the seven craft unions in the rubber industry will keep their independent existence and the rubber workers are left facing the possibility of disastrous jurisdictional disputes.

Green told the delegates, "You can neither accept, reject, or change this charter. It is conferred on you." A move to fight the provision at the next convention of the A. F. of L. has begun.

"Surprise Move" of Bureaucrats

The bureaucracy tried a "surprise move" the second day. A resolution, introduced out of order, was presented for appointment of Claherty. Only two out of seven of the resolutions committee had signed it. It was supposed to be 21st. Nothing was said of the majority resolution which asks for election of officers, through "non-concurrence" with the majority.

An illegal clause was attached to the resolution. It requested financial aid of the A. F. of L. The two-fold clause was thus introduced so that the delegates would vote themselves out of financial support from the A. F. of L. if they didn't vote to accept Claherty. Everybody saw through the move.

Green took the floor, urging the passage of the resolution. His stooges followed but to no avail. The central theme of their false arguments was, "If we don't let Green appoint Claherty, we'll have no money to support the new international."

Progressive's Reply

A progressive neatly shattered Green's argument that the international needed money, should accept money and therefore pass the resolution. He answered, "We need your money, we'll take your money and support, but that has nothing

to do with the question of election of officers."

"We can have our own president and officers and still take your money. In fact, we hope to!" he added as Green blustered. "We aren't voting down the support of the A. F. of L. by defeating the resolution. That part doesn't belong in the resolution and we'll change it later."

Another delegate scored the A. F. of L. leadership as antiquated. "We need an industrial base for the A. F. of L. if it is to survive."

Powerful and blunt argument by S. H. Dalrymple, president of the Goodrich local for the right to elect officers added much weight to the cause of the progressives as Dalrymple is recognized as one of the leaders in the rubber unions.

"We've been promised for two years our own international. The rubber workers will join us if we keep our pledges. I would rather go down defeated after fighting my best for democracy than face the charges of the workers who would say we betrayed them," Dalrymple pointed out.

Thunder of Protest

When the roll call vote began on the resolution of appointment of Claherty, a tense silence reigned, shattered only by increasing "Noes" which continued until they sounded like a thunder of protest against Green's machinations and trickery.

Enraged beyond control, Claherty charged Burns and others of "distorting and lying about their past." A heated argument followed with delegates lambasting both Green

and Claherty for lying. Burns even arose and called Claherty a "g—d—liar."

A constitution was adopted after clauses barring "communists, I.W. W.'s and members of other dual union organizations" was changed to exclude naming of political parties.

"We'd do better to exclude all republicans than communists," a delegate argued.

Another clause preventing caucusing on union questions outside the local hall also met with defeat as progressives continued to establish democracy in the new international.

Both clauses had been placed in the draft of the constitution on the request of Claherty who saw in them powerful weapons against the progressives if he became president.

Progressives Prepare Slate

The progressive bloc which has been able to rally most of the delegates with it on every vital question is preparing a slate of candidates for officers and also watching for further moves by Green to attempt to regain control of the international.

Resolutions asking A. F. of L. help to aid financially the new international were expected to be introduced and passed. This will again place Green on the spot. He pledged support of the convention even though defeated.

Pay for officers was picked as: president, \$3,200; vice-president, \$2,700; secretary-treasurer, \$3,000. Union dues are \$1 per month and initiation fee, \$2.

The preamble of the constitution has a clause recognizing the class struggle and declaring that the international will do all necessary to further the economic and social advance of the rubber workers. It recognizes the failure of capitalism and the necessity for its abolition.

Rubber Workers Took Big Step Forward at Akron Convention

By JACK WILSON

A tremendous step forward in the direction of organizing workers in basic industries was taken by rubber worker delegates at their convention which formed an international union through the far-reaching consequences of their actions.

The rubber workers repudiated by an overwhelming majority the antiquated craft union, class collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as represented by Wm. Green and the executive council.

They broke the stranglehold of the officialdom over the rubber workers' unions which had virtually ruined the trade union movement in the rubber industry and reduced once powerful unions into mere skeletons.

The rubber workers did what the auto workers and other unionists had not succeeded in doing—cleansing their ranks of the Clahertys and other misleaders who only lead them from one defeat to another.

Adopt Militant Program

The rubber workers adopted a militant program for organizing through drives the rubber industry—one of America's leading open shop industries.

The rubber workers, through fighting successfully for the election of their own officers, smashed Green's avowed intention of appointing their officers and gave him a blow which will have even greater repercussions at the coming national convention of the A. F. of L. for the rubber workers are prepared to fight with other progressives for industrial unions and thus wipe out the craft base for the present bureaucracy.

Officers were picked whose personal honesty is beyond question, who have the confidence of the rubber workers, who are earnest, sincere and continually learning the meaning and significance of the class struggle. The president is a man who already is rallying the ranks of the deserted rubber workers around the banner of the autonomous international with immediate increases in membership.

Learning Through Struggle

This much they have done. In addition the rubber workers learned much through fighting. They tore away the illusions from their own eyes of the "greatness" of Green and his cohorts.

Workers in all unions who have been fighting desperately against efforts of the bureaucrats to curb them can and should take heart from this notable victory against reaction in the labor movement.

There are many reasons why the rubber workers have been able to win, so far, in their struggle for self-control with its consequent favorable possibilities.

The lessons of the auto workers' convention aroused the Akron delegates to a boiling point of indignation which made them sensitive to every move the bureaucrats attempted at the convention.

The crime of the auto workers' international brought home sharply the truth of the ideas constantly pointed out to them by a small group of progressives that the bureaucracy would do anything to keep in power and they must organize to fight against such reaction with its fatal effects on the unions.

Behind this immediate cause lies the long and hard work of forces like the Workers Party to point out the correct road to the rubber workers in their search for paths which would lead to a strong union movement.

Efforts of progressives who arose from the working class itself without stimulation but through bitter experience with Claherty and Green, came to a climax at the convention.

The result of the convention attests once more to the fact that only through careful education and work along class struggle lines can the working class prepare itself to march forward to increasing victories.

Build a progressive bloc with correct policies based on the experiences of Minneapolis, Toledo, Detroit and the other scenes of class struggle!

Rally forces around the slogan of democracy in the trade union movement. Protect the rights of militants who lead in every fight against the betrayals of the officialdom of the top!

The rubber workers have won a victory, but that is only a start.

Every local must have its progressive bloc carrying on a daily struggle for the ideas accepted by the convention so that those delegates who stood by the bureaucracy go down defeated and exposed to their fellow-workers.

Organization Plans

The resolutions on organization call for special efforts to bring the workers back within the fold of the union. Sentiment for rejoining the unions is strong in Akron and throughout the country since the hated bureaucrats went down in defeat. No time should be lost to take advantage of this fact.

Special plans must be made to unite completely with progressives throughout the country so that a solid bloc will confront the A. F. of L. executive council and its antiquated ideas at the forthcoming national convention so more workers in basic industries and elsewhere can be made free from the stranglehold of the present leadership.

No Compromise with Misleaders

An uncompromising struggle must be waged against the misleaders in the future. The seven craft unions in the rubber industry must become amalgamated in the new international. Demand that the next national A. F. of L. convention grant that right. The clause in the new charter confining membership only to rubber workers engaged in production of rubber products must be eliminated so all employees in the rubber shops can join in one great union.

The Workers Party has continually served in the past as the beacon light for leadership in the struggle to build a powerful labor movement in the rubber industry. It first warned the workers of the coming spring betrayal. It first called for building a progressive bloc to rally all forces at this convention against the hold of the bureaucracy. It pledges itself in the future to do everything in its power to aid the workers in their fundamental battles for uniting themselves into a powerful movement.

We will do everything possible to make the United Rubberworkers of America a stronghold of the working class against any onslaughts of capitalism or any of its agents.

Sales Tax Big Issue at S. P. Convention

By New Haven Correspondent

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept. 16.—Just before midnight tonight the two-day Socialist state convention succeeded, after a bitter seven-hour fight, in putting itself on record against . . . a sales tax! A resolution introduced to the resolutions committee on the Italo-Ethiopian situation, the only sign of awareness of the outside world during the whole convention, was referred to the State Executive Committee as being a national matter. The debate on the sales tax waged fast and furious for seven hours; the war question was dismissed as being "outside the jurisdiction of the state body."

On the sales tax issue Mayor McLevy and the three state legislators from Bridgeport, Taft, Secor and Eccles, held their machine firm to the end in favor of voting for the sales tax in the next session of the state legislature as the only remaining method of "raising relief for the starving unemployed." Even on the final ballot, faced with a substitute resolution more conciliatory in tone than the original, they rallied 49 votes against 75. All but three of the 28 Bridgeport voters remained loyal to the very end.

McLevy Arguments

McLevy in the debate shouted that he and his legislators had vindicated themselves as Socialists by fighting for an income tax, and then for a dividends and interest tax, but they had been defeated and relief was still needed. Where does all your theory and principles get you, the McLevy supporters maintained, when you have the practical problem of feeding the desperate unemployed? Besides, they argued, it is not true that we are introducing something new with the sales tax, which our opponents claim would merely soak the poor to support the poor; in Waterbury today the employed workers are forced to contribute a sum out of their weekly wages to care for their less fortunate brethren.

Later, in answer to this, a Waterbury worker, Philip Brainard, vice-chairman of the convention, made the best fighting speech in defiance of the Bridgeport machine. In his own factory he had organized the men, and they didn't pay the levy on wages. Waterbury Socialists were trying to do the same for the whole city. Outside of Brainard's speech there was no mention whatsoever of the possibilities of fighting for higher relief standards by militant organization from below, rather than by political maneuvering and compromising by the Socialist parliamentarians.

We set forth below a few of the choice thoughts of the chief cogs in the McLevy machine:

State Senator Taft: "I don't subscribe to a sales tax, but under certain conditions to save fellow workers from starving, I am willing to reach in my pocket and give a half dollar." (This last offer of generosity was repeated twice, indicating that the senator was willing to contribute at least a dollar and a half on his own hook.)

State Senator Secor: "We know you can't instruct us to be against the sales tax. You haven't the guts. You know you'd be subject to the corrupt practices act." (The majesty of the law seemed to impress the opposing delegates somewhat; the question of disciplining McLevy and the Socialist legislators was carefully avoided in this discussion.)

Secretary of the Party Freese: "If there is any advocate of the sales tax in this hall, he had better get out now. But there's nobody here like that. . . . You want to break up all our plans with this damn fool resolution."

State Chairman Plunkett: "If you pass this resolution you'll have to expel all those favoring a sales tax if you're honest. Expel the Socialist Party then!"

"Function of Socialist Legislators"

In the ranks of the opposition, Perlstein as well as Brainard made a good showing. "What is the function of a Socialist minority in any government?" he asked. "It's not our problem to run the capitalist government. It's our duty to make our own position clear and to educate." A worker whose ardor was somewhat dampened arose in this discussion and said: "I was once in the Republican Party, and that was the wrong place, so I went to the Democrats, and that was the wrong place. Then I joined the Socialist Party. I thought the Socialists would work for the workers every day in the year. But after this how can we speak before the workers any more? Is this the wrong place too?"

At last, after an adjournment, a substitute resolution was brought in. As Allen pointed out, it restated the party's stand against the sales tax, but was careful not to aim itself at the Socialist legislators. But McLevy remained unappeased, with something of a martyr-like attitude. "Do you want to put your Socialist legislators in a straitjacket," he demanded, "so they can't use their influence? . . . I still think the important issue is relief. I don't want to climb into political office on the backs of starving

workers." The substitute resolution was then quickly passed, but the McLevy machine was powerful enough to roll up two-fifths of the votes. All in all, the victory was a hollow one.

Every Socialist worker must draw lessons from this experience. It must be obvious to the leftward-moving workers in the S.P. that a party which permits such a level of discussion, such suggestions of unprincipled maneuvering for purposes of prestige, such ignoring of the crucial issues of the day, has something fundamentally wrong with it.

Mooney in Court In Legal Struggle To Gain Freedom

Tom Mooney's appeal for a writ of habeas corpus in the California courts opened last week. The overwhelming proofs of his innocence, the perjury of the state's witnesses, the flimsiness of the state's evidence, and his own alibi have long ago convinced the jurors and even the judge of the original trial.

But capitalist courts are in no hurry to free class war prisoners. After nineteen years in prison Tom Mooney's appeal was heard by the U. S. Supreme Court last year and he was sent back to try the courts of the state that originally framed him. He was condemned to many more months, perhaps years in prison, to all the tortures of a new trial, to the exorbitant expenses of a new trial. No matter if he is innocent, the cruel game of capitalist justice must be played to the end.

The defense is now trying the case before a referee in the California courts. So far they have suffered two setbacks, in failing to obtain a judge instead of a referee, and in the refusal of the court to bring Billings, who was convicted with Mooney into the court.

The outcome of the case cannot be predicted—but California law is hostile, and fresh from the triumph of framing the eight Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants. Whether the labor-hating capitalists who first sent Mooney to prison for his activities as a labor organizer are more afraid of him in prison or out will determine the outcome. For nineteen years the case has been kept alive by Mooney's own heroic battle and by the organized support and pressure of labor all over the country. And only that pressure can free him.

Spartan Slugged in Picket Of Hearst News Reel

Some time ago a group of organizations including Spartacus Youth League branch of Boro Park, Yipsels of Bensonhurst, and the League against War and Fascism branch of Bensonhurst as well as several other organizations, organized a campaign in Brooklyn to remove Hearst's Metrotone news from the theatres in which they are shown.

The campaign revolves around the anti-labor attitude of Hearst and the previously mentioned organizations have been concentrating in removing Hearst's film from Loew's Oriental theatre.

Open air protest meetings when held were invariably broken up by "our" honorable defenders of private property, the police, and members of participating organizations were thrown into the hoosegow.

Last Sunday two Spartacans, comrades Bert Kane and Jack Lee while picketing were attacked by a group of thugs. Fortunately, neither were hurt seriously. When interviewed the following was the story obtained from the attacked comrades:

They had been picketing for over an hour when the manager of the theatre motioned to the cops standing near the corner. The discussion that took place between these two gentry was very evident from the incident that took place at the conclusion of their "negotiations."

Workers of Brooklyn, Boycott Hearst's anti-labor propaganda machinery. Don't attend theaters at which his Metrotone News is shown.

Philadelphia Mass Meeting
"HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA!"

Speaker:
HUGO OEHLE
FRIDAY, SEPT. 27, 8 P.M.
431 Pine Street
Admission 10 cents
Aus: South Philadelphia Br. W.P.

Mass Uprising Against Traitor 'Labor' Mayor

(Continued from Page 1)

the mouth by a tear gas bomb fired at her just as she was descending from a street car. The Minneapolis Journal writes that "the receiving room at General Hospital took on the appearance of a wartime behind the lines hospital as the stream of wounded started coming in. The hospital corridors were literally running with blood."

Fighting continued until 2 o'clock in the morning, with the armored cars patrolling for blocks around, continually pouring tear gas into small groupings wherever they gathered. Finally the pickets and the crowd left, vowing to come back the next night.

Mass Pressure Closes Down Plant

The reaction to the wanton police savagery was so great that the next morning the mayor was forced to clear out all scabs and gunmen from the plant. These people were escorted to St. Paul. The grand jury immediately prepared a white-wash investigation, as Tetzlaff hid himself in the bosom of the Citizens Alliance. In the meantime, the rank and file of the Farmer-Labor party were boiling at the actions of their strike-breaking mayor and city council. A special meeting was hurriedly arranged for Thursday night at the large Eagles Hall, called by the Farmer-Labor Women's Federation and the F. L. Veterans Association.

Mayor Boos Down

The hall was packed with rank-and-file Farmer-Laborites as Mayor Latimer, the first speaker, was introduced from the platform. The mayor turned pale as he was booed by the enraged crowd. Finally he managed to make himself heard and made a lame statement, crying that the Hennepin County grand jury bound him hand and foot, promising that a "thorough investigation would be made of all that occurred" and begging for three more months, at the expiration of which it was understood he would have fully proved himself. Alderman Ed Hudson, another Farmer-Labor member, was jeered when he started to say that what was done by police at the riot was done "by men who in the skirmish lost their minds."

"You're trying to whitewash the mayor. Don't play politics!" yelled the audience.

State Representative Bellman (F. L.) drew cheers from the audience as he placed direct responsibility for the situation upon Latimer, and demanded the dismissal of the policemen participating in the riot.

Alderman Scott earned the cheers of the crowded hall by taking a clear-cut position on the whole affair, and exposing the excuses of Latimer and the police. He called for the expulsion of Latimer from the Farmer-Labor party, and asked that he resign as mayor.

It remained for Bill Brown, president of Local 574, to say what had to be said. Brown completely exposed the gutlessness of Mayor Latimer, told the crowd how a true working class mayor would have acted even though it led to his impeachment, and called for immediate removal of the police butchers.

Brown also completely exposed the mayor's latest "employer-employee" arbitration board, which is a 1935 pocket edition of the Citizens Alliance. He was cheered for several minutes, as Latimer, sitting at the back of the stage, looked like a whipped dog. As other Farmer-Laborites rose and tried to ease the pressure on the mayor, the meeting almost broke up through indignation. Order finally was restored and the meeting was officially adjourned. It fell to Harry Mayville, local Stalinist, to demonstrate the Communist Party's bankruptcy by telling the Farmer-Laborites that "your party is not rotten. I and my party want to see a mass Farmer-Labor party in the state and city."

Now we see the Workers Party know better than Mayville that the Farmer-Labor rank and file are certainly not "rotten"; but we also know that if ever the workers have had a chance to see the complete impotence of reformism, it has been in this state and city during the past few years. To claim otherwise is to cry for a Stalinist moon.

The meeting ended with representatives of the next day's relief demonstration appealing to the

crowd for support. As Latimer left the hall with his bodyguard through the rear door, he was accosted by an angry iron worker and struck in the mouth. Friends hurried him away to his limousine.

Latimer Gets In Deeper and Deeper

As was to be expected, the Citizens Alliance-dominated grand jury completely exonerated the police from Wednesday's murderous onslaught, saying "we believe the police department did the best they could with the number of men they had." The report concluded with the observation that "the unemployment being so great, so many people with nothing to do but follow disturbances for excitement, the spirit of unrest existing in Minneapolis will undoubtedly be responsible for additional outbreaks." (As though the unemployed demonstrated "for excitement," instead of for increased relief, for jobs, and in a spirit of solidarity with employed workers.) The grand jury also asked for an addition of 200 to the police force.

The Farmer-Labor mayor fell in with this report and meekly asked for 200 more police. This was too much for the Farmer-Labor councilmen even, one of whom, Alderman Pearson, said: "I am opposed to the proposal to add more policemen for the explicit purpose of clubbing laboring men." The anger of the city rose even higher.

On Saturday afternoon, hundreds of workers participated in the funeral processions of the two bystanders shot down Wednesday night.

Investigations Continue

Latimer intends to continue his phony riot investigation this afternoon at 4:30, calling in some "impartial observers." When representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense called on the mayor's secretary yesterday and offered scores of witnesses, including many people who live in the neighborhood of the scene of the riot, they were told that no more witnesses are needed.

The Central Labor Union, the Hennepin County F. L. Association and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense plan to hold separate public hearings during the next few days, so that the true story of what took place can be brought to light for all to see and understand.

Workers Party Plans Meeting

On Friday night, Sept. 20, a meeting at the Pythian Hall is called by the Minneapolis branch, Workers Party of the U. S., where V. R. Dunne, prominent Minneapolis trade unionist and member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, will speak on "Three Months of Farmer-Labor Rule in Minneapolis: What They PROMISED and What They GAVE!"

Among the questions to be discussed by comrade Dunne are: the Mayor's employer-employee board and the meaning of the phrase, "industrial peace"; can the Farmer-Labor Party be reformed?; what is the meaning of the present attacks upon progressive trade unionists in Minneapolis and throughout the nation?; what is the attitude of a real workers' political party toward the trade unions? etc.

In the meantime, resentment among all the workers continues to seethe and grow. And what a working class there is in Minneapolis! For dauntless, inspiring courage against all odds, for solidarity against the bosses and the labor fakers, Minneapolis workers need not bow to working class fighters anywhere in the world.

Hundreds of relief workers in Local 574's Federal Workers Section have already demanded that the united front with the Stalinists be immediately broken off. They can no longer stomach the quackery of these charlatans.

Governor Olson, eager to place his heel on Latimer's neck as a maneuver to get back in the good graces of the Minneapolis workers, has mobilized 150 national guardsmen in St. Paul and is keeping them in readiness for any further outbreaks.

Today a movement was making headway to read Latimer out of the Farmer-Labor party, and petitions for his impeachment began to circulate all over town.

At this writing, word comes that the Non-Partisan Labor Defense will open its public trial tonight at the General Drivers Auditorium. The trial of the people vs. Mayor Latimer, Police Chief Forestal and the city administration will get under way with the hearing of dozens of witnesses to the Wednesday massacre—witnesses that were refused a hearing by Latimer's star chamber proceedings.

BANQUET

To Greet

THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING

of the National Committee of the Workers Party

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, at 7:30 P.M.

Speakers to include:

VINCENT DUNNE, of Minneapolis, Minn.
JERRY ALLARD, from Illinois coal fields.
MAURICE SPECTOR, Chairman Workers Party of Canada.
ARNOLD JOHNSON, National Secretary, N. U. L.
JAMES P. CANNON, Editor of the New Militant.
A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of Workers Party.
MAX SHACHTMAN, Toastmaster.

IRVING PLAZA HALL, Irving Place and 15th Street
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Zero Hour Sounds for New World War

French Fascists in Rally Say 'Our Time Will Come'

By H. F. ROBERTS

Last week the Croix de Feu, the principal Fascist organization in France, gave another of those sudden demonstrations of its strength in a series of surprise rallies around Paris and in other sections of the country. Upwards of 30,000 men listened to their leader, Colonel Francois Casinier de la Roque who assured them: "Our time will come."

The ability of the Croix de Feu to mobilize forces of this size with military precision and complete secrecy up to the very moment of the demonstration gives some idea of the latent forces of Fascism which are waiting their chance to take over power in France. Unlike some of the other, smaller Fascist organizations in the country, the Croix de Feu does not draw for its membership on declassed lumpen proletarians. Its ranks are made up principally of substantial petty bourgeois citizens drawn from the upper strata of the middle classes. Almost all its members are war veterans, and their sons, now in their early twenties, are organized in Les Volontaires Nationaux, the youth organization of the Croix de Feu.

Unlike the other Fascist groups, the Croix de Feu does not flaunt its armed bands but it is widely known that the Croix de Feu has not only built up large stocks of arms and ammunition but has also organized an air squadron credited with having nearly 100 planes. On one or two occasions arms caches of the Croix de Feu have been uncovered by police who have been drawn off the case as soon as the identity of the owners of the cache became known.

Supported by Finance Capital

De la Roque enjoys the financial and political support of finance and heavy industrial capital. The Wendels and their Comité des Forges are the principal contributors to the Croix de Feu war chest. The organization is closely related to the French General Staff, a number of whose most prominent figures are actually in its ranks. The political power of the Croix de Feu represents is already formidable. During the last cabinet crisis which brought Laval into power, he was consulted in the inner governmental councils and was reported to have threatened to bring his forces out into the streets if any attempt was made to install a so-called left-wing government.

The Croix de Feu is the most serious Fascist movement in France. When the French bourgeoisie decides that the time has come to finish with the organizations of the working class, it will depend upon de la Roque and his followers to do the job. He is equipped to do it not only by virtue of his connections with the General Staff but also through his close contact with the leading strata of the two great veterans' organizations, the Union Nationale des Danciens Combattants and the Union Federale des Anciens Combattants whose membership runs up to a million and whose leadership is thoroughly Fascist in tendency and in connections.

Other Fascist Groups

Among these are the Camelots du Roi, the youth group affiliated to the Action Francaise, the royalist organization. These young blades, mostly of the student type and drawing their support largely from the ex-aristocracy, have had a long and active experience in street fighting against the workers. They have figured prominently in all street actions during the past ten years and they are well-armed with carbines and revolvers. They number now about 5,000. Another, slightly smaller organization is that of Les Jeunes Patriotes which used to have close connections with the army and which in years past has been utilized as a strikebreaking agency. It is now organized in the so-called "Front National" together with a new and powerful organization known as La Solidarite Francaise. The latter maintains regularly trained armed bands, counts no less than 10,000 in its ranks and has a powerful weapon in the Paris daily, "Ami du Peuple," which is more or less its official mouthpiece.

Unlike the above-named groups, all of which would deny the appellation "Fascist," the Francistes, who came into being about the time of the affair of February 6, 1934, openly and violently claim the honor of

being the Fascists of France. They number some 5,000, most of whom are enrolled in armed bands which conduct a regular course of training in the art of civil war. They enjoy subsidies from a number of big capitalists and are generally credited with accepting subsidies from the propaganda agencies of both Hitler and Mussolini for carrying on pro-Fascist propaganda in France. Its organ, "Le Franciste," uses exceedingly radical language.

Fight for Workers' Militia

All of these groups constitute sources of well-trained civil war cadres from which the Croix de Feu and the General Staff will draw when the time comes to settle the question of France's future, arms in hand. It is to reply to the threat represented by these various organizations that the French Bolshevik-Leninists are agitating for the organization of an armed workers' militia trained to defend itself effectively against the inevitable Fascist attack. This demand is stamped as a "provocation" by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucracies who combine their "fight against Fascism" to demanding formally that the government disarm the Fascist bands!

There is no fixed or rigid formula for the development of Fascism. People who fail to see any spectacular movement similar to that of the Nazis before they came to power delude themselves if they think that there is therefore no serious Fascist threat. Fascism may come to power in France by nothing more complicated than a military coup d'etat engineered by the General Staff and the Croix de Feu. If the workers are not mobilized for their own power, if they are not armed and organized to repel the attacks of the growing Fascist bands, we will have in France a repetition of the events in Austria and in Spain—a heroic but futile last-minute resistance. NOW is the time to prepare, and the deliberate refusal of the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucracies to put the French workers on the alert is a gross betrayal, heavy even now with possible future catastrophes.

Packed Hall Hears Cannon Lecture in First of Series of 4

Over 400 workers packed the Irving Plaza Hall last Sunday evening to hear the lecture on "From Lenin to Stalin" by James P. Cannon. The audience, including dozens of Stalinists and Socialists listened with great interest to the glaring contrast between the Third International under Lenin's leadership and the Third International under Stalin.

The speaker presented a scathing criticism of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Each period of working class history is symbolized by two people, he stated: Marx and Engels were the scientific founders of the modern revolutionary movement; Noske and Scheideemann symbolized social democratic betrayal and treachery; Lenin and Trotsky were the organizers and leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International; and now for the Seventh Congress Stalin-Laval are the symbols of Stalinist social patriotism. The pre-Congress document of the Seventh Congress was the Stalin-Laval communiqué in which Stalin recognizes the need for maintaining and strengthening the army of French imperialism.

The need for a Fourth International "which has no fatherland" but aims to lead the workers for the conquering of the entire world was the conclusion of comrade Cannon.

The lecture on "From Lenin to Stalin" was the first of a series of four entitled "On the Road to the Fourth International." The subjects for the remainder of the series are: Sunday, September 29, "Working Class Policy in the Impending War"; Sunday, October 6, "The Struggle Against Fascism"; Sunday, October 12, "The Road to the Fourth International."

Comrades who wish to attend these lectures will have to come early. Doors open at 7:30. Lecture will begin at 8:15. All lectures are being held at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Reaction Rules Ill. Federation Of Labor Meet

By GERRY ALLARD

BELLEVIEW, Ill., Sept. 20.—The State Federation of Labor which completed its sessions here last week voted to outlaw the Illinois Workers Alliance and the Progressive Miners of America, and also voted to support the state imposed three cent sales tax.

The machine-gear convention also voted to taboo any strikes against scab WPA wages. Resolutions forwarded by local unions for a labor party were also defeated. The convention failed to record itself progressively on any burning labor issue; instead it threw overboard any pretensions to liberalism and adopted a definite class collaboration, right wing attitude.

The condemnation of the Illinois Workers Alliance was no surprise. Last Spring while the Illinois jobless were fighting for their very right to exist, holding large demonstrations against shutting down of relief stations and against the sales tax, Rueben Soderstrom and Victor Olander, president and secretary, respectively, of the Federation, issued public statements condemning the Alliance for leading the fight and endorsing the sales tax. Olander is a member of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission while Soderstrom is a Republican member of the legislature.

The recent convention of the Illinois Workers Alliance mapped out an energetic program to carry forth the demands of the jobless. Officers of the Alliance state that the position of the Federation of Labor will have little or no bearing in the future relations between the unemployed and the rank and file in the various trade unions.

Edward C. Morgan, state secretary of the I.W.A., stated that "the Federation officials have fought the Alliance from the beginning. We built the Alliance despite them. In cooperation with the rank and file of the Federation of Labor we shall continue our fight against the sales tax, against the scab WPA wage and for a clean, progressive and militant labor movement. The position of the Federation officials doesn't amount to a hill of beans."

Charles Rossie of Du Quoin, a militant miner, and Simon Trojer of Chicago, a Socialist leader, were recently elected chairman and vice-chairman of the state unemployed body.

Militants Held In Chinese Jails Appeal For Aid

By LO SEN

Comrade Niel Sih, one of the leaders of the Communist League of China, and his young wife are suffering the tortures of hell in a Kuomintang prison in Nanking. Word seeped out of the prison walls to our comrades in Shanghai with a desperate appeal for aid. Of our four other comrades, Sze Chao-seng, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-chang and Liu Chia-liang, there has been no news since they were shifted from Shanghai to Nanking in April this year. Some idea of what they are going through can be gained from the story of another comrade of ours who only recently gained his liberty after four years incarceration.

He was periodically hung up by his thumbs and suspended from a beam so that his feet came just short of the floor. "He was kept chained by the ankles for the whole time he was in and was quite unable to walk when finally given his liberty." The ordeal shattered his nerves and his health. "As he conversed with me," writes one of our comrades from Shanghai, "violent trembling fits kept seizing him, especially when describing some of the tortures to which he was subjected. Many of our comrades died in that hell hole, he told me. There were few captulators. He did not capitulate. That alone speaks volumes. In addition to everything else, he contracted tuberculosis. His body is broken but the spirit flames as brightly as ever."

The same fate, or death, is now faced by Niel Sih and our other comrades. The Communist League of China has appealed for demonstrations of international solidarity and protest against the bestial terror waged by the Kuomintang against all revolutionaries. We cannot remain content with merely feeling deeply for the sufferings of our Chinese comrades. We must make that sympathy manifest in demonstrations, in active protests. We must make our voices heard. We must reach across the sea and stretch the hand of firm solidarity to our imprisoned comrades.

Act now! Our comrades in China are appealing to us and awaiting our reply. That reply must be made—now and at once!

Chaining the Workers to Imperialist War Machine

By J. P. MARTIN

The Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International met at Brussels on August 16-18. In the course of the session a resolution and appeal to the workers of the world against Mussolini's African adventure was passed unanimously, with one abstention by Alter, the representative of the Polish "Rund." "The L.S.I. could not in any case resign itself to war," said the appeal, "Not even as a means of deliverance for the Italian people." Stupidity number 1; for imperialism can never prove a means of "deliverance" for a people, unless that people is prepared to transform such a war into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie (Not war, but revolution will deliver the people... from Fascism). More: it is not enough to say that "one should not in any case resign oneself to war." One must give specific directives for making war impossible. This is what the L.S.I. proposes:

L. S. I. Program

1. Organize great demonstrations of public opinion "to (a) Force the League to take the measures, as it is obliged under Article 11 of the Covenant (!), necessary to safeguard peace, the closing of the Suez canal to Italian military traffic; (b) force Italy to accept arbitration."

2. The Socialist and Communist parties of Italy are organizing a congress of emigrant Italians to protest the Abyssinian war for the end of September, at which the L.S.I. will be represented.

3. If war breaks out all the same "the L.S.I. expresses the hope that the working masses of Italy will be able to utilize the war in overthrowing the real enemy of the Italian people, which is not at Addis Ababa, but in Rome."

Leon Blum in commenting on these decisions in Populaire for August 21 writes: "On the governmental plane, the war can no longer be stopped except by a close coordination of effort between France and England on one hand, and between France and Russia on the other." According to Populaire only the coordinated efforts of France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. can stop the Italian war. Without awaiting the Council of the League the three aforementioned powers should "offer a realistic, sincere and complete arbitration to Italy." "If Italy ac-

cepts," Blum continues, "we may hope for peace; if she refuses Italy is forever branded the aggressor."

Game of "Peace"

To us all this seems a game with "peace" and the "workers" as pawns. The illusion of arbitration plunged the world into the conflagration of 1914. And after that conflagration the League has proved itself incapable of arbitrating even so minor an affair as the Chaco war. It will do no better with Mussolini, whom the three powers, France, Britain and the U.S.S.R., are even now counting for his support in the international race. Besides why go through all this rigmarole to prove Mussolini the aggressor? Is there anyone who does not clearly understand that Italian imperialism is for new territory in Africa? And why wait so long to intervene? Is there any hope of accomplishing now, in extremis, what was not done earlier, that is when Mussolini first started sending troops to Africa? Didn't the Negus of Abyssinia appeal to the League on January 14, that is eight months ago?

But let us suppose for a minute that the U.S.S.R., France and Britain do really take the proposed step. What will it lead to? It will prove what everybody already knows; that Italy is the aggressor; as it is certain that Mussolini will accept no arbitration that he is not sure of in advance.

France and Britain, although jealous rivals of Italian imperialism, are not anxious to offend their compeers at Rome. Recent negotiations have shown that in the matter of concessions, both France and England are willing to make them to Mussolini—at the expense of Abyssinia. There will be no change in Mussolini's attitude, unless by such a change he stands to gain even greater loot. Would this preserve peace? Not at all, it will only show that the road is open to brigands, that all that is needed to win spoils is audacity.

"Sanctions"

It is pretty clear that there will be no change in the preparations which have been going on for eight months now, with the complicity of the League. And then what? Then we will invoke sanctions, they tell us, and from that pass on to a boycott, which the League is obliged, by its statutes, to institute. The

(Continued on Page 4)

League Votes Application Of Sanctions

Traitor Internationals Paralyze Independent Action of Workers

As the League of Nations Council decides to invoke sanctions against Italy should the negotiations between Great Britain, France and Mussolini fail to reach a solution on Ethiopia, mutually satisfactory to the imperialist robbers, the traitorous Socialist and Stalinist internationals are mobilizing the workers for support of the anti-Italian imperialists.

Even more boldly than the official diplomats, these internationals which speak in the name of the working class, demand sanctions against Italy, that is, call upon the imperialist governments of France and England to declare war against imperialist Italy.

Great Britain and France have not yet given up attempts to come to an agreement with Mussolini. Their interest is not the independence of Ethiopia, for not only are they oppressing millions of colonial people throughout the world, including Africa, but they have already offered Italy control of Ethiopia. They are interested in defending their own imperialist possessions in Africa.

France hesitates over the prospect of withdrawing its troops from the continent and leaving itself open to an attack from Hitler. English diplomats are already speaking of sanctions as a threat against Abyssinia. There will be no change in Mussolini's attitude, unless by such a change he stands to gain even greater loot. Would this preserve peace? Not at all, it will only show that the road is open to brigands, that all that is needed to win spoils is audacity.

New Social-Patriotic Betrayal

In the midst of this dispute among the imperialist powers, the joint conference of the Second International and its trade union adjunct, the International Federation of Trade Unions, held early this month, decided to put pressure on the League of Nations so "that the Covenant, the whole Covenant, be now applied, including the sanctions provided for in the Covenant."

And if this policy is accepted by the League of imperialist powers, the social-patriotic betrayal of 1914 will be repeated—this time the working class is informed of the plan even before the war breaks out:

"The two Internationals, conscious of their duties towards peace, are ready to fulfill them in their entirety, and confidently assure the League of the wholehearted support of the workers, both women and men, they represent, in any measures it may take for the effective application of whatever sanctions may be necessary against the aggressor."

Nothing could be clearer than this open pledge of social-patriotism!

Comintern "Welcomes" Decision

"The Communist International welcomes this decision," brazenly states the letter of that organization to the Second International. (Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1935). What is needed according to the new comrades-in-arms of the Vandeveldes, Blums and Bauers is "an international movement against war of such power that the League of Nations would be compelled to undertake really effective action against the aggressor of Italian fascism and German fascism under its pressure."

"Pressure" on the imperialist League of Nations to declare war against Italy and Germany! Acceding to the decision of the Socialist International to support the League "in any measures it may take for effective application" of sanctions! Could social-patriotism be more open and brazen!

What is needed is the complete independence of the working class from their imperialist masters. The boycott of shipments of goods and munitions to Fascist Italy and the supplying of material aid to the Ethiopian people must be the action of the working class itself.

THE INTERNATIONALISTS NEED OUR HELP!

By L. TROTSKY

The recently published letter of the Bolshevik-Leninist who had made his escape from the U.S.S.R., depicts a horrible scene of persecutions and reprisals on the part of the bureaucracy, and a no less horrible picture of the physical straits in which hundreds and thousands of devoted, unselfish and self-sacrificing revolutionists find themselves. Recently their terms of exile and imprisonment have been extended two, three, and even five years, without any new charges whatsoever. A considerable number of them have been in prison and exile since the beginning of 1928, i.e. for a period of almost eight years. It is apparent even from the official Soviet press that additional hundreds, if not thousands of old and young revolutionists have been subjected to arrests, exile, and incarceration during the current year, for not sharing the international policy of Stalin, or for merely disapproving his brutality with regard to Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others. Letters from exile received by relatives, as rare exceptions, depict a situation that is hopeless and that gives no sign of improvement. For instance, an old revolutionist writes from exile, "There is no sense in sending money here, it cannot be used here. . . . Nothing is to be obtained here, not even vegetables." Another exile, cut off from his friends for years, deprived of the opportunity to correspond with his family, even with his children, writes on a postcard which came through accidentally: "We are on the road of the old Lafargues," thus hinting at an attempt at collective suicide, most probably through a hunger strike.

News from prisons arrive much more rarely than from exile, and they depict new horrors, which leave far behind everything that Stalin perpetrated during the first

years of his struggle against the Left Opposition. That is how matters stand.

Moral and Material Aid

Moral and material assistance must be given, and it is needed immediately. The moral aid should consist in the exposure on the widest scale possible of the Bonapartist bestialities to which the captive revolutionists are being subjected. Any scrap of information that arrives must be given the widest possible circulation, the attention and sympathy of the workers must be aroused in those true heroes who have remained faithful to the banner of revolutionary internationalism over a period of several years under conditions of complete isolation, cut off from all information, and subjected to unheard of privations. It is necessary to protest openly and with all our might and main against the Stalinist terror which is directed not in the defense of the revolution against the class enemies but in the defense of the autocratic rule of the bureaucracy against the vanguard workers.

The material assistance must come in the form of collections of funds for transmission to addresses in our possession: the men in exile and in prison, wherever they are able, share the remitted sums fraternally between themselves.

But agitation, protests and collection of funds do not suffice. It is necessary to provide constant and correct organizational assistance to those revolutionist-internationalists about whom the Second and Third Internationals remain unconcerned, who are ignored by the reformist trade unions, and whom the bourgeoisie of the entire world rightly consider to be their bitterest enemies.

Prisoners in China

The question, of course, is not restricted to the U.S.S.R. In China, the prisons of Chiang Kai-Shek, the

former ally of Stalin, hold numerous Bolshevik-Leninists, with Chen Du Siu at their head, the old revolutionist, founder of the Communist party, who is serving an eleven year prison term. The leaders of the so-called "united front" painstakingly avoid all reference to the very name of Chen Du Siu, a name, however, that should become known to every revolutionary worker. In Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, Greece, Indo-China, and a number of other countries the fighters for the Fourth International fill in increasing numbers the jails and concentration camps of the reactionary dictatorship. Even in Holland, the classic land of "democracy," revolutionist-internationalists like Sneevliet and Schmidt have paid severe tribute to the jails of capitalism during the recent years.

However, concerned here are not only the Bolshevik-Leninists and the fighters for the Fourth International. In the countries of the Old and New Worlds, the numerous revolutionary organizations and groups that stand outside both old Internationals and that have not taken their place under the banner of the New International count no few victims in their own ranks. The same applies to colonies. Suffice to name, for instance, the Hindoo revolutionist Roy, now serving a 14-year jail sentence, who was shamefully betrayed by the Comintern in whose ranks he had fought.

Severe Trials Ahead

The still closer drawing together of the Second and Third Internationals as well as the trade union bureaucracies on a common platform of social-patriotism—the ground for which was laid by the Moscow Congress—holds in store especially severe trials for the proletarian fighters, who stand under the banner of internationalism and revolutionary defeatism. Screening

themselves by patriotic necessity, and even perhaps by concern for the "defense of the U.S.S.R.," the police and the prosecuting attorneys of capital will henceforth deal the internationalists redoubled blows, in order thus to remove the obstacles in the path of the "united front" of Stalin-Laval-Cachin-Blum-Joubaux, and also in the path of . . . the new imperialist war.

He is blind, or at any rate nearsighted, who fails to see this perspective. Revolutionists must prepare themselves beforehand for supreme trials and sacrifices. The working class is divided into different political camps; between those organizations which enter neither into the Second or the Third Internationals there are also serious disagreements. These cannot be eliminated artificially. But if there is a sphere in which honest revolutionary workers can and should combine their efforts, it is in the organization of assistance to the fighters who are captives of the bourgeoisie and who have been betrayed by the social-patriots. It is necessary to set immediately to the creation of a joint-party and an international association to give aid to the revolutionists persecuted for their fidelity to the principles of internationalism.

All the parties and groups standing under the banner of the Fourth International would of course readily join such an organization. But this is not enough. It is necessary to come to an agreement with all the other independent revolutionary parties, as well as the left wing minorities within the old Internationals and the trade unions. The question is of a burning political character. Great battles are ahead. It is necessary to build not only the army, but also at the same time to prepare the Red Cross and the sanitary corps.

Sept. 7, 1935

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

PEACE ON EARTH . . .

In recent army maneuvers officers were given red and white flags to wave over soldiers who were supposed to be "dead" . . . The press agreed that "serious and startling deficiencies have been revealed by the maneuvers. The army is badly equipped and poorly trained. Bigger appropriations are necessary for an efficient fighting force" . . . The 1935 Army and Navy appropriation is larger than any in peace time history . . . R.O.T.C. enrollment in Chicago high schools will be doubled. Uniforms and rifles have been purchased by business men. James McCarney, school board member, in advocating the increase said, "We have less difficulty with communistic and subversive influences in schools with R.O.T.C. groups" . . . Paris modistes have designed gas masks to match the latest gowns . . . London school children are provided gas masks and practice "air attack" drills . . . When Italy showed a momentary conciliatory attitude toward Ethiopia, munitions shares dropped 10 percent . . . Thirty thousand British troops marched north from Peshawar on the Afghan border to "punish" a Moslem tribe . . . Britain warned Italy to respect the League of Nations' covenant. Upon hearing the news Haile Selassie exclaimed, "God, Justice, and the Great Powers seem to be on our side" . . .

RELIEF . . .

A crushing, fainting mob of 1,000 aged persons stormed the Kansas City courthouse on the opening day for applications for old age pensions. The maximum payment is \$30 a month . . . Nebraska's four million dollar relief and old age pension law was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court . . . State WPA administrators receive almost twice as much per week as WPA laborers receive per month . . . WPA money has been allotted to teach children of the unemployed to play the piano . . . Palermo, N.D., desired PWA funds to rebuild a burned schoolhouse. It received WPA funds for a golf course and bird sanctuary . . . Following a drowning during a river baptism, members of the Second Colored Baptist Church of New Haven requested President Roosevelt to allot WPA funds for life preservers for future converts . . . 4470 students in Illinois will receive \$6 monthly from the National Youth Administration . . . Failure to spend relief money caused the government deficit for July and August to be one third less than estimated . . .

DIETETICS . . .

A world wide "Eat More Food" campaign was urged upon the League of Nations by Lord de la Warr, British Secretary of Agriculture, as a means of solving the world's economic problems . . . A government public health survey showed that children of the unemployed averaged six pounds lighter than children of employed workers . . . A Cornell University experiment proved that rats kept on a starvation diet lived longer than well fed ones. The underfed animals matured more slowly, were smaller and had less hair . . . Columbia University professors found that rats with an improved diet lived longer than hungry ones . . . The U.S. Department of Agriculture announces that turnip juice is rich in vitamins. Parents on relief and with small incomes are advised to substitute juice from crushed turnips for the more expensive orange juice in the diet for babies . . .

EQUALITY . . .

"America should have a nobility built upon intelligence, morality, altruism, kindness, greatness and noble feelings," says Jean Pierre Reinach who sells titles for the following prices: Duke, \$1,000,000; Marquis, \$700,000; Count, \$500,000; Baron, \$200,000. "Only men who are energetic and courageous enough to at once dispose of a million, \$700,000, \$500,000 or \$200,000 will be worthy to enter this new nobility which is destined to a great future" . . . W. B. Hearst proclaims: "There is no proletariat in America. There are no 'lowest orders of society' without property and privilege in America. In America all men are equal in rights, in opportunities and in political privileges. In America there are working men and working women, and that term applies to every man and woman who works and is paid for his labor, from window cleaner to the president of the most powerful industrial organization" . . . One block of tenements in New York City houses 3,571 persons . . . Hearst's San Simeon estate is larger than the entire metropolitan area of New York City . . . The officers of nine important industries receive a larger weekly pay than the yearly average of wage earners in the same industries. For example, in the Tobacco industry, officers average

THE A. F. OF L. AND THE TEACHERS UNION

By A. J. MUSTE

The rejection by the recent Cleveland convention of the American Federation of Teachers of William Green's demand that Local 5, New York, be "reorganized" in order to make it possible for the Linville-Lefkowitz faction in the Local to get rid of the opposition, must be considered as a part of the larger movement of insurgency within the A. F. of L. Recently there have been numerous and weighty instances of the insurgent spirit. In Minneapolis Local 574 of the Teamsters has had its charter lifted by the Teamsters' International, and one of the dominant figures in the A. F. of L. machine, and has to battle in addition a combination of local trade union bureaucrats, Farmer-Labor politicians and Chamber of Commerce. Nevertheless Local 574 has not only been able to stand up under this attack but has organized new groups of transportation employees, has been the leading factor in a series of militant strikes and the mainstay of a widespread progressive movement in Minnesota and adjoining states.

Forcing Dillon on Auto Workers

A few weeks ago the federal automobile locals met in convention in Detroit for the purpose of establishing an international union under an A. F. of L. charter. At the beginning of the convention Green in person laid down an ultimatum to the effect that the delegates must accept Francis J. Dillon, who as head of the A. F. of L. work in automobiles had consistently sabotaged an effective organization campaign and betrayed the General Motors strike last May, as the president of the organization at least for the first year. They were also informed that the jurisdiction of their international would not cover the skilled craftsmen in the industry; in other words, that their demand for a genuine industrial union could not be granted.

Although in the main the delegates to this convention had not come from the progressive states in the federal unions, they promptly rejected by a decisive majority the demand that they accept Dillon as the first president of their union. Notably, the Toledo delegates, who had been elected as conservatives in their local union, voted unanimously against Dillon.

Despite this clear and to nearly everybody unexpected expression of rank and file revolt, Green felt strong enough in this case to impose Dillon in the teeth of the rejection of the delegates. Nevertheless, the action was a real blow to his prestige and a clear indication that among the members is profound distrust of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, a spirit of independence and a strong demand for trade union democracy.

Somewhat later in the same week the struggle in the American Federation of Teachers convention came to a head. Doubtful of being able to put over their reorganization of Local 1 proposal on the delegates, Linville, Lefkowitz, Borah and other reactionaries appealed to Green. Having the habit of issuing decrees and on every occasion whacking "Communists" over the head, Green sent a strong message to the Teachers. They must get rid of "Communist" influence, and to reorganize Local 5 and kick out the opposition was the one way to make their union safe for Americanism and "true trade union principles."

There has been a reluctance, natural enough in a way, in the A. F. of L. as a small international, depending largely upon A. F. of L. support in state legislatures for advancing the interests of the teachers, to alienate the A. F. of L. leadership. But we are living in a new economic era and Bill Green is not Sam Gompers. The teachers by a decisive majority rejected Green's demand. Whereupon the reactionary minority walked out of the convention, clearly revealing themselves and all such bureaucrats as Green as splitters of the labor movement. There is this difference between the case of the Auto Workers and that of the Teachers, that so far, at any rate, Green has not been able to impose his will upon the latter. Local 5 has not been reorganized.

During the past week the Rubber Workers have been in convention in Akron, the demand on the part of the federal locals in that industry for an international union also having become so insistent that the A. F. of L. had to yield. In Akron Green was present in person as he had been in Detroit. Once again he undertook to lay down an ultimatum. The Rubber Workers must accept Coleman Claherty, the Francis Dillon of the industry, as their president for the first year. Again a howl of protest arose. A pungent two hour debate started in the course of which, according to a

press report, "the A. F. of L. officialdom was criticized strongly." When on the following morning the vote of 44 to 9 for rejecting the proposed appointment of Claherty was announced, Green, perhaps "softened up" by the blows received at the Automobile Workers' and the Teachers' conventions, capitulated completely and announced to the delegates: "I accept your judgment in the matter as final."

All this has an important bearing on the question of what is likely to happen in the case of the A. F. of L. at the approaching A. F. of L. convention and what should be the course of the progressive elements in Local 5 and in the Teachers Union throughout the country. It seems to me most unlikely that an attempt to take away the charter of the entire Teachers Union or to "reorganize" the Federation will be made. Such an action is without precedent in the A. F. of L. It is true that the A. F. of L. frequently steps in to support of the machine of an international union, in reorganizing a local, or an entire group of locals. In this case, however, the recognized international officials are opposing the reorganization of the local. It is true also that where two distinct organizations emerge as a result of an intra-union conflict, the A. F. of L. determines which has "jurisdiction," and, of course, almost invariably "recognizes" the conservative group. At yet, however, the locals which walked out of the A. F. of L. convention have not dared to organize a separate national union and to apply for an A. F. of L. charter which would invalidate the charter of the present A. F. of L. Even in normal times the A. F. of L. Executive Council tends to proceed slowly in such matters, since, after all, per-capita tax income is one of its first considerations. That the drastic action of outlawing the A. F. of L. at this convention will be taken seems most unlikely because these are far from normal times in the Federation.

Struggle for Leadership

There is, in the first place, a struggle for leadership in process and in consequence a division within the official family itself. It is not yet clear whether John L. Lewis will openly contest the presidency with Green in Atlantic City. The mere fact, however, that the contest is possible will tend to prevent extreme and precipitate action in the Teachers' case. Each side will be looking for votes and anxious to maintain the present organization intact though, of course, Lewis, no more than Green, entertains any affection for the progressives and militants, not to speak of the revolutionists, in the Teachers' union.

In the second place, with such evidences of insurgency in the

rank of the workers as I have already noted (and these instances could easily be multiplied) the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, no matter how much it may irritate them, will have to think twice before they run the risk of adding fuel to the flames of revolt by pulling off so raw a deal as would be involved in the reorganization of the entire Teachers' International or the setting up of a dual organization which certainly at the outset would represent a decidedly small minority of the organized teachers.

Conditions Favor Progressives

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the progressives throughout the union face on the whole, therefore, at this moment a favorable situation. There is no doubt that they can, for the present at any rate, have the upper hand, counting upon the general spirit of insurgency among the workers and in the A. F. of L. unions, provided that they stand their ground firmly and carefully avoid giving the bureaucrats any impression of fear or weakness—an attitude of which the bureaucrats know only too well from long experience how to take advantage. The proposition, for example, which the Stalinists made in Local 5 to conciliate Linville and Lefkowitz by dissolving all groups in the union is, even from the lowest tactical point of view, unsound. To run after a retreating enemy, so to speak, urging him to stop in order that you may give him concessions, in fact, turn over your sword to him, is more than a little ridiculous.

This is, however, not to say that the progressives in the A. F. of L. do not have a stiff fight now and will not have a stiffer one in the future. The reactionaries, both in the A. F. of L. and in the A. F. of L. generally, will fight back. The Teachers must utilize the present opportunity precisely in order to consolidate their positions, strengthen their forces, organize the progressive elements locally and nationally and equip themselves for effective resistance against counter-attack and for future advances and victories for progressive, militant unionism.

Groups in Unions

In this connection, insistence upon the right of groups to function in a responsible fashion within the union is of the greatest significance. Having such groups is not by any means without precedent in the American Federation of Labor. In the Typographical Union, for example, there have for years been two or more openly recognized "parties" putting forward their programs, putting up states in the local and national elections, etc. The Printers find it as logical to have parties functioning in the trade union democracy as that there should be parties, for example, in

a political democracy. A similar situation has existed, though perhaps not so continuous or on so large a scale, in many other A. F. of L. unions.

There are bound to be varying points of view in any living organization. It is far better that they should function openly than that they should operate in an underground fashion.

Why is it that the reactionaries in a union always fight against the existence of "groups," insist that this means splitting up the union, etc.? Does this mean that there are then no groups in the union? Not at all. What it means is that there is only one group and that is the group which is dominated by the union machine. It is perfectly well known that in the unions thus bossed there are always organizations, frequently known as "clubs," which constitute in effect the caucuses of the trade union machine. The cry of "no groups" means "no groups except our own" representing the union bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy is Organized

The bureaucracy always functions in an organized fashion and never relaxes its vigilance. Consequently, even if an occasional revolt breaks out, the machine presently rides roughshod again, because the opposition does not maintain a continuous organization. The Teachers must not only give up the right of groups to function but must steadily and rapidly extend the organization of the progressives.

Nor must the teachers permit themselves to be intimidated by the cry of such elements as Linville and Lefkowitz, that these groups are "dominated by political parties and do not have the genuine interest of the union and of the Teachers at heart." To say that the politically most developed members of a union must not function as factions in an organized way is to say that precisely those elements which should know most about the problem and be most devoted to the cause of the working class must not make their maximum contribution to the solution of the union's problems.

To try to forbid members of a revolutionary party to function as factions in the union and in progressive groups does not mean to remove political influence. Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the union movement in this country knows that in proportion as the influence of working class parties is weak, the capitalist parties (Tammany Hall in the New York building trades and printing trades unions, etc.) dominate the union. Trade unions cannot possibly function in a non-political world, least of all unions of teachers.

"Politics" in the Union

The Stalinists have, of course, by the irresponsible and disruptionist fashion in which they have functioned or tried to function in the mass movement, put a weapon in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats and have alienated many honest but uninformed workers. But this does not mean that "politics" must be kept out of the union.

Political organizations, the same as progressive groups in the unions generally, must be tested first by the program for the union which they advance, and secondly by the way in which they seek to advance that program. The Workers Party stands for a progressive, militant Teachers Union in which trade union democracy obtains and believes that its membership should seek to advance what they regard as the sound program for the union openly, by educating the membership, trying to win them to this program, at no time seeking mechanical domination or resorting to cheap politics, alliances with reactionaries, etc. in order to advance their views. The members of the Workers Party, bound to act under the discipline of their party in the union, will, precisely because they are under that discipline, work harder for the union, fight more vigorously in all its battles, display a deeper and more consistent loyalty to the union.

Revolutionists Play Their Part

It is not an accident that in each of the situations mentioned earlier in the article the Workers Party and its members have played a part—in some instances as in Minneapolis and among the automobile workers in Toledo a leading and conspicuous one; in others as among the teachers and rubber workers a lesser role. We are not by any means seeking to make revolutionary political parties out of the unions. But even now, only with a core of revolutionists equipped with Marxist methods of analysis and disciplined and hardened for struggle, can progressive groups be built in the unions which can successfully challenge the entrenched and hardened bureaucracies; and in the end it is only under the leadership of the revolutionary party that the workers will be able really to solve the problems which the present age creates and to free themselves from poverty and insecurity and the frustration of spirit to which the masses under capitalism today are subjected.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

Manager's Corner

Responses to the financial needs of the NEW MILITANT have continued in a very excellent fashion during the last few weeks. Many party branches have sent in special contributions, not listed under the campaign for the eight-page weekly. Accounts for bundles received are being paid up and subscription renewals are taken care of more promptly than before. Due to this fact we have been able to pay up a number of bills and make a beginning toward putting the printshop in a better shape.

We are building up a solid economic foundation for our press. This is an essential prerequisite for the launching of the eight-page weekly. Now we are making real progress in this respect and, naturally, we can only urge the branches and the sympathizers to continue the good work.

Our proposal is to begin now a very active concentration to obtain new subscribers. It is the most effective and substantial way of extending the NEW MILITANT circulation and, of course, it brings in additional funds. Enlargement of its size would not have any real value unless also accompanied by a corresponding increase in circulation. This is the main aim. We ask the comrades in every city to get busy in a systematic manner, to get subscriptions from all contacts. Periodic distribution of free copies at certain selected neighborhoods, factories or workers' organizations will be a help when followed up thoroughly to obtain subs. But the important question is to make sure that all contacts established be asked to become regular readers of our press.

This is the kind of work in which all comrades and all sympathizers can participate. It does not hold out any special reward except the fulfilling of a very important task—to build up the revolutionary press. In this we feel sure, however, that all our supporters will

join wholeheartedly. But there are also some direct inducements. We need only remind you of the prizes for the best sub-getters that have already been announced. One comrade has almost reached the point of making prize number one, and as soon as he completes his record the prize is his.

Again we also remind you of the simple and effective method of securing four three-month club subscription cards at the price of \$1.50.

It is necessary to get to work with speed and dispatch. When subs come rolling in we gain new readers for our press, we help to build it up and we help to build the revolutionary movement. When subs come rolling in we will soon make the eight-page weekly a reality.

During the past few weeks the comrades of the Los Angeles branch have rolled up quite a record. They have made special contributions not listed here; they pay all their bundle accounts in advance, they send in regular subscriptions and additional funds for the eight-page weekly campaign.

Since our last report on this account we have received the following amounts:

Contributions	
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	\$ 1.75
New Haven branch	2.00
Los Angeles branch	4.50
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	3.00
Center branch, N.Y.C.	11.25
San Francisco branch	6.00
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	5.50
Brownville branch, N.Y.C.	.50
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	1.05
Harlem branch, N.Y.C.	1.00
Advance Subscriptions	
Los Angeles branch	1.00
Club Cards	
Chicago branch	2.00
Greetings	
Allentown branch	2.00
Previously Reported	\$681.56
Grand Total	\$703.11

The U. S. in the Philippines

By LO SEN

The Philippines have acquired Manuel Quezon for a president and General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army as a "special military adviser." Thus auspiciously opens the 10-year period of the Philippines "Commonwealth" which is to culminate in the complete "independence" of the islands. The appointment of MacArthur "to supervise the organization of the national defense forces of the new commonwealth government" (New York Times) underlines the one fact about this Filipino independence affair of which little mention is made. American imperialism retains full control over the military and naval bases in the islands and full control over the future foreign policy of the islands. The change in the form of American control—and it is only a change—is designed primarily to assure the support of the Filipino bourgeoisie for America's war plans in the Pacific.

"Democracy" in the Philippines

"Enlightened" American imperialism has long known how to give its regime in the Philippines the semblance of "democracy" which assures to it the support of large native capitalist and landowning classes in the Filipino population. That these classes have been well tutored in the machinery of "democracy" is demonstrated by the presidential vote which tallied some 700,000—out of a population of nearly twelve millions! The semi-autonomous Filipino regime which had existed in the islands under the provision of the Jones Act of 1916 and the control of which has been concentrated for years in the hands of small political cliques headed by Quezon and the new vice-president, Sergio Osmena, has been corrupt and oppressive enough to measure up to the standards of our best democracies here in the West.

Under its rule vast holdings in land and other properties have been concentrated in the hands of a few families stemming from the old mestizo (mixed-blood) aristocracy and the millions of toilers have been reduced to conditions of helotry equalled only by those which exist in nearby China. Under this regime the revolutionary movement and the trade unions have been greeted by a policy of implacable terror. The Philippines Constabulary has been called into action almost exclusively to smash peasant revolts, such as the recent Sakdalista uprising in Northern Luzon, and to keep in subjection the Moros and other minority tribes in the South and in other parts of the islands. The new "commonwealth" under Quezon-Osmena-McArthur guarantees the continuity of these conditions.

Illusions of "Independence"

This arrangement is better suited to the war plans of American imperialism in the Pacific because it enables the Filipino bourgeoisie to develop the more easily illusions of "independence" under American protection in contrast to the prospect of subjugation by colony-greedy Japan.

The "commonwealth" is to last

for ten years. Those ten years are likely to see a solution to the basic imperialist antagonism in the Pacific—the Japanese-American fight for hegemony. Only the development of the revolutionary movement of the Filipino workers and peasants, along with the movement in China, Indochina, Japan, India and the United States will determine whether the Philippines will in reality decide and govern their own destiny or whether they will remain a pawn on the imperialist chessboard of the Pacific.

New Bolivian Party Formed

A new party of the Fourth International has been formed in Bolivia, called the Revolutionary Workers Party (P.O.R.). It was born in the midst of the greatest difficulties—difficulties engendered by years of strife between that country and Paraguay.

It cannot be said that the coming to "Trotskyism" of our Bolivian comrades was accomplished precipitately; nor that the organization lacks a real base. It has considerable influence among the masses.

It is necessary to point out that the "Grupo Tupac Katari" (Bolivian revolutionary refugees in Argentina) which with the "Bolivian Left" formed the P.O.R., carried on an effective struggle in making contacts with the army. The international outlook of the forces that formed the new Bolivian party brought them to the camp of Bolshevik-Leninism and was crystallized at the congress of Cordoba, Argentina, in June, 1935 where they declared their adherence to the International Communist League.

The groups that make up the P.O.R. gained the right to be considered the only revolutionary working class organization by working valiantly in the struggle against the war. The nucleus that today makes up the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia made contact with the soldiers at the front and had considerable success in the organization of Military Committees and in the distribution of its literature to the worker and peasant soldiers. One hundred of the prisoners in Asuncion (Paraguay) are militants of the party. In the rearward, where work was most difficult, its influence, established sporadically, is starting to be transformed into organized activity.

In Bolivia there never was much of a section of the Communist party. Despite objective conditions for revolutionary struggle and with the feudal bourgeoisie very weak, Stalinism was, however, unable to form any cadres before the war.

The Workers Party of the United States sends its heartfelt revolutionary greetings to the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia, born in the fires of war, and pledges loyal and fraternal collaboration in the solution of its tasks which in essence are our tasks also.

The Party at Work

NEW YORK BANQUET

You can't afford to miss the banquet to greet the Third Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Workers Party. It will be held Thursday, October 3, 7:30 P.M. at Irving Plaza. Vincent Dunne will tell of the recent magnificent battles in Minneapolis. Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, the largest and most stable organization of the unemployed in the country, will briefly review the recent struggles of that organization.

Germinal Allard—"Gerry" to thousands of miners who have fought side by side with him against coal barons and reactionary labor officials—will talk on the situation in Illinois.

Maurice Spector, chairman of the Workers Party of Canada and one of the best speakers that the Canadian revolutionary movement has produced, will trace recent political developments—"Social Credit," "COCC," and the coming elections in Canada.

In addition to the above, A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon will deal with the perspectives of the W. P. and the Fourth International. Max Shachtman will preside.

Good food and a short but excellent musical program will be provided. The limited capacity of the hall and the rush for tickets is a warning to the tardy. Get your tickets now!

The time: 7:30 P.M., Thursday, Oct. 3. The place: Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Tickets: 50 cents (can be secured at Party headquarters, 55 East 11th St.)

CALIFORNIA—

The San Francisco branch of the W. P. will conduct a write-in campaign in the forthcoming elections in San Francisco. An educational leaflet for use in the campaign is being drafted by the Pacific Coast District.

The Educational Committee of the West Coast District is calling upon all the branches to carry on an intensive campaign of meetings, leaflet distribution, etc. during the next few weeks on the war danger.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

ARMY RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the modern world the crude methods of direct and brutal colonial oppression by the "advanced" imperialist nations are resorted to only as a final means when more subtle methods fail. It is far easier and no more costly for the foreign exploiters to strike a mutually helpful bargain with the native bourgeoisie and its representatives. In Cuba the puppets Mendietta and Battista take their orders from the American capitalists through the United States Minister. In the Philippines the figure-head Quezon will take his orders from the "military adviser" McArthur, whose appointment to that post has just been announced. In the very way in which the news is made public, there is revealed the "open secret" that the election of Quezon was a pre-determined, cut-and-dried affair. The elections have only just been completed and yet it is stated that Quezon, precisely Quezon, had called for the appointment of General McArthur last summer. This is obviously revealed only now, after the elections, since it might have embarrassed Quezon in his campaigning. The United States Army, with commendable courtesy and in a spirit of cooperation, has graciously consented to transfer the former Chief of Staff to this new service, to help supervise the organization of the national defense forces for the new "commonwealth" government of the Philippine Islands. Under McArthur's rule the work of militarizing the Islands and the adjacent possessions will go forward to completion. The Philippines will be made a strong naval and air base for use in the coming war with Japan.

Gentleman's Agreement

Not that the threat of this war has again reached the acute stage. On the contrary, it suits the aims of both countries at this time to cultivate each other's friendship. Thus Ambassador Saito has just arrived at a "gentleman's agreement" with Washington to limit the volume of textiles to be exported by Japan to the Philippine market. This was done in order to avoid the imposing of an additional 50 to 75 per cent duty on Japanese goods entering the Philippines. The Japanese have even agreed to accept a smaller quota than the 52 per cent they had captured in 1934. This avoidance of a trade war in textiles may be extended to the general exports of the rapidly expanding Japanese capitalism to the United States and its possessions. But let it be inferred that the threat of war in the Pacific area is abating, one has only to glance at the enormous imports of scrap steel and other forms of

steel from the United States to Japan. The latter has increased her average takings of these vital materials by 800 percent. This means that in the last thirty months Japan has imported more of this war material than in the previous eight years combined. Despite the rise in price that has resulted, the rate of import has, if anything, increased.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

What is of greater importance to both the Soviet Union and to U. S. imperialism, there are rumors of a revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Speculation concerning the mission of the English economist Leith-Ross in the Far East centers on this interpretation. With the naval race in full swing as the result of the scrapping of the Washington naval treaty, the English find themselves more exposed than ever to attack in and from the Far East. The Italian threat to the Mediterranean line of communications that is like a sacred cow to British imperialism, only serves the more to emphasize England's weakness at the far end of these communications in Singapore. An alliance with Japan would serve to check the threat of the latter to build a canal through Siam that would "short-circuit" Singapore and shorten the route to India by two or three days. Japan would be given assurances against America and would police the Far East for the interests of both imperialists. Japan could then feel free to launch her attack finally against the Soviet Union. The resumption of this Far Eastern alliance would be in line with England's policy with respect to Germany; that is, of encouraging Hitler to expand eastwards at the expense of the Soviet Union.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

All these machinations of the imperialist robbers are directly and violently opposed to the vital interests of the world proletariat. This is the manner in which the bourgeoisie propose to maintain the system of exploitation, against the physical and economic well-being of the working class. The organizer and leader of the British Labor Party, Herbert Morrison, defending his betrayal of the working class by the support of British imperialism, says: "We are not interested in the struggles of rival imperialists and we are not going to be drawn into them." Such an ostrich policy places the workers in chains and hands them over to imperialist slaughter. On the contrary, we are vitally interested to oppose by revolutionary means all the machinations of all imperialists.

Side Lights on the "New Turn" of the Stalinists

By HENRY THURMAN

Manuilsky

D. Z. Manuilsky, reporting on "The Results of Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union," began by pointing out that since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as well as the second great victory over world capitalism since the October Revolution has been achieved." (Daily Worker, August 20.)

"We have realized," Manuilsky is quoted as saying, "what the best minds of mankind formerly dreamed of, socialism."

Here the Daily Worker resorts to a curious journalistic trick, unsurpassed in cunning, in order to confuse and mislead its readers. It outlines Manuilsky's characterization of the Stalinist struggle against the Left Opposition, and follows on the heels of this with:

"Then Manuilsky described how the party had repelled the attacks of the Opposition who expressed the interests of the rich peasants, opposed the high tempo of industrialization, and the development of Soviet collective farms."

Now obviously the spokesman must be here referring to the bloc of the Right, not the Left who fought for the struggle against the Kulak, urged a higher tempo of industrialization, and advocated collectivization for the peasantry. But the Daily Worker cleverly presents a juxtaposition of texts that will be sure to lead the uninformed astray.

The assembly of learned parrots permitted the crowding disgrace, the strangling of all discussion. Manuilsky ended his distorted report with a tribute to "our Stalin the great, wise, beloved leader of mankind," and the Daily Worker concludes smugly:

"Manuilsky's words at this point were greeted with a hurricane of applause lasting fifteen minutes. Andre Marty of the French Communist Party ascended the platform to read a statement in the name of special delegations enthusiastically approving Manuilsky's report and proposing that the Congress refrain

from discussion. Amidst loud applause, the Congress unanimously agreed."

But then, why not?

Brown

One good turn deserves another. Heywood Brown gives the Stalinists a boost, and they in turn have made a comradely gesture to the Workers Party. It all happened like this. Brown wrote a column exonerating the Stalinists from all suspicion of intentions to undermine capitalism in the United States. He implies that Stalin just can't muzzle the movement for revolution in this country because of the Workers Party.

"As a matter of fact there exists in America a small but highly articulate group which contends that they are the real custodians of true Communism, since they follow the teachings of Trotsky and totally reject the leadership of Stalin. How could a Russian Ambassador promise to silence them? And our own Mr. A. J. Muste, who was once head of the federation's labor college, frankly advocates the overthrow of the government by armed force but without benefit of orders from Russia."

Brown then proceeds to give a reformist whitewash of the C. P., absolving it from the accusation of revolutionism.

"But what are the revolutionary things which Earl Browder, American citizen, said in Russia? ... If those are subversive utterances please pick out my wall and firing squad."

Eager to show that they are really good reformists, not bad revolutionists, the Stalinists have accepted Brown's whitewash with glee. The Daily Worker has given its approval. And in Cleveland the grateful innocents have proudly pasted Brown's column up in the middle of the show-window in the Workers Bookshop!

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
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THE MASS TRIAL OF A "LABOR MAYOR"

"My wife said, 'Oh, Daddy, I'm hit.' Just then Mrs. Thompson turned around to help her and that tear gas bomb exploded right in her face alongside of my wife and she went down."

Just one quotation from the testimony of one witness of the police outrage at the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works in Minneapolis on September 11. Just a chance phrase from a mass of testimony on the conduct of the police department under the leadership of a Farmer-Labor city government. While the grand jury delivered a white-wash of the mayor and his police in the murder of two young workers and the wounding of many more men, women and children, a mass trial conducted by the N.P.L.D. before an audience of 700 on September 16 brought out the real facts.

Two witnesses testified before the court, where Wm. Brown of Local 574 sat as judge. Frances Heisler of the N.P.L.D. prosecuted, and Gilbert Carlson, also of the N.P.L.D., conducted the defense, on the failure of the defendants, who were invited, to appear. The stories told by the twelve witnesses of the fatal night of September 11 are almost incredible in the brutality and horror they reveal. Police gassing, shooting, stoning, beating, defenseless men and women. The trial was conducted before an audience of about seven hundred—a jury of twelve citizens, carefully selected from among those who had not been near the scene of the police riot brought in a verdict of guilty.

Address of Heisler

The trial opened with an address for the prosecution by Attorney Heisler who said: "I have defended many cases many times before a jury where workers or farmers were charged with the commission of a certain crime, but this is the first time I have ever appeared in the role of the prosecution."

"However I believe, the prosecution is on the side of the people this time, and therefore I shall conduct the prosecution in a manner that is not very often done by City or State Attorneys...."

"We shall present your testimony by witnesses that shall not be prepared by the prosecution, because I met these witnesses for the first time four hours ago. Most of the witnesses were not known to the prosecution up to this afternoon. The only instructions which were given the witnesses were that they shall come here and tell their story, tell the truth irrespective of where the guilt may fall."

Gustave Beck was sworn in by Clerk of the Court Roseland. Mr. Heisler opened the direct examination:

Q. Your name is Gustave Beck?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Beck?

A. Machinist.

Q. I call your attention to Wednesday last about 11 o'clock in the evening, were you present on or about 26th or 27th Street in the neighborhood of the Flour City Metal Works?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the court and the jury in your own words what happened after you arrived and until you left the place?

A. Well, I came down to the corner of 26th Street and I saw some people parading up and down the place. They paraded three or four times and as far as any violence was concerned on the part of the people parading there, I didn't see anything that was wrong.... Then the cops started to shoot those gas bombs right into the mob and I got some of it right into my own face, so I got out of there.... I walked across the street and a cop pushed me in the ribs and says, "Go on, run, you son-of-a-bitch," and I says I couldn't because I have a sore leg and then one of them started to club me and I got across the street where I had my car parked and

then a few more cops came around toward the north side and started to beat me again.

Testimony of Hendrickson

Mr. Hendrickson was sworn in, he testified that he was a machinist and draftsman, and had been at the Flour City plant "out of curiosity." Excerpts from his story:

"All of a sudden it seemed like everybody broke out and started throwing bombs.... the cops on the other side of the street ran across the street (toward us) and we broke up and ran. I ran toward 26th street and a policeman came around the corner just then and I run squarely into him and he hit me on the head and we both fell down and I got away and I heard him say "Get that guy." I turned the corner and I heard a shot, I didn't pay any attention until I was running by a house over on 26th Avenue and a fellow says, "There is blood running down your leg." And then they took me to the hospital...."

Q. Will you please state where you were shot?

A. Well, it is a kind of difficult place to tell, right in back, you know.

Engene Benjamin being sworn in testified that he lived only three quarters of a block from the Flour City Plant.

Q. Will you tell the court and the jury and the larger jury here what happened on that Wednesday night?

A. Everything. I saw the worst thing I ever saw. The police started to crowd the people off the streets with the armored cars and then the shooting started and the crowd of course scattered. They started to run up the street.... An armored car came driving by and got past us, then it backed up and shot another bomb, and struck Mrs. Anderson (who was with Benjamin) in the leg and broke her leg.

Q. You saw Mrs. Thompson was hurt did you not....?

A. Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Anderson were both hurt at the same time.

Q. Did you see whether Mrs. Thompson or Mrs. Anderson were attacking the armored car?

A. They attacked nothing, they were trying to get out of the road.

Q. Did you see the police use the armored cars to go after the women?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they successful?

A. They were successful, they got both women.

Q. Did you see the police shoot at the workers when they were running away?

A. Shot them in the back, yes sir.

Another Eye-witness

Mrs. Ebert, a householder who has lived in Minneapolis for twenty years, who is located just across from the Flour City plant, was sworn in.

Q. Did you have anything to do with the strike?

A. No.

Q. Were you on the picket line, Mrs. Ebert?

A. No, I don't know what that means; I didn't know what it means.

Q. You say before the police started to shoot the people were standing in the street in front of your house....?

A. Yes, I'll tell you how I saw it. I saw people standing there like in my church. I belong to the Pentecost Church. It was on the corner like it was in my church.

Q. The people were as quiet as they were inside your church?

A. Yes.... It was so quiet I didn't know a strike was there. Then I heard a shot, I thought it was something else and then it came a second time, several of the same kind of shots and then there came right there on the corner where I live, people standing all quiet, a rush and my heart almost stopped beating. The people around 26th

Street started to run up in my yard, and I bet I had 100 people there. One of the cars then came close to the house, then I took the people inside so they could get away from this. Then comes the police with shot guns, running, I don't know how many, about fifteen or twenty of them, and then shots. I started back in my house and started to pray to God.... that no souls should be harmed in my house.

I want to be sure I'm telling you right now, I don't want to be confused. The police were shooting and I heard screams and swearing.... and an ambulance or some automobile was taking two people right from between my house and the house next to me. Right on the porch they were shot. Then after that it was so quiet I thought everything was over and I went to the window, I went up to the window and then I stepped to the side and then there was a pain in my arm. It was a shot from the window.

Parade of Pickets

After some further examination in which Mrs. Ebert produced the bullet and several other slugs dug out of the furniture, the defense declined to cross examine. Eliza Blachir, who also lives near the plant was sworn in and told the usual harrowing tale, his wife also took the stand and related:

"There was no disturbance.... The pickets were parading and singing this "Solidarity Forever.".... All of a sudden there was a shot, and more shots, tear gas.... About this time there was a young man, a man in the thirties I imagine, he tried to cross the railroad tracks and a policeman pushed him first and because he didn't fall kicked him, kicked him just as hard as he possibly could, and then hit him again and then hit him over the head with a club.

Then a lady, a lady also in the thirties, she was coming along, was going home and she was hit over the head and dropped right there; and then two men picked her up, and carried her away. A few minutes after that.... there was an old lady, I presume to be about seventy years old. I believe she was with her husband and a young man. As they came up in front of our house they were approached by a number of policemen.... one of the policemen hit her over the head with a club with the result that

she fell against the policeman and then she was clubbed more by the others. The old man with her protested and was knocked down the same way. One of the policemen knocked the young man's hat off his head and when he bent over to pick it up he was severely beaten by four or five policemen.... the cars that passed by were stopped and the people were dragged out and searched for weapons.... We saw instances where police picked up rocks and threw them at the folks walking by in the street and then called to us and our neighbors and told us if we didn't quit throwing rocks they would come in and get us. There were no rocks thrown by the neighbors that we could see. They all came from the police themselves.... I have never seen the like of this in Minneapolis and I've lived here 43 years.

Spectator Wounded

Mrs. Ray Thompson, who was wounded during the riot, was next sworn in. She testified that she had nothing to do with the strike, that she was just passing by a block away from the plant after twelve, more than an hour after the first police outbreak:

"I was with five others, my sister was one of them, and she met her son and stopped to tell him he had better go home. He said, 'Mother, here come the armored cars, you had better run.' So we left the street and went in between houses about 33 feet from the street and I happened to notice an armored car went by. I turned around and my sister was lying on the ground. She had been shot and then something hit me in the face."

Many other witnesses were called. All had the same story of absolute unprovoked attack by the police, of a regular police riot that went on for more than an hour with unrestrained brutality....

While the jury was out a vote was taken among the assembled workers and a resolution condemning the police responsible for the massacre and demanding the removal of every officer who participated was adopted. The jury found the defendants guilty, the sole jury, incidentally, that could find anything but a white-wash for the mayor and his police, although the evidence against them was overwhelming.... but then, this was a working class jury.

Japan's Advance in China

By LO SEN

Four years ago this week the armed forces of Japanese imperialism swept into Manchuria. As now with Ethiopia, the best the League of Nations could propose was a plan for imperialist collaboration in the control and exploitation of China's northeastern provinces (the Lytton Report). Like Italy, Japanese imperialism thumbed its nose at the League's proposals and proceeded with its plans for the extension of its empire on continental Asia.

Japan's advance into China was in its way as great a threat to British imperialism as Italy's projected attack on Ethiopia. But in the Far East two other factors intervened which led Britain to give Japan a free hand. The first was Britain's desire to support a Japanese offensive against the Soviet Union. The second was Britain's inability to meet with American imperialism on common ground against Japan. Dollar diplomacy, hopeful that Japan would break her neck in an attack on the USSR, contented itself for the time being with the Stimson doctrine and proceeded with its military and naval program for an eventual clash in the Pacific.

That is why Japan was able to proceed, virtually unhindered, in its continental conquests. Since Britain was content to lay low, the League of Nations patiently took it on the chin, tagged a little and carried on. Today, because Italy's plans for expansion in Africa far more directly affects the so-called lifelines of the British Empire and because they are more directly linked to a tense and complicated pattern of antagonisms in Europe itself, Britain is massing its might to fight it out if necessary and therefore the League is permitted to make or threaten to make use of its sanction powers.

Japanese Offensive

Meanwhile Japan has proceeded methodically with the realization of its own "manifest destiny." Manchukuo was established. Pu Yi was put on a new Manchurian throne. A further attack drove the Japanese line of penetration into North China itself. A whole network of political military and trade agents was spread over Inner Mongolia with a view to its eventual incorporation into the new Manchurian "state". Most recently the remnants of Chinese control over the provinces north of the Yellow River were disposed of and new pressure brought to bear on the Nanking Government for compliance. Japanese demands for political, military and economic control are a hundred times more sweeping than the famous "Twenty-One Demands" of 1915.

In the face of this invasion the

Kuomintang, political instrument of the Chinese bourgeoisie, has consistently capitulated and begged only that the invaders leave it a scrap or a bone for itself. This capitulation has been accompanied by savage measures of repression against groups and individuals in the country who have tried to organize resistance to the imperialist invasion. The boycott in 1931-32, accompanied by considerable ferment among the petty bourgeoisie and among the workers, was smashed by the Nanking Government at the demand of Japanese imperialism. All fantastic propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the failure of revolutionary forces to grasp and develop this spontaneous burst of national revolutionary sentiment stands mute and terrible witness to the bankruptcy and failure of Stalinism in China. Only the absence of a strongly organized movement in the urban, industrial centers made it possible for the Kuomintang to give free entry to Japan and to turn its forces on the peasant Red Armies bottled up in the mountains of Central China. Only the continued absence of these proletarian forces made it possible for the Kuomintang to continue its relentless war against the peasants and eventually to drive their forces to the remote provinces of the West.

Task of New Revolutionary Party

Try as they may, the Stalinists cannot stretch the position of the embattled Red Armies of the Szechwan-Kansu-Shensi borders to the decisive sectors of Central China. In the key urban, industrial centers the proletarian movement has been left to its fate. Without a resurgent movement of the working class the struggle of the peasants against the landlords and the nationalist sentiments of sections of the petty bourgeoisie remain without outlet. Here lies the task of the new revolutionary party that has to be built in China: to find its way once again to the workers, to help them raise their heads and to put themselves in the van of a revolutionary alliance capable of smashing the Kuomintang reaction and of offering resistance to the continued offensive of Japanese imperialism.

To this there is no short cut. The new turn of the Comintern (shouldn't we now begin calling it Comintern?) expresses itself in China in the readiness of the Stalinist Party to throw in its lot once more with any groups of politicians and militarists willing to use anti-imperialist phrases in their scramble for power. This promises new defeats and new disasters. To the youthful and struggling Communist League of China falls today the mighty task of rebuilding the cadres of the Chinese proletariat for tomorrow's revolutionary struggles.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

L.I.D., NEW YORK—

Question: The Stalinist press (see the New Masses for Aug. 20) in order to support the Stalin-Laval pact, quotes Lenin to the effect that he would not hesitate a single second to come to the same kind of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers as he had reached with the French against the Germans, etc. What is the source of this quotation?

Answer: The quotation was taken from Lenin's "A Letter to American Workers." (See the comment on this by Trotsky in his article in the NEW INTERNATIONALIST for August, entitled "An Open Letter to the French Workers.") Following its customary practice of deceiving the workers, the New Masses does not quote the entire section of Lenin's pamphlet dealing with his "agreement" with the French imperialists. Otherwise it would be clear that Stalin-Laval could get no encouragement from it.

Lenin first explains the exact nature of his "agreement": "When the German imperialist robbers in February, 1918, threw their armies against defenseless, demobilized Russia, which staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to a certain 'agreement' with the French monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds a faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubezars to me. 'I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the defeat of Germany,' de Lubezars declared to me. 'That goes without saying (cela va sans dire),' I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an 'agreement' with de Lubezars concerning certain services that French officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render by blowing up railroad tracks in order to prevent the advance of German troops against us. This was an example of an 'agreement' of which every class-conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchist although we knew that each of us would readily hang his partner. But for a time our interests coincided. To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the International Socialist revolution. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the justified practice of maneuvering, necessary in EVERY war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened."

What was the nature of Lenin's "agreement" therefore? To blow up bridges. Did Lenin, as Stalin now does, tell the French workers that they should not fight against the capitalists of their own country, because the French were his "allies" against Germany? He did nothing of the sort, and no thoughtful worker will find any equality between his "agreement" and Stalin's. Immediately following the section of the article above quoted comes that part which is quoted by the New Masses: "And despite all the wrathful howling of the sharks of Anglo-French and American imperialism, despite all the calumnies they have showered upon us, despite all the millions spent for bribing the right Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik and other social-patriotic newspapers, I WOULD NOT HESITATE A SINGLE SECOND to come to the SAME KIND of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it...." (All quotations are from the International Publishers, 1934 edition. Emphasis in original.) It is interesting to note that the miserable editors of the New Masses are crawling here in a double sense: First because of the difficulties in apologizing for Stalin before the workers, and secondly because, having, on the previous week been confused as to what was to be the new "line," they used the wrong apology and had to make a correction. In order to avoid embarrassment the article was buried as an "editorial comment" in the "Correspondence" section, the apology being made by saying that the "... editorial last week—is wrong, since it is open to misinterpretation (!!!)"

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The Coal Strike

AFTER repeated postponements by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, the bituminous coal strike was finally called at midnight last Sunday. The one hundred percent walk-out is a magnificent exhibition of solidarity on the part of the 400,000 miners involved. It suggests the power that the American trade union movement would possess if these masses were under class-conscious leadership and could therefore express their native militancy and achieve real results for themselves.

The militancy of the miners is not, however, what Lewis depends upon. He fears it. He is engaged in shadow-boxing with the operators in order to impress the Roosevelt administration with his "influence," his power to keep the miners in check. Thus he believes that "favors" will be granted to him which he can pass on to the miners. Only on this basis of government favor and support can unions be built or maintained today, according to the Lewis philosophy.

The result of repeated postponements of the strike in order that the Guffey Act, "the little NRA" for the soft coal industry, might be passed is that on the eve of the strike thirty-three and a quarter million tons of coal were above ground, representing an almost two months' supply, nine million tons more than on the same date in 1934 and thirteen and a half million tons more than in 1933. Before Lewis finally called the strike, he had come to an agreement with the operators on all essential points and only a difference of a couple of pennies on the basic rate and some questions as to differentials between north and south remain. The operators and union leaders are in constant conference on these points and all the indications are that they will come to an agreement in a few days. Thus the magnificent solidarity of the miners is being prostituted for a fake battle which gives the operators a chance to get rid of some of their surplus coal, the demand for which is stepped up by the stoppage, and John L. Lewis a chance to show that he is "not to be trifled with."

Let this serve as another warning that the Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky group in the A. F. of L. are not progressives and cannot be counted on to support progressive causes and groups. The left wing must be built against them, not as the Stalinists seek to do, by the favor of these bureaucrats.

As for the miners, though even under existing conditions, their united strength is compelling the operators to give some concessions, "the little NRA" will not save them. Soon an intensified crisis will grip the industry. Let them prepare for that day by building their union and developing an honest, fighting leadership.

The N.P.L.D. and Sacramento

SOME 18 months ago, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, having initiated a protest against the deportation from Holland to Hitler Germany of four young revolutionaries, was told by National Secretary Patterson of the I.L.D. that the Stalinist defense arm would not collaborate in a movement including counter-revolutionaries and such "social fascists" as Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy who had endorsed the protest.

Much water has since flowed under the bridge. One of the four exiled youths has been killed by the Nazis. The C.P. has now changed its mind about "social fascism"; according to Sam Darcy's Western Worker, Huey Long, not Mary Fox, was a "social Fascist." As for the N.P.L.D., it has not fulfilled Patterson's diagnosis, made in rejecting the invitation to help the victims of Dutch "justice," that it had "died aborning."

The cases of Antonio Bellussi, Harold Robins and Andre Gras, all handled efficiently by the N.P.L.D. are history by now. The work of the N.P.L.D. in the Fargo riots, the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial, the Hallert case, the Philadelphia Fruit Clerks cases, and in an auxiliary capacity in the cases of Ward Rodgers, Ferrero and Salitto, the struggles against Hitler and Mussolini in New York on May 17 and Columbus Day last year all made their mark.

The latest news from Minneapolis indicates that the Mill City branch of the N.P.L.D. is in a fair way toward duplicating the splendid record of the parent organization in New York. The mass trial held by the N.P.L.D., which convicted Thomas Latimer, Farmer-Labor Mayor, of shedding the blood of workers, was the authentic voice of the Minneapolis proletariat and allied progressive elements. Not even the capitalist press could escape the significance of the revolt against Latimer's bloody persecution of striking workers and sympathizers. Column-reports of the N.P.L.D.'s mass trial, at which Attorney Francis Heisler of the Chicago N.P.L.D. served as prosecuting attorney, testify to the principled and efficient fight of the Minneapolis N.P.L.D.

No, the N.P.L.D. did not die aborning. It did not die even of the attacks of the I.L.D., ranging from

slandorous backbiting to physical onslaughts. It has grown and increased its activity. Its name is known and respected in the radical and labor movements of New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Allentown, Fargo, San Francisco, Oakland and other cities where it has participated in important struggles.

True, the N.P.L.D. has not achieved its objective of uniting many political currents in a single defense organization based on class conceptions broader than any partisan viewpoint. But the fault is not the N.P.L.D.'s.

Its moral right to the adjective "non-partisan" is unassailable. That the Socialist Party, which a year ago this month agreed upon a plan for entering and building the N.P.L.D., has not done so, is the responsibility of the Socialist N.E.C. The N.P.L.D. has shown by its policy in aiding members of the Workers Party, anarchists, Socialists and—more than once—misled Stalinist workers called upon it when the I.L.D. was betraying them, that it has a genuinely non-partisan viewpoint. Even Stalinist functionaries are compelled to admit this truth in deeds when they turn to the N.P.L.D. for aid in a jam!

The Workers Party, consequently, continues its firm support of the N.P.L.D. And today this means, above all else, supporting the National Sacramento Appeal Committee of which the N.P.L.D. is one constituent and a driving force. The work of that committee can mean not only the freedom of our comrade, Norman Mini, but a step forward for labor throughout California, a blow to the Hearst-inspired reaction.

The N.S.A.C. has plenty of obstacles to overcome. During the Sacramento trial the Stalinists called Norman Mini a stool-pigeon. For a time, just after he rejected probation and went to San Quentin, they felt forced to tone down to the insulting remark that he was "an honest, misled class prisoner." Now, again, they have begun an undercover attack on Mini; while their press religiously avoids all mention of his name, one of their people has just sabotaged the work of the N.S.A.C. in a San Francisco workers' organization by a speech about "Mini's dubious conduct at the trial."

Despite the fact that the I.L.D. is glad to have the aid of the N.P.L.D. when it finds itself in a jam in one of its cases, this is the way Stalinism treats the sole defense of a class prisoner now in San Quentin!

Our members and sympathizers have a great task to perform in the Sacramento case. There is no greater obligation than the rescue of a comrade from a capitalist prison. New directives have just been sent to all branches and the party calls upon every member to put them into effect energetically and immediately.

The Role of the P. M. A.

THE little bureaucrats at the head of the Progressive Miners of America (the independent union in Illinois) have a policy of keeping their members at work during the strike, though not all of them are following it out. These little bureaucrats play upon the resentment still felt by many of their members over the fact that in 1932 members of the U.M. W. worked under Lewis orders while they fought a bitter strike. There is no defense for Lewis's course in Illinois or anywhere else. The Illinois miners have often been in the lead in the fight against the Lewis bureaucracy and the Lewis sell-out policies in the miners' union. But today and for months past there has been no essential difference between the officialdom of the P.M.A. and Lewis, save that the former carry out feebly and on a small scale the autocracy, the cheap political trickery, the persecution of "reds," the class-collaborationism which Lewis carried out on a large scale and in an impressive manner.

Under these circumstances, it is heartening just now to learn that the left wing movement in the P. M. A. is on the up grade, that there is a split between Percy and Keck in the ranks of the little bureaucrats, and that a petition movement for a special constitutional convention of the P.M.A. will probably succeed.

The miners have nothing to gain from a separation which has no other basis any more than a private quarrel between big thieves and little thieves. A united union and a united left wing to make that union clean, militant, powerful, is the need of the hour.

Help Our Chinese Comrades

ONE of our Chinese comrades, just released after four years in a Kuomintang prison, describes in a letter how he was hung up by the thumbs and suspended from a beam until he lost consciousness. During his whole four years in prison he was kept chained at the ankles so that when released he was unable to walk. This treatment, he writes, is the common fate of all the political prisoners who were in there with him.

This is the fate now faced by our comrades who were recently arrested in Peiping and Shanghai, Niel Sih, Sze Chao-sing, Wang Yao-hua, Hu Hwang-chang and Liu Chia-lang. The Communist League of China, an organization committed, like our own, to the fight for the Fourth International, has appealed to us to mobilize aid and protests on behalf of these comrades. We cannot let this appeal go unanswered. Organize demonstrations before your local Chinese consulates! Adopt resolutions of protest, send them directly to the Executive Yuan, Nanking, China, demanding the release of our comrades and send copies to party headquarters in New York. Call for the release of Chen Tu-hsiu, of Niel Sih, Sze Chao-sing and the other imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists, and for the release of all political prisoners!

Push Fight For Sacramento Appeal

A San Francisco sub-committee of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, set up at a conference on Sept. 22, has begun functioning in the fight for liberation of the Sacramento workers now in San Quentin and Tehachapi prisons on 14-year sentences for organizing a union. An East Bay Committee and a Los Angeles Committee will be set up at conferences to be held in the near future.

The Workers Party, the Socialist Party, I.W.W., Y.P.S.L. and S.Y.L. constitute the San Francisco sub-committee of the national joint defense body, which includes nine organizations. Efforts will be made to widen the front in San Francisco. Tom Kerry, Pacific coast correspondent of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee as well as of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, is secretary of the new San Francisco committee.

The local committees will circu-

late collection lists, sell the official pamphlet of the N.S.A.C., approach unions for moral and financial aid for the defense, and lay the basis for mass meetings to be held on the eve of the appeal hearing.

Pressure on the Stalinists

As a result of the activities of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, the Communist party and I.L.D. have at last been forced into action on the Sacramento case.

Last January, when the N.P.L.D. was called into the Sacramento trial by Norman Mini, now Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, the C. P. suddenly terminated its apathy (caused by the "deviations" of some of the prisoners), and became quite active, especially in attacking the N.P.L.D. and Mini. Ever since the convictions in April, the Stalinists have played the case down, as they did before January.

The formation of the National

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HIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Progressives Win Rubber Workers Elections at Akron

AKRON, Ohio, Sept. 24.—After progressive forces made a virtual clean sweep of offices in the United Rubber Workers of America and the convention closed, attention was turned this week to the problem of obtaining financial support from the A. F. of L. and solving the status of the newly-formed international union.

The three executive officers went to Washington, D.C. to discuss with William Green his promise to aid the rubber workers and make plans for actual changing of the federal unions into affiliates with the international United Rubber Workers of America.

The officers, who represent the choice of the progressives, are Sherman H. Dairymple, president, formerly Goodrich local president; Thomas F. Burns, vice-president, key anti-bureaucracy fighter at the convention; and Frank Grillo, secretary-treasurer, of Los Angeles.

Six delegates were chosen on the executive council. Only one of them could be termed a Green henchman. He is George B. Roberts, an organizer and assistant of Coleman Claherty, whose plans, following his repudiation by the rubber workers, are uncertain. The other members of the council were very prominent in the fight against Green.

When Green left Akron he claimed the convention had voted down financial support when they turned down a resolution asking him to appoint Claherty as president. This is purely a threat. To include a financial clause in a resolution on elections is illegal, progressives argued, and they expect to take this question before the national convention of the A. F. of L. in October, if Green doesn't give them any satisfaction.

Dillon at Akron

AKRON, Ohio.—Although the Toledo Chevrolet strike was ended nearly four months ago, Francis D. Dillon, reactionary president of the auto workers international, still smarted strongly under the criticism given him by the Workers Party for his treacherous role in compromising the strike.

Dillon told rubber workers at the convention here that "the auto workers heeded the words of A. J. Muste and listened to direct action talk. They wouldn't follow me and the A. F. of L. leadership."

He implored the rubber workers not to listen to such talk in Akron. "They said the strike would have been won if I didn't come on the scene. They charged I was selling the boys out. They said I was reactionary," Dillon cried.

He didn't attempt refutation of the charges. All he could say was, "I challenge any man to prove those charges."

Dillon spoke on behalf of Green's leadership and urged the delegates to be satisfied with anything Green did. "It'll be for your own good." He was referring to the possible appointment of Claherty. His talk fell on deaf ears.

Brownsville Lecture
"The Seventh Congress of the Communist International"
Speaker:
James P. Cannon
Friday, Oct. 11th, 1935—at 8 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue—near Stone
Auspices: Brownsville Branch, W.P.

CHICAGO MASS MEETING
"The Truth about the Minneapolis Strikes"
Speaker:
FRANCIS HEISLER
Attorney
THURSDAY, OCT. 3, at 8 P.M.
Lincoln Center Auditorium
700 Oakwood Boulevard
Auspices: Chicago Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

"UNSER WORT"
Halbmonatsschrift der Internationalen Kommunisten Deutschlands (Bolschewiki Leninisten)
Bestellungen an:
J. Meichler, B. P. 14 248 Rue des Pyrenees Paris 20e
Preis des Abonnements fur 1 Jahr \$1.20; ½ Jahr 60c

Sunday Night Lecture Series
On The Road To The Fourth International
Sept. 29-Working Class Policy in the Impending World War (REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM VS. SOCIAL PATRIOTISM)
Oct. 6 - The Struggle Against Fascism (HISTORICAL LESSONS FOR AMERICA)
Oct. 13—THE ROAD TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (Forces and Prospects for a New World Party Under the Banner of Marx and Lenin)
Speaker:
James P. Cannon
Editor of New Militant
Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street
Admission 15 cents per lecture
Auspices: Workers Party, New York District.

Mixing Quotations

By HANK RICE
Somebody once said that mixing quotations was worse than mixing drinks. In the one case you have only yourself to be befuddled, in the other you befuddle and confuse an entire rank an file. Here are a couple of mixed "drinks" that I rescued from that fountain of wisdom, the Daily Worker. I submit them without further comment.

The first one is from the copy of Nov. 10, 1934. John Little, District Organizer for the Y.C.L., explains in an Open Letter to the Y.P.S.L. why he can't engage in a united front with the "renegades." About three-quarters of the way down he says:

"The Y.P.S.L. cannot insist that the Y.C.L. shall abandon what we consider our correct policy of fighting against bourgeois democracy and for the proletarian dictatorship, a policy which the Y.P.S.L. erroneously considers to be the cause of the rise to power of Fascism. Neither do we insist that the Y.P.S.L. shall abandon what we consider its thoroughly false and dangerous theory that it is possible to fight against Fascism by supporting bourgeois democracy through the theory of the lesser evil and the way for the rise to power of Fascism as in Germany and Austria. This policy is what we call social Fascism! Our characterization of it flows from our basic principles. We will not and cannot change our position on this question."

Now get a load of this from A. B. Magill's article in the Daily Worker of August 16, 1935:

"Where parliamentarism and remnants of democratic freedom exist, there, in spite of the capitalist interference, where it is possible for open fighting organizations of the proletariat to exist, there we defend parliamentarism and democracy against Fascism and continue to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship."

Latimer Grets Jobless

From the Minneapolis Tribune, Friday, Sept. 13. We quote the following report of the reception prepared by the Farmer-Labor administration of Minneapolis for a delegation of unemployed:

"Before the marchers made their appearance at the City Hall, extensive police precautions were taken. The 4th and 5th Street entrance doors were locked and policemen stationed at the 3rd and 4th Avenue entrances to question persons seeking to enter the City Hall. Sheriff Wall called in 70 deputies, who supplemented the police. He said machine guns were ready if 'anything breaks.'"

"About 75 policemen were thrown about the building, most of them carrying riot clubs that resembled short baseball bats. . . . Cordons of police and deputy sheriffs armed with machine guns and riot weapons stood by."

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Chaining the Workers to Imperialist War Machine

(Continued from Page 1)

French C.G.T. is even warning its workers to be ready to put the boycott into effect the moment that Geneva acts. But in our opinion Italy the boycott did not invoke against Geneva. But in our opinion Italy the boycott did not invoke against Geneva. But in our opinion Italy the boycott did not invoke against Geneva.

But let us suppose that Geneva really does decide on a boycott of Italy. Is Germany going to observe the decisions of the League to which it does not belong? Will the United States and Japan, neither of them members of the League, observe them? In no case will the League boycott hinder the Italian march on Ethiopia. Even the closing of the Suez canal would not work, for in order to close it effectively the war front would have to be extended until it led into a new European configuration.

And France, Britain, and the U.S.S.R., the guardians of the status quo in Europe, have no desire to lose the collaboration of Italy.

Arbitration Ineffective
From the preceding it follows that: arbitration is ineffective in as much as the aggressor is already known; it is useless to count on a boycott to stop the war. On the contrary, the war, now limited to Ethiopia, would become European and world-wide by action of the so-called "powers interested in the maintenance of peace."

Hitler, taking advantage of the diversion created by Mussolini in Ethiopia, might suddenly launch an attack toward the East or into Central Europe.

The powerlessness of Geneva is plain. Geneva is no more able to stop war than capitalism is able to stop war. What is then to be done? The appeal of the L.S.I. concludes: "In case of such a failure the international calls on the working class to avoid war." The appeal terminates by telling the working class that it is within its power to stop the war. To the failure of the League is added the failure of the L.S.I., which falls and has failed, by the admission at the end of its own appeal.

But, you say, the L.S.I. calls on its parties to organize protest demonstrations against Mussolini. That is clearly practical and worthwhile; but only on the condition that such demonstrations are not used to mask the class peace concluded by the Socialist parties and their auxiliary organizations with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries; as is the case with the British Laborites who are even now acting in concert with the leaders of their imperialist government. Demonstrations against Mussolini and for Ethiopia must be organized, of that there can be no doubt; but such demonstrations can only be effective and profitable if the working class demonstrates as an independent and autonomous force; not as an auxiliary in the service of this or that imperialism, satisfied (Britain) or unsatisfied (Italy) with its colonial loot. Only under such conditions can international protests be of assistance to the Italian people in their struggle against Fascism and aid in their deliverance. Any other conditions, which enable Mussolini to represent the workers of foreign nations as the allies of their imperialist governments, can only facilitate Rome's work instead of hindering it. This is what would happen if the example of the British Laborites, acting in accord with their imperialist government, were followed; and if the directions of the L.S.I. were followed and the actions of the pro-

letariat were subordinated to the League.

In order to preserve peace we must not rely on the intervention of Paris or London; we must coordinate action of the working class of every nation with action of the U.S.S.R. No other course is possible. And to do this we need not wait for the League, nor for the African war to actually break out. A boycott of Italian imperialism should be decided upon by proletarian organizations and applied internationally. But do not associate the action of the international proletariat with the interested maneuvers of this or that imperialism. To do this is to render the action of the international proletariat suspect in the eyes of the Italian workers, and consequently useless in the cause of peace and the overthrow of Italian Fascism.

There is little to be said for the Comintern. The Seventh Congress closed without one word, one whisper, on the war in Ethiopia. The Italian delegate, Ercoli, in making his closing speech on the discussion of the war question, called on the preceding speakers to "be concrete." In order to give them an example of concreteness, the Italian valet of Stalin ignored the war danger, and forgot to discuss any methods of combating Mussolini on an international scale, in the "concrete" case of an African war.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern simply confirmed for the thousandth time the death of this organization as an instrument of guidance and struggle for the international working class; and confirmed, on the other hand, its complete subservience to Soviet bureaucracy and diplomacy. The slogans of the Comintern are determined by Soviet foreign policy and for the present the U.S.S.R. does not wish to alienate Mussolini in the international race. That is the truth of the matter.

Another "Decorative" Conference
In the meanwhile the Italian Socialist and Communist parties, living in exile, have called a Congress of Italians in Foreign Lands. It is the latest style. Since Stalin has said that "we love our country" every Stalinist party, aping the master, has forgotten that outside of Russia, the first task of the workers is to conquer their country. This Congress of Italians in Foreign Lands, put off from month to month, is to meet the end of September, when Mussolini will in all probability already have started his African war. The Congress, if it ever does meet, will be nothing more than a congress of the Socialist and Communist parties. For the sake of decoration there will probably be a representative of the L.S.I. and a representative from France for the Comintern. But the whole affair will move in the language and in the spirit of the People's Front; one more demonstration, without any concrete goal and without results.

The duty of the international proletariat is not to limit itself to protest meetings. The ranks of the international proletariat must be reformed in action, in the boycott of Italian imperialism and its accomplices. To this end the coordinated efforts of the French, the British, and the American proletarians could do much. But it must be the coordinated efforts of the proletariat—not of their governments! War has become once more the touchstone of true proletarian internationalism. It is in the struggle against war that the true internationalists will come forward and that the idea of the Fourth International will take on concrete form.

N.Y. District School to Open Oct. 21

The Winter 1934 term of the International Workers School in New York will open the week of October 21. The curriculum includes five regular classroom courses, several lecture series in political, philosophical and cultural subjects as well as symposia and debates. Sidney Hook, James Burnham, James Rorty, Charles Malamuth and other prominent speakers will deliver lectures for the school. The schedule for the regular courses are:

Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M., Fundamental Elements of Marxism—Ben Borkeson, instructor.

Monday, 7-8:30 P.M., Organization Principles, Structure and Methods of Party Work—Martin Abern, instructor.

Wednesday, 7-8:30 P.M., Programmatic Foundations of the Workers Party—J. G. Wright, instructor.

Thursday, 7-8:30 P.M., Theoretical System of Karl Marx—Rubin Grote, instructor.

Friday, 7-8:30 P.M., State and Revolution—Jack Weber, instructor. In addition to the five courses, a lecture series on Trends in the American Trade Union Movement, under the supervision of A. J. Muste will begin Wednesday, October 23.

BANQUET
To Greet
THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING
of the National Committee of the Workers Party
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, at 7:30 P.M.
Speakers to include:
VINCENT DUNNE, of Minneapolis, Minn.
JERRY ALLARD, from Illinois coal fields.
MAURICE SPECTOR, Chairman Workers Party of Canada.
ARNOLD JOHNSON, National Secretary, N. U. L.
JAMES P. CANNON, Editor of the New Militant.
A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of Workers Party.
MAX SHACHTMAN, Toastmaster.
IRVING PLAZA HALL, Irving Place and 15th Street
Tickets 50c at 55 E. 11th St., or Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave.

NEW MILITANT

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WAR FLAMES SWEEP ETHIOPIA

Imperialist Robbers Bomb Helpless Natives As Second And Third Internationals Betray Proletariat Into New Slaughter

Bureaucrats Form Toledo Labor Party

Radicals Barred From All Influence in County Congress

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 30.—Hiding behind the innocuous non-deplume of the Lucas County Congress for Political Action, the Toledo Central Labor Union and the Toledo locals of the Railroad Brotherhoods have blossomed forth into independent political action. With a conglomerate state of politicians, supposedly friendly to labor, conservative union officials, and a couple of Socialists to provide a radical face, the Congress, which is completely dominated by the craft union officialdom, is attempting to gain control of the local city government in the next election as a "labor" ticket.

Boasting a program of various municipal reforms, the Congress is attempting to rally the support of organized labor, liberals and reformers.

The local union leadership is taking no chance that genuine radical influences will have any voice in the Congress, and is seeing to it that control remains solely in the hands of the local A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood officialdom. Organizations like the Lucas County Unemployed League, and independent organizations like the M.E.S.A. and the Toledo Newspaper Guild were specifically excluded from representation in the Congress. The local Workers Alliance is included in the Congress as a "safe" organization.

Union bureaucrats, such as Otto Brach, secretary of the Toledo C.L.U., are backing the move, as they believe it will not compromise them with the old-time political machines with which they have been cooperating for years. Since the elections permit only "non-partisan" candidates, they feel safe in endorsing

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'Militant Socialist' Program Hedges on the Question of War

(By the Editorial Board)

A revolutionary program on which to unite for years has been, and still continues to be, the basic need of the left wing currents in the Socialist Party. This fundamental task has been constantly avoided by the "Militant" Socialist leaders, who are a heterogeneous combination of working class theory and strategy. The first "Militant" program, hurriedly gotten up within a few days of the June, 1934 convention, was the work of a few individuals; it was quickly scrapped at the convention for the sake of an unprincipled alliance with Hoan and Thomas, and was never heard of again.

Now that their 1934 alliance has come to grief (which was a foregone conclusion, predicted by us a year ago, and did damage only to the potential left wing which was never built because of the alliance), the "Militants" are again under pressure to produce a program. Characteristically, the new program, again the work of one or two individuals, was presented at the recent "Socialist Call" Institute without any decisive action being taken on it; it was referred back to an editorial committee together with all comments and criticisms. Equally characteristic, the draft program has been distributed only to a select few; it has been published nowhere; the rank and file in the Socialist Party are in no way involved in a broad discussion of what the finished program should contain.

Yet only a very few months remain before the election of delegates to the next biennial convention of the Socialist Party! The "Militants" vacillate, while the Old Guard, having re-established its prestige by the capitulation to it of the N.E.C. majority, prepare to complete their victory at the convention. There is very little time left for the genuine left wing forces to gather strength for the struggle

Both Int'l's For League War Moves

Even as the first blood has been shed on the mountainous plateaus of Ethiopia, the two Internationals of the Third, hasten to conclude the last terms of their pact with the bourgeoisie... they seek to surpass even the capitalists in their anxiety to push the workers whom they pretend to represent, into a new and bloodier slaughter. Both the Socialist and Communist parties of Britain demand—that their government apply sanctions against Italy... they can hardly wait for the blood bath.

The British Labor Party, the hope and glory of the Second International now that the German Social Democracy has been led into the pit, has just voted for war, twenty to one! George Lansbury, the aged pacifist leader of the Labor Party rose at the congress and said: "I cannot believe—may it be impossible to believe—that there should be anyone in this assembly who could uphold the opinion that there could be a pretext—even that of counter-attacking—to throw bombs and deadly gas on the women and children of another race."

"I cannot see any difference between massacre organized by the League of Nations and massacre organized by the nations individually."

A Song and a Vote
Says the New York Post: "Thunderous applause and spontaneous shouts of 'For he's a jolly good fellow' greeted the seventy-six year old leader." Immediately afterwards the assembly voted twenty to one to support League Sanctions against Italy—to support the present agent of British imperialism, the League of Nations, in any measures it may take...not pledging to support, but urging the League to "take action." Thus lightly these jolly

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Revolutionary Policy Alone Can Defeat Imperialist War

STATEMENT OF THE THIRD PLENUM OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S., NEW YORK, OCT. 4.

1. The armies of Italian Fascism, after months of deliberate preparation, have now launched their attack upon the Ethiopian peoples. Driven by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie seek a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The outbreak of war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a re-division of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaign in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary. The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

Expose the Bandit League

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the maneuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. Since Ethiopia first invoked League assistance on December, 1934, the negotiations have served to permit uninterrupted preparation for the war by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have haggled over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection, and territories, which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat of League sanctions has been made not to save Ethiopia—which the League report itself offered to sacrifice—but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, and to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe. The League of Nations is the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European powers is U. S. imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U. S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U. S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. The U. S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U. S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Against Stalinist Betrayal

5. The U.S.S.R. cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against imperialist war is the defense of the U.S.S.R. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be based only upon the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an ever increasing degree, serves solely to disorient the international proletariat, break up the struggle against imperialist war, and thus undermine the real defense of the U.S.S.R. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military pacts with bourgeois states, upon diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and the maneuvers of the League, Soviet foreign policy promotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war requires the constant exposure of the foreign policy of Stalinism.

6. One of the most dangerous illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, and pacifists of all shades, is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving democratic" nations and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentalism, not political realism. The causes of war are to be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without

exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity," by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labour International have announced a repitition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the British Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, once again takes the position of national unity—that is, solidarity with the class enemy—before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism. In France, the leaders of the S.F.I.O. have taken the same position—to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against "Hitler aggression," and now to "implement the League Covenant" by government sanctions. In August, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labour International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

Combat Social Patriotism

8. During the past year, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class truce and social-patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union in the League during the development of the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C.I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the heir of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U. S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist party applauds the position of the Labour Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; and throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means every where the relentless struggle against Stalinism.

9. Throughout the world the only organized forces conducting and advocating the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war are the parties and groupings of the Fourth Internationalists. The Workers Party of the U. S. carries on this struggle in the closest solidarity with its comrades in all countries.

Against the betrayers, the Workers Party rejects every form of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism; it rejects every conception of national unity and national defense; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeois state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; it rejects the sentimental illusions of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals; above all it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U. S. imperialism.

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers, bourgeois women's clubs and "anti-war" professionals.

Defend Ethiopian People

The Workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the U.S.S.R. for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples—not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian Emperor and semi-feudal chieftains. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of finance-capital and its puppet states. And likewise for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and the struggle against the approaching world war, it is only the independent action of the working class together with its allies under its leadership which gives hope to the working and exploited masses—a struggle not in collaboration with the bourgeoisie through the

(Continued on Page 4)

Bombs Rain On African Mud Hovels

The Ethiopian butchery begins with the corpses of hundreds of native men, women and children torn to pieces by bombs rained down on the helpless and poverty stricken hovels of Adiglat and Adowa. The great civilizing mission of the modern Caesar begins with his Italian son-in-law dropping T.N.T. from planes on the uncivilized natives to give them a first lesson in the amenities of capitalist culture. And the torn and broken bodies of the first victims in this senseless war, killed in cold blood without chance of reply, are the first lessons in civilization.

With machine guns, artillery, tanks, and airplanes the "courageous" Italian generals advance against a practically unarmed horde of natives swarming to the defense of those rights for which thousands of Chinese, thousands of Indians, of Mohammedans, of Boers, of Africans, have given up their lives in the last century—the right of national peoples to live outside the crushing yoke of British, French, Italian, and American imperialism.

The first reports indicate that the Ethiopians are retreating before the Italian advance, concentrating around the town of Adowa, scene of one of the only successful stands against an all-embracing imperialist civilization in the history of the last century, in 1898—to make another attempt to beat off the Italian Fascist vampire.

The outcome of the war does not depend upon the fortune of individual battles but upon the staying power of the Ethiopians. If they can keep the field, constantly harass the Italian army, retreat without engaging in hopeless battles, split the Italian army and fight it in pieces, they can exhaust not only the army, but more important the Italian nation and the Fascist regime, which embarked on this war, in the first place, as a last resort to bolster a tottering economy and an explosive political situation.

N.P.L.D. Aids Cuban Workers In Struggle against Terror Rule

A terrible picture of the terror waged against the Cuban masses by the American-controlled dictatorship, and an appeal to American trade unions for solidarity against their common oppressors, is contained in a letter just received by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense from the Committee Pro-Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners, on which is represented every important political and trade union organization of Cuba, including the Havana and National Federations of Labor, the Communist party, the Bolshevik-Leninist party, and the National Revolutionary party of former President Grau San Martin.

In response to this letter, the N.P.L.D. has appointed a special Committee on Cuba, of which Anita Brenner, well-known writer on Latin-America, is chairman. A campaign to aid the struggle for amnesty has been launched.

The letter gives a graphic picture of the Cuban terror:

"After the strike last March, the entire police-system of the Government plunged into systematic persecution of all revolutionary parties and trades-unions. Not a single workers' headquarters was left open. Every labor party and trade union was outlawed. Arrests and sentences by emergency tribunals marked the conclusive blow of this bloody Thermidor. Thousands of workers, students and intellectuals were given sketchy trials, and monstrous sentences. The mere suspicion of having taken any part what-

Iron Workers Victorious in Minneapolis

74 Day Battle in Which Two Were Killed Comes to End

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The 74-day strike siege of the Minneapolis metal workers centering around the Flour City Ornamental Iron Works has come to a victorious conclusion. During this memorable battle the bosses and the Farmer-Labor city administration tried every single trick known to labor haters, everything from "conciliation" to the outright murder of union men. The union has stood firm through a barrage of paid advertisements in the yellow press, injunctions from the lackey courts, strikebreaker thugs and gunmen, police in armored cars, "impartial boards," red scares, etc.

Several weeks ago two workers were killed and many wounded when the Farmer-Labor mayor ordered his lawless police to attack the pickets, after many unsuccessful attempts to open the factory with scabs had been defeated by their vigilance. But this provocation, like all others, only reinforced the strikers' determination to win and enlisted the sympathy of the whole working class of Minneapolis.

Then Mayor Latimer tried another attack, setting up what became his Employer-Employee board, a pale attempt to mask reactionaries and labor fakers as impartial arbitrators.

Terms of Agreement

Cutting through all red tape the strikers negotiated with the real forces, the Citizens Alliance in the person Mac Aloon. The agreement concluded provides for the return of all strikers to their former positions; for wages close to the unions original demand varying from 45 to 67 cents per hour; for the forty hour week; time and a half for overtime, etc. The agreement may be reopened anytime during the next thirty days—men discharged before the strike for union activity are to bakers' union, Crescencio Freire, be reinstated. The settlement covers

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soever in the strike was punished by jail terms of years. Any accusation, proved or unproved, made by any police agent anxious to gain rewards and credits, was enough, before the Emergency Tribunal, to condemn the accused. In Santiago de Cuba young Jaime Greinstein (tried under the name of Angelo Terry) was condemned, with no concrete proofs against him, and ordered shot. This was done in order to terrorize and silence the protests of a people not satisfied to be the eternal sacrificial lamb. The simplest, most rudimentary civil rights—free speech, free assembly, and so on—were destroyed with machine guns, machetes, and inquisitorial trial-and-sentence methods.

Savage Persecutions
These methods are functioning still. The Reaction follows an ascending curve of refinement in the savagery of its persecution. Recently our comrade Georgina Gutierrez, member of a workers' party, died in prison after weeks of agony. She died a victim of the sentence imposed on her by an Emergency Tribunal, with no concrete proofs against her. Our brave militant Francisco Mateo Escalona was virtually murdered, dying from the beatings and tortures inflicted by the police. Comrade Naftali Pernas, of the Directory of the University, was savagely tortured after his arrest. Comrades Ramirez Cossio and Pablo Cano are ill in their cells, victims too of mistreatment and torture. A devoted leader of the

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A CASE FOR A LABOR JURY

Against All Types of Gangsterism in the Working Class Movement; On the Murder of the Italian Stalinist Montanari

By L. TROTSKY

On August 9, according to a news item in *L'Humanite*, the Italian communist Montanari was murdered in the Metro Belleville. On August 12, *L'Humanite* printed an altogether monstrous, but, of course, in no way unusual explanation for the murder. The anonymous article appeared under the title, "Laval and the Fascists Swell the Provocations." This headline which is part of the official campaign against the Laval ministry and the Fascists was accompanied by a sub-head, "Montanari Murdered by a Trotskyist Provocateur." Fundamentally, the juxtaposition of these two headlines is quite characteristic of the article, the author, and the newspaper itself. But the text contains not only but innumerable assertions which are downright contradictory. "The murderer is Guido Beiso, the well-known Italian Trotskyist who has been carrying on provocative activities for a long time among the Italian emigres." What is implied by "provocative activities" in this connection? Has he been making speeches against social-patriotism or is he in the employ of Mussolini? We are kept uninformed on this score. Further on we are told that Montanari "had become the target for the hatred of the Trotskyist elements who had been expelled from the party, and who subsequently (that is, after their expulsion—L.T.) resorted to open and criminal provocative activities."

Jig-Sawing the Facts

The case becomes more and more involved. It seems that not only Guido Beiso, but an entire group of expelled Italian "Trotskyists" was engaged in "open (!) provocations." In the service of the Fascist police? Again no direct statement. But in order not to leave the reader in doubt as to the meaning of the word "provocation," the article adds that Beiso has been living "like a lord." Finally we discover that in Nice Beiso had been "exposed as a provocateur (by whom?) who was bound up (?) with the entire Fascist work of penetrating the anti-Fascist masses." This confused statement contains already a direct charge of a connection with the Fascists. Let us bear this in mind. From Nice, Beiso arrived in Paris and murdered Montanari. It is well known that the Fascists murder communists and particularly revolutionists. It is quite in the nature of things for a Fascist provocateur to pose as a "Trotskyist" or a "communist" or a "socialist." But we have been told beforehand that the murderer was a "well known Italian Trotskyist." Does this mean to say that he turned from a Trotskyist to a Fascist, i.e. changed his revolutionary position? Such cases are not unknown. But *L'Humanite* does not raise this question. In harmony with the two headlines, it proceeds to develop the dual version: simultaneously both a "Trotskyist" and a Fascist. This amalgam is the pivot point for the entire indictment.

Further down we read not without surprise, "His explanation that he wanted to avenge himself for unjust charges is only a screen intended to hide the truth." We are not clearly and expressly informed as to what this "truth" is. Instead we shortly and incidentally discover that the murderer felt himself to be maliciously slandered, had provoked, and in revenge used the revolver. At any rate that is the murderer's own version. Let us keep this in mind as well.

The anonymous article proceeds to state further that the Italian C. P. had long since issued a warning to be on guard against the "dubious actions of this individual." Why dubious? Only dubious? Hadn't we been just told that Beiso was "exposed" as a Fascist provocateur in Nice? Exposed! The work of a provocateur has never yet been assumed to be dubious. A provocateur is a mercenary scoundrel, nothing more. If one maintains that another's activities are dubious, then it means that one has only suspicions but no proof. In such cases, genuine revolutionary organizations gather the necessary evidence before proceeding with open indictments. That has been the revolutionary tradition from time immemorial. And yet from the words of *L'Humanite* itself we have to draw the conclusion that Beiso was not exposed as a provocateur, but only suspected of being one (by whom? for what? when?), and that besides he himself angrily objected to these charges. And on top of this we are also told that "Beiso decided to come to Paris where he did not conceal his murderous intentions." At this point we become entirely perplexed. Had Beiso really been in the employ of the Fascists, had he "lived like a lord," had he really been exposed as a provocateur and arrived in Paris in order to perpetrate a Fascist murder how could he have failed to hide his murderous intentions? Here the version provided by *L'Humanite* contains a fresh and

a patent absurdity. The author is unable to present his own version consistently.

As Clear As the Kirov Case

As the anonymous article proceeds it becomes more and more entangled. We read that the "provocateur" was never a member of the C. P. (yet we had just been told that he belonged to a group of expelled Trotskyists—L.T.), this agent of Fascism among the Italian emigres naturally found sympathy and shelter among the Trotskyist groups. . . . And in this manner we get a new version: he was not a "well known Italian Trotskyist," as was originally stated, but he became a Fascist provocateur after his expulsion from the party; so he was a Fascist provocateur, never a member of the party, who "naturally" (of course! of course!) found sympathy among the Trotskyists. And to leave no further doubt as to the source of the information nor as to its purpose the anonymous author appends to this the following "it was almost (!) in the same way that our comrade Kirov was murdered." Almost! But Kirov was indeed murdered by a party member as was established by the official documents, no one had placed the blame on Fascist provocation.

After several more new zigzags, the article concludes with an utterly amazing political moral: "The French workers made more cautious and wiser by the lessons of Austria and Spain, will not be led into this criminal trap." A remarkable revelation! The defensive uprising of Austria and Spain which even the social-patriotic and pro-coalition Congress of the Communist International was compelled to recognize as heroic actions on the part of the proletariat—these in the judgment of *L'Humanite* were in reality the products of the activities of Fascist provocateurs, the very same ones who had killed Kirov in Leningrad and Montanari in Paris. This abysmally profound moral of the Marxists from *L'Humanite* is obviously especially intended for the workers of Toulon and Brest.

The Diary of a Lunatic

The reader will agree with us if we say that this article resembles a page from the diary of a lunatic. Only, there is method in this madness, and it has not yet said its last word. So let us pursue the further developments of this case. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninists against whom the anonymous author had leveled his anonymous charges, declared on August 14, through comrade Jean Rous, a leading member of the French Socialist party, that "Beiso was never a member of our organization, nor did we have any sort of relations with him, and we never even heard his name before." Isn't that clear enough? On August 15, *L'Humanite* which had sung a political denunciation full of lies, finds itself com-

pelled to state that "We are taking under consideration the declaration of the Italian Trotskyist group." But *L'Humanite* would have remained true neither to itself nor to its lord and master had it simply bit its tongue and kept quiet. No. This rag immediately adds that it has in its possession certain letters of the murderer which clearly indicate that Beiso "was imbued with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist ideology." On the heels of all they had said previously, this rings a trifle over-strained. "Ideology"! We are well aware what can be done with this subtle substance in the chemical laboratory of Messrs Duclos and Co.

After several new and this time entirely amorphous and elusive insinuations, in which impulsive mixed with malice, *L'Humanite* concludes, "Naturally, the tie up between the murderer and the Trotskyists (who have just categorically denied it—L.T.) does not exclude an understanding between Beiso and the Fascist provocation. It all lies together." "Naturally"! But why do these bold cowards now say that "it does not exclude" being excluded? On August 12 they did indeed proclaim that Beiso, this "well known Trotskyist," had been exposed as a Fascist provocateur, who "lived like a lord," obviously on Mussolini's gold. Now it appears only that the large and nice ears of *L'Humanite* are able to distinguish notes of a Trotskyist ideology (ideology!) in the letters of the murderer, which circumstance "does not exclude" (that is all: does not exclude) the tie up between Beiso and the Fascists. "It all lies together" . . . with stitches of white thread.

New Criminals Found

Finally, on August 18, *L'Humanite* published a proclamation of the Central Committee of the Italian C. P.: Montanari was the victim of a "murder which the agents of the Fascist reaction had prepared for their counter-revolutionary mission in the circles of the Trotskyist and Bordighist emigre groups." No more, no less! This information is all the more interesting because in the Bordighists appear on the scene for the first time, a group which is neither ideologically nor organizationally connected with the so-called "Trotskyists," but whom we have not the slightest doubt about it,—had as little to do with the murder as the Bolshevik-Leninists. The Bordighists are dragged in so as only to widen the radius of the calumny: the Italian Stalinists have to reap a little additional profit on their own account. But what is most remarkable about the communication of the Italian C. P. is that it does not at all mention in any way Beiso's connection with the Fascists. No, the matter is much more involved, or, if you will, much simpler: the Trotskyists and

the Bordighists are "in general" the agents of Fascist reaction and Beiso prepared himself for his mission in these "circles," i.e. within both these circles which are fighting one another. Now, at last, we can grasp the meaning of the words, "It was almost in the same way that our comrade Kirov was murdered." That is to say: it was almost in the same way that scores of people were indicted in the Kirov assassination who were in no way implicated in the murder.

Out of this entire snarl of interlinking calumnies and insinuations that crumble into dust, one thing stands out each time, namely that Guido Beiso came into some sort of a sharp conflict with the organization of the Italian C. P., or some of its members. If one were to leave aside the all-embracing and therefore in no way illuminating "ideology," then any normal thinking individual would ask the question: What was it that really drove Beiso to commit murder? If we do not proceed from the assumption that he was mentally unbalanced (there is no evidence for this as yet), we can only arrive at the conclusion that he must have been subjected to an extraordinary painful personal experience which he found insufferable, which finally threw him off balance and drove him to a senseless and criminal act. But who drove him through this insufferable experience? Was it the "Trotskyist" organization with whom Beiso had had no relation whatsoever, or the organization in whose name *L'Humanite* speaks? Thus, and only thus does the question stand. Doesn't there follow from this the supposition that the Italian Stalinists accuse Beiso whom they despise, of provocation without any real evidence, perhaps without any evidence at all, i.e. utilize those poisonous weapons which serve these people as logical arguments for the most part? As is evident from *L'Humanite* most violently against the accusations, and threatened the authors with death. No provocateur who had undertaken the murder of a revolutionist would act that way: but an unknown and a headstrong emigre could act in this manner, finding no other means of defense against the slander campaign. By these hypothetical considerations (and it is only a question of hypothesis) we do not mean to cast the slightest shadow on the murdered Montanari. It is entirely possible that he fell an accidental victim, or—if he did participate in bounding the alleged "provocateur"—he did so in good faith because he trusted his party and its thoroughly demoralized leadership. But Montanari's personality does not solve the question of Beiso's motives.

Let the Workers Judge!

Scoundrels will say that we advocate or justify murder as a method for solving conflicts within revolutionary circles. But we are not writing for scoundrels. The Montanari-Beiso case is important precisely because a conflict on the political plane has led to a supremely senseless act of murder to an emigre by another. In this there lies an ominously serious warning, and it is necessary to grasp its significance in time!

The matter is now in the hands of the bourgeois law courts. The official investigation is obviously not intended to cast light on the bloody tragedy from the standpoint of revolutionary morals of the proletariat. The prosecution will probably try only to compromise the proletarian emigres and the revolutionary organizations in particular. But the agents of the Comintern will also try to exploit the trial for every vile purpose, as they are obliged to do. The duty of workers' organizations, without any regard for political banners lies in one thing: in shedding the greatest light possible on this case, and thereby, insofar as it is possible, to prevent the repetition of gunplay in revolutionary circles.

In our opinion the labor organizations must establish, without any further delay, an authoritative and non-partisan Committee which would go over the entire material, including Beiso's letters mentioned in *L'Humanite*, to examine all the witnesses and representatives of the parties and groups who are concerned or interested in the case, so that the political, moral and personal circumstances in the case be clearly established. This is necessary not only in memory of Montanari, not only to reveal Beiso's real motives but also to purge the atmosphere of all working class organizations of treachery, calumny, hoodlums and gun play. Naturally the interests of the case would be best served if the representatives of *L'Humanite* and of the Central Committee of the Italian C. P. were to take part in this Committee. But we may safely predict that they will most certainly refuse: these politicians stand only to lose from an impartial investigation, and much more than would appear on the surface. But the investigation ought not to be wrecked by their refusal to participate. Every honest participant in the labor movement is deeply interested in seeing to it that this abcess is opened which can otherwise develop into gangrene. The tragic case of Montanari-Beiso must be brought before a labor jury.

August 29, 1935

Minneapolis Iron Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

nine factories in Minneapolis. While the settlement leaves a good deal to be desired it provides a firm basis for further consolidation of the union, and for future gains on the basis of a strong and militant organization. The present strike committee continues in office until a solid shop committee organization be set up in every factory. Considering the overwhelming forces mobilized against them the strikers have won a notable victory.

NPLD Cooperates to Defend Cuban Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

was arrested during the March strike and murdered by the police. His body was discovered with thirty bullets in it and the reactionary press called it a suicide. In the Guanabacoa jail there are more than twenty women imprisoned for social and political "crimes."

"Torture goes on systematically in all the jails of Cuba. Among the methods there is, for example, the favorite of Caravco, the Supervisor of the city of Camaguey. This petty official is very proud of his invention, which he calls 'tortoise-fishing.' The prisoner is thrown into a tank containing two tortoises, and ordered to bring up one of them, specially the male, or female. As soon as his head shows above the water he is beaten down again, and is not pulled out until he is dead or near it."

"In Oriente, Lieutenant Pino likes to start off by shaving the prisoners' heads, and then tarring their backs. After this 'preparation' a large quantity of palm-crist oil is poured down their throats. The Machadistas parties, and the bourgeois press, support the official policy of brutal repression with silence."

Mistreatment of Prisoners

"In the Isle of Pines the prisoners, both in the jails and in the Presidio Nacional, are living under the most frightful conditions. They are jammed into narrow galleries, lacking the simplest hygienic conveniences. Their rations are messes made most frequently of decayed food. Any protest about it is punished by hard labor on the rock-pile. This happened at the Castillo del Principe a short time ago to a large number of political prisoners, among them several widely known intellectuals. In the Presidio at the Isle of Pines the political prisoners, intellectuals included, are obliged to work in the marble quarries and in the stinking mosquito-ridden La Yana swamp."

"Aware of the intolerable situation, a number of trades unions and labor organizations joined in July to struggle actively for the freedom of the social and political victims of the Terror. The National Committee Pro-Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners was built for that purpose. Its object is, therefore, concrete enough. It does not fight under the banner of any one party or organization; but is guided by the united effort of the thirty-one workers' groups that came together to form it."

Aims of Pro-Amnesty Committee
"This Committee struggles furthermore, to insure the safe return to Cuba, of political exiles—again we do not extend our protection to Machado butchers—and against the expulsion of foreigners for political

or social reasons. This is part of our daily task, for we believe that each of our three objectives: For the freedom of social and political prisoners; for the return of the exiles; against the expulsion of foreigners, are closely connected parts of the same urgent question of workers' defense."

"This is, broadly, the present situation. Nevertheless on the margin of it an apparent change of methods has occurred. The Government, preparing for the elections, has changed its tone. The attempt to create an apparent 'legal' basis to guarantee its electoral aims, it has proclaimed a Constitution and 're-established' civil rights, which of course, has been no obstacle to the arbitrary arrest of three of our comrades, members of this Committee, carried out during a lecture-given with a permit of the Secretariat of the Interior—in the Barrio de Luyano. The government has furthermore talked of forthcoming amnesty for the political prisoners. These maneuvers always arouse certain democratic illusions among some of our people. It is not our object to analyze here the perspectives and the true position of the government, nor can we in one word describe its aims with regard to the coming elections. We have answered its talk with the organization of the Committee Pro-Amnesty. We have stated that the problem can be solved only through the immediate and COMPLETE amnesty of all social and political prisoners, excepting the Machadistas. But nevertheless there are some things we want to emphasize."

Demand Complete Amnesty

"The Mendieta government is preparing to extend a certain kind of amnesty to some of the prisoners, but it will leave out those who fall under the so-called 'Gangsterism Law.' This is so defined as to keep under arrest, hundreds of revolutionary militants and labor leaders. The governmental formula we shall oppose with all our might, for our object is decisively: Not an inch less than complete amnesty."

"Engaged in this tremendous task, we can only repeat the words that began this letter-report. We hope from you your best efforts to wards popularizing these matters among all the political and trades union organizations of your country, as well as a campaign to bring out responsibilities and realities by crusading with letters, telegrams, and all other possible methods. Our agitational work in this sense is being carried out on a larger and larger scale. We assume you will take part in this movement, with all your powers."

Our best greetings,
The National Committee
General Secretariat"

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE VOTING IN MEMEL . . .

Hitler is taking full advantage of the Italian imperialist threat against Ethiopia as well as the "moral" weapon made to order for rabid nationalism by the actions of the Lithuanian government. It is not hard to understand that the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, seizing Memel by force in a desperate effort to break through the stranglehold of the Soviet Union on its national economy, would hardly scruple to maintain that conquest by supplanting the Germans opposed to the seizure. Since the balloting for the Memel Diet to take place on Sept. 20th will be interpreted, particularly by Hitler, as a form of plebiscite, the Lithuanian ruling class tried to prevent a "German" victory, or at least to minimize it, by means of a new electoral law passed August 27th. The purpose of the law was to disenfranchise the pro-German majority which prevented "cooperation" between the Memel Diet and the government officials appointed by Lithuania. The Nazis have encouraged Germans to become Lithuanian citizens in order to vote Nazi, with the express promise that they would recover their German nationality without difficulty once Memel had been recaptured by Hitler. Hence the new law denies the right to vote to those naturalized Lithuanian citizens who hold a promise from a foreign nation that their original citizenship may be reassumed at a later time. The vote is also denied to members of organizations which have been condemned for working against Lithuanian independence or which call for the alienation of a part of the Lithuanian state. All of which is quite obviously aimed at the "treasonable" Nazi elements

THREAT OF WAR . . .

Hitler, with that twisted sense of justice typical of reactionary capitalist defenders, at the same time that he disenfranchises the Jews violates the conditions laid down by the League of Nations for the Saarland, raises a great outcry against the Lithuanian oppressors. The Nazis have massed troops at the Lithuanian border to take advantage of any eventuality. Should a world war break out immediately, the German army will have an initial objective in the taking of Memel. Even without the outbreak of war elsewhere, the threat of war exists in this struggle over national boundaries. For the workers the struggle over national boundaries, even where a small state like Lithuania is involved, can be viewed only as part of the general clash of different imperialisms. Each ruling class is trying to extend its sphere of exploitation of the worked class. The solution for the proletariat lies not in defending the national boundaries of the capitalist state, which can only mean support of the national bourgeoisie, but the revolutionary overthrow of the Lithuanian, by the workers and the setting up of a proletarian state. Extension of the rule of the work-nation would mean the wiping out of national boundaries, themselves one of the symbols of class rule. The problem of the Memel workers will not be solved by aiding Hitler to regain Memel for Germany but can only be solved by the proletarian revolution striving to bring about the Soviet United States of Europe.

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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M. Z., NEW YORK—

Question: Does not the recent statement by the Soviet government that the Roosevelt-Litvinov pact did not refer to the Comintern refute the contentions of the "Trotskyists" that Litvinov had signed away the rights of the C. I. in the Soviet Union in return for recognition of that country by the United States?

Answer: The fact of the matter is that the Soviet government did not break the pledge given by Litvinov to Roosevelt. It is true that a "congress" was held in Moscow which was attended by leaders of the American C. P., but there was no meeting in that city of individuals, or groups of individuals, who had as their aim the overthrow of, or the preparation for the overthrow of, American capitalism.

The Seventh Congress of the C.I. came out for defending the "democratic remnants" of capitalism and for harnessing the workers to the imperialist aims of the capitalists of those countries which are the temporary ally of the Soviet Union. Stripped of its protective coloring, therefore, the Seventh Congress, in the final analysis, came out, not to overthrow capitalism, but for perpetuating capitalist slavery outside the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists, however, require a formula for their deeds; and because the Soviet Union is a Workers' State, it is necessary that the formula for a class betrayal of the workers be a C.I. congress which has the form, if not the substance, of the Comintern of Lenin. When Litvinov signed the Roosevelt pact, he was quite ready, as the wording of the agreement shows, to give up this formula. At that time, however, he expected economic concessions, particularly credits, in return. The credits did not materialize. For reasons of imperialist and personal policy, however, Roosevelt-Hull still wanted the Stalinists to surrender the formula. Having received nothing in return, the Stalinists refused.

L. N., NEW BEDFORD—
Question: What is meant by the "antagonism between city and country?"

Answer: In general this term implies the antagonisms arising out of the technical, and flowing from this, the cultural backwardness of the rural as compared to the urban regions.

The basis for any well developed social division of labor is the division between the city and the country; the latter producing and exchanging raw materials, food, etc. In return for the manufactured products of the city. Economically, therefore, the antagonism is that between buyers and sellers and is reflected in the prices of commodities.

The technical development of agriculture is subject to natural obstacles which are not present in the factory. If the economic incentive had existed for the ruling classes, however, there would have been a tendency to overcome this handicap. Under capitalism, the tendency on the part of industry to outstrip agriculture in its development is accentuated by the necessity of paying ground rent to the landowner. A capitalist farmer, who rents land, will refrain from putting any sort of permanent improvements into it because eventually the extra profits thus made will go to the landlord who raises the rent as soon as the "earning power" of his land has been increased. Where agriculture is carried on under modes of production which are less advanced historically than capitalism, e.g., forms of chattel slavery or serfdom, it is self-evident why its technical development is outstripped by capitalist industry, even in the latter's infancy. In the final analysis, therefore, the relative technical backwardness of agriculture is due to social and not to natural causes.

In class society the more advanced exploits the backward. Under capitalism the advanced city exploits the country. This is accomplished through the disparity of prices resulting from the tendency towards an average rate of profit for all capitals; the products of the technically advanced industries selling above those of the backward industries selling below their values. Monopoly further increases this price disparity.

The antagonism could be removed only by raising the technical and correspondingly the cultural level of the countryside. Under capitalism this could have been partly accomplished through the nationalization of the land (theoretically possible under capitalism) so that ground rent, and with it the obstacle to the technical advancement of agriculture, would have been removed. Such nationalization would thus have been a progressive step. Capitalism, however, has proceeded too far into its decay stage to be capable of such a step, and it remains the task of the proletarian revolution to complete this unfinished work of the bourgeois revolution.

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Statement of the W.P. on War

(Continued from Page 1)

national state, but in ever sharper attack against the bourgeoisie and the national state.

The struggle against war is not and cannot be conceived as an "independent" struggle, having a special status above class conflicts. It is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for workers' power. The struggle against imperialist war means the day by day building of working-class strength, means—no suspension of the class conflict until the war crisis passes—but the intensification of class conflict and the preparation to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the victory of the workers.

More clearly than any other phase of revolutionary activity does the struggle against war attest the international character of the revolutionary movement. It is an international struggle and must be conducted in terms of an international strategy, through an integrated international organization. Thus the struggle against war poses, in the most intense form, the central task of the present period: the building of the Fourth International, the dynamic generator to drive forward the revolutionary advance of the working class. Threatening as is the oncoming of the new war, relatively weak numerically as are the forces now ranged against it, there is no reason to despair. Out of the last world war came the first great step of the world revolution. Yet, in 1914, the internationalists were an organized force in only one nation, and the betrayal of social-democracy came to the great mass of the workers as a shock that was unexpected and not prepared for. Today, organized groups of revolutionary internationalists exist in nearly every nation, and are actively forging the parties of the Fourth International; today the Second and Third Internationals have announced their betrayal before our eyes, and we will thus not be trapped by surprise; and today we have the rich experience and lessons of the past generation to draw from.

The struggle against imperialist war is the struggle for socialism; the struggle for socialism is the struggle for the Fourth International, for the world revolution.

Support French Bolshevik-Leninists

FRANCE today is the most important battle ground of the classes, the key to the fate of Europe and perhaps of the world. Should Fascism add this country to its list of conquests it will hurl the proletarian cause back for decades and mortally injure the existence of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the signal of the French working class revolution would arouse the oppressed of Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy and forever destroy the fabric of Versailles and Hitler's vision of Mittel-Europa. At the same time it would ensure the existence of the Soviet Union by extending its base.

The Bolshevik-Leninists constitute the spearhead of the revolutionary forces in France today (of active resistance to Fascism and the revolutionary assault on capitalism). They have raised in the French labor movement the demands for workers' militia, the general strike, workers' and peasants' government, socialization and workers' control. They have challenged and are challenging the social patriotism of the People's Front and its agents, the reformist bureaucracies of the Communist and Socialist parties. These bureaucracies are making the sharpest attack upon the Bolshevik-Leninists who advocate a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a slogan of revolutionary defeatism as against truce with the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, the need for the struggle for power as the only means to defeat Fascism as against the betraying policy of unity with the bourgeoisie to uphold bourgeois democracy and capitalism. The Workers Party is pledged to give its fullest support to the French Bolshevik-Leninists in this struggle.

Consequently the Workers Party is responding immediately to the appeal of our French comrades for financial support for La Verite, organ of the Bolshevik-Leninists and their most important single weapon in the struggle in which they are now engaged. Additional funds to maintain La Verite and to enable it to greatly increase its circulation are particularly necessary according to an appeal just received from our French comrades "because the formation of the new revolutionary party in France has now become an immediate task."

We call upon all our branches and members to make the utmost sacrifices in order that a preliminary installment of our contribution may be sent to France immediately. Collection lists are being sent to the branches and should be widely circulated among the workers and all our sympathizers. We do not hesitate also to call upon those who are not members of the party but who realize that in the present tense international situation nothing is more important than the defeat of social patriotism in France, to

forward their contributions in response to the appeal from La Verite. For convenience in transmission remittances should be made out in the name of A. J. Muste and sent to 55 E. 11th St., New York. Please designate clearly the purpose for which the contribution is sent.

For prompt and enthusiastic support of our French comrades!

For the building of the Fourth International!

What the Miners Did Not Get

LAST week the NEW MILITANT prophesied that the bituminous coal strike called by John L. Lewis would soon be over, that it was a shadow-boxing act to give the operators a chance to get rid of some of their surplus coal, Lewis to bluster and show that he was "not to be trifled with" and Roosevelt-McGrady to put on their act and save the country once more from "bitter industrial strife." Our prophecy and analysis were quickly and completely vindicated for the paper was hardly off the press before the settlement was announced.

Despite the magnificent demonstration of solidarity by 400,000 miners who came out 100 percent in the union fields and nearly as solidly, it would appear, in the partly unionized fields of Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, despite the prompt settlement on the basis of a union contract in most of the fields and the concessions won, the strike was not a real victory for the miners. On Lewis's part it represents a fresh betrayal of the workers.

1. THE MINERS FAILED TO GET THE SIX HOUR DAY AND FIVE DAY WEEK, FAILED, IN FACT, TO GET ANY REDUCTION IN HOURS. Almost before the negotiations began Lewis gave up this demand. He kept the miners from striking for the 30-hour week. But a reduction in hours represented the one really important gain which they might have won. Without that, further reductions in the working force are bound to come, an increase in unemployment, and with it wage-slashing and incalculable misery at the first let-down in the industry.

Had the miners led a real fight for the 30-hour week, which the A. F. of L. has put forth as the major plank in its platform against unemployment, other workers would have followed. At once reality and vigor would have been given to the whole 30 hour week movement. But this the employers, once again piling up profits during a temporary and spotty upturn in business, did not want. The Roosevelt administration did not want it, being bent upon giving the employers a "breathing spell." Once again the A. F. of L. bureaucrats yielded to these interests, surrendered before the battle had begun, betrayed the interests of the workers. The miners' strike thus signals the end of the movement to reduce hours for the time being at least. In many industries employers are already increasing them. Soon this will happen in other fields as well.

2. THE MINERS DID NOT WIN ANY REAL INCREASE IN WAGES. It is true that there is a nominal increase of 50 cents a day for day workers providing a \$5.50 basic rate in the Appalachian area. A similar nominal increase of about 10 percent was given in other rates. But this will not even cover the increase in the cost of living since the last contract was made. The miners have thus barely held their own. The operators, especially the bigger ones, can go on unmolested, making profits out of the sweat of the miners while the mines are running and throwing them on the scrap-heap whenever it suits them to shut the mines down.

3. THE CHANCE TO FORCE THE OPERATORS IN THE NON-UNIONIZED FIELDS OF TENNESSEE, VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY TO SIGN A UNION CONTRACT AND THUS TO EFFECT A NATION-WIDE 100 PERCENT ORGANIZATION OF THE BITUMINOUS MINERS, LEWIS SURRENDERED WITHOUT PUTTING UP EVEN THE SEMBLANCE OF A FIGHT. This was done in spite of the fact that the union today is so strong and the operators themselves are so averse to a real battle that the union scale may be paid in these fields even if no contract is signed. Had Lewis delivered an ultimatum: Recognize the right of the miners to bargain collectively, sign a union contract in every field, or we will strike until hell freezes over, it is well nigh inconceivable that the operators would have held out. As it is, the threat to the union and to the miners' standard of living involved in the existence of even a relatively small unorganized sector remains, and the unorganized miners can point to another instance of failure on the part of Lewis to back them up effectively in their struggle against the brutality and terrorism of the Bourbons of the mining industry. No, this is not a victory for the miners but for the labor fakers, the operators and the Roosevelt administration.

Once again we say to the miners: Awake! Build a single united miners' union and a left-wing to make that union clean, militant, progressive. Once again we say to the progressives throughout the trade union movement: Expose the fake progressivism and "industrial unionism" of Lewis and Company! Build the left-wing in every union and every section of the country in order that the native militancy and growing solidarity of the American workers may not be prostituted as it was in the recent miners' strike, but may be organized and directed to victory!

"LA VERITE"

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League Moves

(Continued from Page 1)

good fellows of socialism cheer the sentiments of pacifism in their ranks and then vote to send their workers off to the slaughter in the defense of British robber imperialism. Incredible hypocrisy, worse than capitalist, socialist hypocrisy. The moldy Second International rises out of its grave to grasp another million mass of workers and carry them down into blood and mire... a vampire international.

And the Third International? Its efforts are just as energetic in the service of the British bourgeoisie—but more ludicrous, if there can be anything ludicrous in this monster betrayal.

We take the line from the Daily Worker question box for October 2: "The aim of the communists in the present situation in Africa is

to preserve peace [...] the communists urge the working class parties and organizations to FORCE their capitalist governments to act collectively through the League against Italy, even to the point of applying sanctions, closing the Suez Canal, etc. [Etc!] In that little etc. is contained the word war... no more than an etc. to the degenerate of Stalinism [...] the capitalist governments are not anxious to use sanctions. The British government has repeatedly offered to carve up Ethiopia with Mussolini... but the pressure of the English workers has driven the English government to the point where they may apply sanctions. ... [!!!]"

The Stalinists are not even willing to vouchsafe Lansbury a "jolly good fellow" before they order the workers out to the butcher. "The pressure of the English workers has driven the British government to the point where it may" defend its colonial loot against Italy's in-

fringements by sanctions, etc! The degenerate of Stalinism boast that they are forcing the British government into imperialist war!

Before the last war the Second International at least kept up appearances and spoke against war until the very last moment. But in these times the two Internationals don't wait for war to betray the workers, they urge the capitalists on. They can't wait for the debacle, they can't wait to send their workers out to die, they can't wait to revel in the blood of millions of "women and children of another race" and workers of all races.

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STRUGGLERAGES ON WEST COAST

Cal. State Fed Union Militant Murdered Showdown Is
Is Dominated In L.A. Vigilante Terror Close on Cal.
by Fakerdom Waterfront

By EARL LANE

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 23.—The cause of progressive unionism suffered a number of severe defeats at the thirty-sixth annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor held at San Diego last week.

Despite a bitter fight on the part of militants to oust them, two arch foes of progressive unionism, Edwin D. Vandeleur and Paul Scharrenberg, were re-elected to the offices of president and secretary-treasurer respectively.

Vandeleur was re-elected without opposition, the progressives deciding to concentrate their fire on Scharrenberg. The vote for the office of secretary-treasurer was: Scharrenberg 54,178, A. C. Rodgers 17,605.

In the Ninth (San Francisco) District, where four vice-presidents were elected, three incumbents were re-elected and Harry Bridges was defeated for the seat vacated by B. F. Dodge.

A "red hunt" of major proportions that will have as its goal the ousting of every militant from the labor movement of the state, is forecast by the adoption of a resolution asking local unions to expel Communists and members of allied organizations from their membership. That this move is aimed not only at members of radical parties but at all militants is made clear by the phrase, "members of allied organizations." Thus the way is made clear to brand all militants as allies of Communism.

The reactionary nature of the convention is further evidenced by the rejection of the idea of political action by labor and the adoption of a resolution endorsing collective bargaining as the sole means of obtaining economic security.

Resolutions "commending the efforts of President Roosevelt on behalf of the workers of the nation," demanding the freedom of Tom Mooney, repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism law, and condemning vigilante terror were adopted.

Investigation of the scab herding activities of Capt. William ("Red") Hynes, head of the infamous "red squad" of the Los Angeles police department was demanded in a resolution recently adopted by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. The resolution, submitted to the mayor, chief of police, board of public commissioners, and the city council, cited the payment of \$7,393.60 by the Los Angeles Railway for Hynes' strike-breaking services during the street car strike last fall.

The resolution reads as follows: "It is the expressed opinion of this organization (Pacific Electric Lodge No. 912, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen) that public servants, either elected or appointed, are bound to serve the entire public and the action of a public official in lowering the dignity of his office by resorting to the activity of herding scabs is repugnant to every sense of decency of his employer, the general public."

The resolution further demanded an investigation of the activities of the "red squad" and demanded that the report be made public.

Every union in the Los Angeles area should pass similar resolutions and continue the fight until this scourge of labor is driven from the city.

Five members of Furniture Workers local No. 1561 were so severely beaten that they had to be taken to the hospital when strikebreakers attacked a picket line at the plant of the Morris Furniture Co. last Thursday evening.

The strike at the Morris plant has been in progress since April 20th, and has been characterized by the grim determination of the workers to stay out until better conditions have been won.

Determined to initiate a reign of terror in order to break the spirit of the strikers, a sudden attack was launched on the picket line by a gang of scabs armed with clubs, monkey wrenches, and screw drivers, as the day and night shifts were changing places. In addition to the men taken to the hospital over two dozen others were injured. Police rushed to the scene of the battle in several cars and took the most seriously injured men to the hospital. Of course none of the strikebreaking thugs who perpetrated the vicious attack were arrested.

MINNEAPOLIS N.P.L.D.

Having become a power in the labor movement through its great mass trial of mayor Scab Latimer, the Provisional N.P.L.D. Committee of Minneapolis has now been given a charter. Among those on the National Executive of the N.P.L.D. for the charter are Henry Schultz, secretary of the State Employees Assn.; Elmer Huset of the Farmer-Labor Veterans Assn.; Farrell Dobbs, secretary of Local 574; Mrs. Carlson of the F.L. Woman's Auxiliary.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—The continually mounting wave of California vigilante terror claimed another victim on September 4, when Arthur G. Ross, member of the I.W.W. and the International Longshoremen's Association and for fifteen years an outstanding militant fighter in the labor movement of Southern California died as the result of a beating received at the hands of Edgar Rueb, a fellow union member who had fought side by side with him during the maritime strike last summer.

The death of Ross is but one incident in the attack that the boss class has launched upon the progressive forces in the labor movement of California. Upon the conclusion of last summer's memorable marine strike the bosses determined to drive out of the maritime unions every militant worker who showed capacity for leadership, in order to strengthen the hands of their agents within the unions, "Pedro Pete" Peterson, Fredli, and Co. In the bitter warfare which ensued the bosses and their labor lieutenants of course had the co-operation of the "law enforcement" agencies. The police were always busy elsewhere while vigilante bands and Fredli's infamous "beef squad" terrorized and slugging militant workers, raiding meetings, and kidnapping and beating workers' attorneys. Fredli himself became a victim of the wave of terrorism that he had helped to launch, being killed by the police. His death has never been satisfactorily explained, but in all probability was the result of some private feud.

Sometime during the course of this bitter campaign against the militants Rueb deserted his former friends and became a tool of the dark forces that had as their ultimate goal the smashing of the

maritime unions of the Pacific Coast. He conceived a bitter hatred for his former friend Ross, who was an outstanding progressive.

On Sunday, September 1, in front of the I.L.A. hall in San Pedro, he assaulted Ross, striking him twice and knocking him to the pavement. Fellow union members picked Ross up in an unconscious condition. After a cursory examination by the police he was turned out to wander the streets all night and half the next day in a semi-conscious condition. Later he was picked up by the police on a DRUNK CHARGE and thrown in the drunk tank. His fellow workers, having become alarmed at his absence, instituted a search which ended with their locating him in the jail. They offered to bail him out but the police would not accept bail and refused to allow them to see Ross. After a night spent lying on the stone floor of the drunk tank he was released to his wife and friends who rushed him to a hospital where he died on September 4, never having regained consciousness.

Rueb, placed under arrest, admitted having struck Ross, claiming that he was drunk and did not know what he was doing. He was held on suspicion of manslaughter. At the subsequent inquest the coroners jury ordered that he be held.

This case is more than the isolated death of a militant worker. It is part of the campaign of the boss class to wipe out the more advanced workers in the ranks of the unions and thus to strike terror into the hearts of the rank and file. It is hoped that by the use of these methods that the workers will be terrorized into submitting to the domination of their unions by the labor lieutenants of the bosses. Every class conscious worker must consider well what these attacks on the vanguard mean to him and his union.

Labor Defense Front

THE SACRAMENTO APPEAL

In response to a call from the International Labor Defense, the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense has been set up by the I.L.D., League for Industrial Democracy, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, General Defense Committee, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Mary Fox of the I.L.D. has been elected secretary.

The committee announces several immediate activities to aid the drive for 2,000,000 signatures to petitions calling on the governor of Georgia to release Herndon from the 20-year chain-gang sentence imposed by an Atlanta Jim Crow court. The new committee, in addition to publishing and circulating its own petition forms bearing the names of its constituent bodies, will during the coming week publish a new 16-page pamphlet on this important labor case. Already 20,000 copies have been ordered by various organizations. It will sell at 2 cents per copy. Send orders to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East 17th St., N. Y. C.

The new committee is calling a New York City Action Conference October 19 at Imperial Hall, Harlem. Angelo Herndon will participate and the new pamphlet will be on sale.

Through the sale of this pamphlet and circulation of petitions, W. P. members will be able to continue their agitation for Herndon's freedom in an organized way. Rush your orders for pamphlets and petitions to the N.P.L.D.

PHILLY WORKERS FREE

Five members of the Philadelphia Retail Fruit Clerks Union of Philadelphia, held on charges rigged against them by the bosses' association during the recent strike, have been freed.

Since the last report in these columns, a defense committee was organized by the union, with Lou Roberts, union secretary, in charge. Attorney Frank Nowwe of the N.P.L.D. of New York aided in organizing the defense. On a visit to New York Roberts, aided by the N.P.L.D., secured financial aid for the defense from brother unions.

HARLAN MINERS

Another drive is being made for the pardon of the six U.M.W.A. members railroaded to prison for life in Harlan, Ky., on charges of murder growing out of the historic "Battle of Everts" between miners and deputies. A committee has been appointed by the N.P.L.D. to aid this defense: Adelaide Walker, who was a leading figure in the caravan of writers which went into Bloody Harlan four years ago and who was indicted for criminal syndicalism, is chairman. Funds to aid the Harlan miners should be sent to Herbert Mahler, General Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

HEISLER IN BISMARCK

Francis Heisler, attorney of the Chicago N.P.L.D., is now in Bismarck, N. D., to argue the appeal of the Fargo strikers to the State Supreme Court.

Form Labor
Party in Ohio

(Continued from Page 1)

The Congress candidates as not committing them specifically to the endorsement of a Labor, or third party.

Local Socialists, emboldened by the favorable glances of the union officials, are running up a temperate in the campaign and are all heated up about their inclusion in "big-time politics." The Communist Party is going through some amusing contortions trying to squirm into the picture.

Although the Congress has put forth a platform containing a preamble full of vaguely radical phrases, no particular fear is being evinced by the reactionary elements in the city. It is pretty generally understood, and the leaders of the Congress are making no efforts to dispel this understanding, that the bark of this movement is out of all proportion to its bite. Commenting in an editorialized news story on the formation of the Congress, the Toledo News-Bee, Scripps-Howard sheet, stated: "While the preamble of the platform on which the candidates are campaigning leads off with a Socialist doctrine, it is likely that most of the candidates signed the platform as a matter of political expediency rather than a pledge of conversion to the doctrine of Socialism."

Clyde Kiker, free-lance politician, perennial office seeker and state secretary of the Ohio Federation of Teachers, is campaign manager for the Congress' slate. Kiker ran in the last congressional primaries for congressman on the Democratic Party ticket.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Sept. 30.—

The question of war or peace on the waterfronts of the Pacific coast will in all probability be decided within the next few days.

The battle over the question of whether or not the maritime unions will handle "hot cargo" is being fought out in San Francisco, with the I.L.A. bearing the brunt of the employers' attack. Because of the strength of the militants in this key port the bosses have chosen it as the battleground, feeling that if they are successful there, the fight in the other ports will be comparatively easy.

The dispute over the handling of hot cargo was placed in the hands of the labor relations board that was set up under the 1934 award. When this committee came to a deadlock last week, the matter was put into the hands of Federal arbitrator, M. C. Sloss. After a great show of considering the matter from all angles in order to be able to render an "impartial decision," that office boy of the bosses' government ruled that the longshoremen were breaking their agreement if they refused to handle hot cargo. The I.L.A., the union, immediately asked for a rehearing on the question. Sloss lost no time in denying this request.

On Sunday the bargemen's and warehousemen's unions lifted the ban on goods produced by the Santa Cruz Packing Co., and cargo transported by the River Lines, Inc., pending the outcome of negotiations with the employers and the labor relations board.

There the situation rests today, with the employers announcing through their spokesman, Thomas G. Plant, their determination to hire scab longshoremen to replace the union members refusing to scab. This morning it was announced that 1,440 longshoremen were on the blacklist and that 29 ships were tied up directly or indirectly because of the "hot cargo" dispute.

Ample proof that while they consider "impartial arbitration" an effective opiate with which to dull the fighting spirit of the workers, they do not intend to rely on it as their only weapon, but intend to launch a campaign of vigilante terrorism against the maritime workers if they consider it necessary, is contained in an article in a recent issue of the San Francisco "Shipping Register," organ of the waterfront employers.

Call for Vigilantes

Under a caption "Are All the Vigilantes Dead?" an editorial complained that maritime workers are "asking for abortive increases in wages."

"There are hundreds of thousands of red-blooded Americans here in San Francisco," the editorial declared. "What say we take a day off from our regular business and attend to the matter in a proper manner?"

Preparations were made for a vigorous campaign to secure the freedom of the victims of the Sacramento conspiracy at a conference held in Los Angeles September 25. As a result of this conference the Los Angeles section of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee was formed with the following organizations participating: the I.W.W., the Socialist Party, the Workers Party, Spartacus Youth League and the Young Peoples Socialist League. A steering committee consisting of the following members was elected: Chairman, Gardner Wells, Socialist Party; Secretary, Mark Knight, Workers Party; Treasurer, Claude Erwin, I.W.W.

An effort to draw every labor and liberal organization in the Los Angeles area into this fight for the rights of labor will be made. Each organization participating in the Los Angeles local of the N.S.A.C. has pledged itself to circulate collection lists and to widely circulate the pamphlet "Union Smashing in Sacramento." A mass meeting to bring this case to the attention of the public at large will be held in the near future.

Similar committees already exist in San Francisco and Oakland.

Sunday Night Lecture Series

Oct. 6 - The Struggle Against Fascism

(HISTORICAL LESSONS FOR AMERICA)

Oct. 13 - The Road To The Fourth International

(FORCES AND PROSPECTS FOR A NEW WORLD PARTY UNDER THE BANNER OF MARX AND LENIN)

Speaker:

James P. Cannon

Editor of New Militant

Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street

Admission 15 cents per lecture

Auspices: Workers Party, New York District.

NEW MILITANT

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GENEVA GAMBLES WITH WAR

Green-Legion Join at AFL Conclave Against Militants

Rank and File Presses Bureaucracy Toward Showdown on Critical Problems of Labor Movement

The opening days of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor reveal a tightening of the lines and a sharpening of the struggle between the bureaucrats and the various more or less progressive elements in the trade unions.

On the one hand, the forecast of the NEW MILITANT that a growth of progressive and militant sentiment would be shown is being borne out. The proponents of resolutions for industrial unionism claim support of powerful unions such as the U.M.W. of A. and the garment unions and assert, with a little too much optimism probably, that a clear-cut resolution on industrial unionism lacks only a few votes to carry. Gorman, the actual leader of the United Textile Workers, and other important figures are sponsoring Labor Party resolutions with considerable show of determination.

But it is in the aggressive mood of the conservatives that the clearest indication of the sharpening of the struggle within the Federation under the impact of the crisis is given. Last year the craft unionists were to some extent caught unaware by the crush of the new Federal unions in the basic industries demanding international charters with industry-wide jurisdiction. As a result provision for granting charters for the production workers in automobiles, etc., though not on a complete industrial basis, was made. During the year the new unions constituted under this provision have proved somewhat contemptuous of the A. F. of L. potentes and have voiced vigorous dissatisfaction with their limited charters. The craft unionists are genuinely alarmed and have taken the offensive against the industrialists. Under the lead of John P. Frey and the entire Metal Trades Department, they not only refuse to amalgamate or give up any of their members, but demand that many members in the new unions be turned over to the craft groups.

The "Anti-Red" Resolution In addition to this offensive on an issue of the structure of unionism, an even more vigorous offensive has been launched on the basic issue of the philosophy of the A. F. of L. The most serious and far-reaching proposal for driving "communists" out of the unions that has ever been made is now being advanced. If those who are back of this move triumph there will be a fight upon all insurgent elements which will be far more vicious than that of the war or post-war period.

It is proposed to amend the constitution of the A. F. of L. to provide that "No organization offered or controlled by Communists or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has succeeded from or has been suspended or expelled by the A. F. of L. or by any national or international organization connected with the federation shall, while under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this federation, or in any central body, State Federation of Labor, national or international union connected with the A. F. of L., under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

Thus the basis is laid not only for founding a progressive out of any given union but barring him also from activity in any other. William Green openly proclaimed that the A. F. of L. was prepared to make an alliance with the American Legion in this campaign against all forms of "un-American" radicalism, the Legion in turn pledging that it would not engage in any "anti-union" activity. Such an alliance, giving a reactionary trade unionism the quasi-military backing of the Legion in the struggle against any progressive and militant unionism, has obviously the most sinister possibilities.

It is too early to predict the specific decisions that will be taken by this convention. The decisive showdown between the contending forces

(Continued on Page 2)

Shachtman on National Tour

Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of The New Internationalist, begins a coast to coast tour on October 15, which will last until December 13 and cover almost every branch city in the country. He will speak on various current topics, the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the War Danger, the Road to the Fourth International, etc., etc. With him will go Comrade Wasserman of the Pioneer Press, who will aid in drawing up plans for literature work in the various branches along the route. This tour will help pull together and advance the party work for the new season now opening.

The following is the schedule of the tour:

Schedule of Tour
Philadelphia—Tuesday, October 15.
Pittsburgh—Wednesday, October 16.
New Castle—Thursday, October 17.
Youngstown—Friday, October 18.
Cleveland—Saturday, Oct. 19: "The New World War." 3529 East 143rd Street.
Toledo—Sunday, October 20.
Detroit—Monday, October 21.
Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.

Davenport—Monday, October 28.
Albany—Tuesday, October 29.
Austin—Wednesday, October 30.
Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31-Nov. 2.
Fargo—Sunday, November 3.
Williston—Tuesday, November 5.
Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6.
Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.
San Francisco—Monday to Wednesday, Nov. 11-13.
Los Angeles—Friday to Monday, Nov. 15-18.
Kansas City—Tuesday, December 3.
St. Louis—Wednesday, December 4.
Springfield—Thursday, December 5.

ISAACS SPEAKS FOR N.F.L.D.
Harold R. Isaacs, newspaper correspondent in China for the last five years, editor of "China Forum," and leader of many struggles for the defense of Chinese political prisoners, will be the speaker at the open membership meeting of the New York branch of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Wednesday, October 16, 8 P.M., at the headquarters of Local 48, L.L.G.W.U., 231 East 4th Street.
Isaacs will speak on "Political Prisoners in China." All interested workers are invited to attend.

Rubber Co's Prepare For Price War

Cost Will Fall on Workers Unions Face Battle For Life

By JACK WILSON
AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 8.—A titanic struggle by Wall Street interests for monopoly control of the rubber industry began openly this week, thus confronting the newly-formed United Rubber Workers of America with the severest challenge to protect the workers that the unions ever faced.

For the price of this war between the capitalists will be thrown on the workers through wage cuts unless the unions can muster sufficient strength to stop this move. The battle which will take the main form of ruthless tire price slashes to drive other competitors into bankruptcy already began with a huge reduction by Goodyear in various sections of the country.

Rockefeller and General Motors interests have virtual control of Firestone (the Firestone family is no longer boss of its factories) through a huge loan they gave recently to the company and they intend to gain complete control of the industry, it was learned authoritatively.

Goodrich has been in the hands of J. P. Morgan subsidiaries for quite some time while Goodyear, closely connected with Sears and Roebuck, belongs to Dillon and Reed, New York financiers.

No sooner did reports of General Motors entry into Firestone reach Akron than Goodyear, foreseeing the plan behind that move, slashed prices to attempt to drive Firestone from business.

Wage Cuts Threatened
Firestone tried a wage cut in an important department but threat of a spontaneous strike stopped this quickly. The company was laying the foundation for tire price reductions in that move.

So the grim shadow of long hours of work, poorer wages, and lay-offs hangs over the workers as it did in the late '20s when the companies fought their first big battle.

These revelations explain the questions many workers have been asking themselves as they saw wage reductions, the return of the 8-hour day, and lay-offs creep silently into the factories. The companies were simply laying the ground-work for their fight!

How can the unions meet this challenge? What must be done to bring the thousands of exploited back into the unions so that they can successfully defeat these companies? (Continued on Page 2)

VOTE ON SANCTIONS LINES UP LEAGUE NATIONS TO DEFEND BRITISH COLONIAL THIEVERY

TREACHERY CASTS A SHADOW BEFORE

By DAN EASTMAN
Turn the imperialist war into civil war! That was the slogan of Lenin. Turn the Italo-Ethiopian war into a general imperialist war! That is the slogan of Stalin.

Consider the Daily Worker for the seven crucial days of the outbreak of the Ethiopian war:

On October 1, T. Repard writes an article on "Social Democratic Befuddlement on the Sanctions Question," from which we quote:

"Reformist theory never founders about so helplessly as when it is confronted with a genuinely pressing immediate issue. Yesterday it was the Franco-Soviet pact. Today it is the question of sanctions against Mussolini."

South Africa 4th Int'n lists Back Ethiopia

Police Reply with Arrests and Repressions of Workers

Cape Town, August 2, 1935
To Editor of NEW MILITANT:

Dear Comrade,
I am sending you a special report this week because the situation in South Africa is changing rapidly. A wave of reaction is sweeping over the country. The Fusion Government, agents of British imperialism and the Chamber of Mines, is determined to crush the left-wing movement.

A few weeks ago, comrades Rux and Ngedlane of the Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to four months imprisonment in connection with a leaflet they issued on the occasion of the royal jubilee of King George V. The charge was "lese majeste." Last week, two more members of the Communist Party, comrades Gomas and Mina Gool, were arrested on the same charge. Their case will come up on September 3, and there is no doubt that a salutary sentence will be imposed.

Now, the iron heel of the capitalist state is descending on the Fourth Internationalists. On Sunday, August 19, three members of the Communist League of S. A., comrades G. H. Gool, J. Pick, and C. van Gelderen addressed a meeting of over two hundred workers at Langa Native Location on the proposed Native Bills. They were accompanied by comrades J. Gool and L. Solomon, who distributed literature to the audience. At the back of the hall sat six plain clothes detectives, two police sergeants and two native policemen. The forces of reaction were quite evidently prepared for any emergency.

The three speakers dealt at length with the Native Bills. They pointed out that it was a deliberate attempt to deprive the Native of his long cherished franchise, and urged the strongest resistance against the bills. All three speakers stressed that the fight should not only be against the present bills, but that it should go further and press for the extension of the franchise to all sections of the people. Comrade van Gelderen also dealt with the pending Italian attack on Abyssinia, and urged working class action to prevent the despatch of goods from South African ports to Italian troops.

Two resolutions were submitted to the meeting:

1. That this mass meeting of Langa workers unanimously rejects the proposed Native Bills, which aim to deprive the Cape natives of their franchise, almost the only privilege left to them, and further pledges itself by every means in its power to struggle for the extension of the franchise to the Northern Provinces (Continued on Page 4)

Reformist theory, in truth, flounders about helplessly when it is confronted with bourgeois demands. The attitude of the Stalinist press is sufficient proof of the helplessness and treachery inherent in reformism, which has become the theoretical basis of Stalinist policy.

M. Repard quotes Sir Stafford Cripps of the British Labor Party: "How are the imperialist people who seized Transvaal in 1900 by force to reply to Mussolini when he tries to seize Ethiopia by force in 1935?"

A communist would ask Cripps why he goes so far back in history, why he leaves immediate issues out and doesn't ask how Transvaal, why he doesn't ask how the British government that is daily, even now, murdering natives in South Africa, Indians in British India, Chinese in China, is to reply to Mussolini's murder of Ethiopians in Ethiopia. But what is the answer of M. Repard:

"Using" the Imperialists

"The only revolutionary (!) position to adopt... is to use imperialist England against imperialist Italy for all she is worth... and use imperialist Italy for all she is worth against imperialist England. If we ever get the chance—England... finds it necessary... to play the dangerous game of sanctions which the working class can utilize to its own ends now against Italy but very soon perhaps against England herself."

Can it be that M. Repard is not sure? What about this "if we ever get a chance" and this little "perhaps"? M. Repard tries to console the British workers, "Look here," he says in effect, "we are handing you over to your imperialist government now, but maybe later we shall in return be able to hand the Italian workers over to their imperialist government." One good betrayal deserves another. "Perhaps" the British workers, dragged into the British army in a war of "sanctions" against Italy, can console themselves that the same "comrade" Repard will later drag the Italian workers into the Italian army.

October 2: A worker writes to the Daily Worker "Question Box" to ask: "Does this (sanctions) not mean that they (the communists, Stalinists) support British imperialism in its struggle against Mussolini?" Yes it does, comrade, but not for the Daily Worker, now busy building up the British imperialist army. The "Question Box" answers, "The pressure of English workers has driven the English government to the point where they may apply sanctions. . . . The support of sanctions against Italy does not mean supporting British imperialism. No? Why not? The British government, anxious to preserve its spoils, is ready not only to invoke sanctions against Mussolini, but to engage in a war with Mussolini (Or is the British navy in the Mediterranean on a pleasure cruise?). The working class supports the British government in sanctions (economic) against Mussolini. What is the next step? The British working class supports the British government in sanctions (military, war!) against Mussolini. What is this? This is the betrayal of the working class into the hands of their enemy to the death, the imperialist capitalists. Thus," says the Daily Worker smugly, "sets a valuable precedent. . . ." In point

(Continued on Page 4)

Fate Of Ethiopia To Be Decided in European Arena

There have been no large battles in Ethiopia to date. The Africans are following a policy of watching and waiting, retiring before the Italians, to draw them on from Adowa into the more dangerous mountain country, and to postpone any decisive battles until the outcome of the international maneuvers centering around the war are known. It is in the latter sphere, the international, that the real battles are now being fought.

The League vote last week for sanctions against Mussolini was a great victory for England. Reluctant as some of the fifty odd nations may have been, nevertheless they were all driven into line, including the other great League power, France, which is torn between a desire to please England as an ally against Hitler and a desire not to outrage Mussolini who, more than an ally, is a market, especially for war supplies.

It is significant that the only three nations who did not support the League sanctions were Austria, Hungary and Albania, all more or less under Italian influence, the latter no more than a vassal state of Mussolini.

The New York Times has to say of sanctions: "With 'Proposal No. 1' the League of Nations began this afternoon applying sanctions against the Italian government. This sanction, number one in history, applies to Italy alone, precisely the same arms embargo the U. S. proclaimed against both Italy and Ethiopia. . . ."

The full meaning of the whole "sanctions" game is revealed in the phrase "number one in history." Sanctions are merely war preparations disguised under a fancy name. Why should an embargo be called "number one in history?" Didn't the same British government declare an embargo against the U. S. in 1812? Didn't the Northern government declare an embargo (sanctions) against the South during the Civil War? Didn't the Germans try to "sanction" the British Isles with submarines during the World War?

Sanctions will not necessarily lead directly to war—no more than any preparations necessarily lead directly to war. There are sanctions and sanctions. While the Czechoslovakian Stalinists openly call for military sanctions, the League, under French influence seems at present inclined to go easy on Mussolini, confining itself to less provocative measures.

Meanwhile in all the countries concerned, especially in Britain, politicians are hastening to unify the country for war around the "peaceful" sanctions question. In Britain the parliament has been called early "in compliance with the request of the Labor opposition . . . in view of British participation in sanctions against Italy. . . ."

"Inasmuch as sanctions have already been endorsed by the Labor Party and have the backing of the Conservatives and the public as represented by 11,000,000 voters in a popular referendum (a peace referendum!!!) there is no possibility of any material opposition."

As the last war was fought to make the world safe for democracy, this will be fought to make it safe for sanctions. Sanctions, which are really no more than war preparations. Diplomatic, economic, then military sanctions. And when the first shot is fired and the first soldier killed the war of sanctions becomes a war in fact. Another imperialist holocaust brought on, as was the last, by imperialist powers protesting their interest in peace right up to the last moment.

There is only one way to defend Ethiopia, and that way leads not through imperialist sanctions that lead ever nearer war, but through sanctions of the international working class: demonstrations, boycotts and embargoes.

(Continued on Page 4)

On S.P. 'Militants' Trade Union Stand

(By the Editorial Board)
Let every serious worker in the "Militant" Socialist ranks read his group's program on trade unionism (which is here printed in full). Then let these workers ask themselves the question: Is there anything in this so-called program which the worst of the "Socialist" bureaucrats—Dubinsky, Zaritsky, Zausner, Schlossberg, Abe Miller, Feinstein, Joe Turvin and the whole caboodle of labor fakers and outright racketeers—would not sign? There is perhaps one point which some of them might not agree to, on discrimination for political beliefs. Otherwise, everyone of these labor fakers would sign with both hands this "Militant" program!

Yet this fact is only surprising in the sense that we might have expected the "Militants" to distinguish themselves from the bureaucrats in a theoretical document. We have seen, with growing disgust, how the "Socialist Call" has gone on month after month without beginning even the semblance of a struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. One can count on the fingers of one hand the exceptions to the "Call" rule that no bureaucrat must be colluded with. And all the exceptions were cases on which Hillman, John L. Lewis, Dubinsky or Gorman also frowned. For it is precisely to these bureaucrats, the leaders of the anti-green bloc, that the "Socialist Call" looks for A. F. of L. leadership today!

One point must be clarified immediately: we are scarcely unaware of the necessity of compromises in the trade union movement. It is seldom, indeed, that a revolutionist can bring forward his whole program openly within the trade unions. But the "Militants" can

make such compromises on one condition only: that their political press, the Socialist Call, should tell the whole truth: teach every worker that (regardless of any temporary differences between Dubinsky and the Old Guard) Dubinsky remains the bureaucrat who smashed the left wing ten years ago and to this day roots out by the most mechanical means all incipient opposition; that John L. Lewis is a racketeer who destroyed the U.M.W.A. once in order to control it and will do so again, and who on the day he introduces the industrial union resolution rules all but two of his union's districts under personal dictatorships; that Hillman, Lewis, Gorman et al cannot possibly be the leaders of a progressive A. F. of L., for it is precisely these false leaders who have cooperated most with the government in tying the unions to the government apparatus.

That is what the Socialist Call would say—if it were a revolution-

ary paper. Instead, it is silent. Many of the "Militant" leaders are minor functionaries in the trade unions; within them they keep quiet, they do not fight the bureaucrats; outside, their press is as silent as they are inside; wherein, then, do they differ from the labor fakers? The intentions of some of them may be of the very best. But at what point will their intentions become discernible to any beside those to whom they speak when the door is locked and the shades drawn down.

We content ourselves in this article with merely listing the basic questions "omitted" from the "Militant" program:

1. The Role of the Party in the Trade Unions.

When a resolution on trade unionism was introduced at the Detroit convention, Jasper McLevy, in a burst of righteous indignation declared: "What right have you to interfere in the trade unions? Stick to your own business in the political sphere!" This is an exact reflection of the theory of reformism, which considers its party as one of the political parties competing for "control" of government; it differs from the Republican or Democratic parties in relation to trade unions, only in being friendly to the unions, supporting the unions' demands, etc.

A revolutionary party, on the

(Continued on Page 2)

Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

BUSINESS SELF-CONTROL . . .

At an annual cost of over \$7,000,000, a staff of 2,760 former NRA employees is kept to teach business "self-control." Seventy of the staff receive more than \$8,700 per year. . . . Forgetting his prediction of "chaos" with the ending of the NRA, Donald Richberg states: "The NRA developed collective thinking that made it possible for business men to carry on their standards." . . . (Workers in textiles average \$690 yearly; in boots and shoes, \$744. Workers in both industries report a decrease since the NRA became defunct.) . . . Sixteen Harlan, Kentucky, coal companies have filed suit attacking the constitutionality of the Guffey Coal Control Act. . . . In Baltimore, the American States Public Service Co., at the instigation of the Edison Electric Institute, filed suit attacking the constitutionality of the Public Utility Act. . . . James M. Landis, new chairman of the Federal Securities and Exchange Commission, spent the third day in his new position with eleven representatives of the public utilities drafting new rules for regulating the power industry. . . . Arthur H. Young, vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, fails New Deal "kibitzers" "who behind the mask of assumedly necessary social reconstruction of our national life would, without invitation from the players, change the rules of an ancient and honorable game"

PROSPERITY . . .

Cup in hand, eleven blind persons were forced to take to the streets last week in the City of Brotherly Love. Their relief had been shut off. . . . "More people have eaten better food for a longer time under the constitution than under any other form of government," proclaims Frank Knox, millionaire publisher of the Chicago Daily News and prospective Republican candidate for President. . . . After being evicted from his home, Edward McLaughlin, 51 year old Chicago electrician, climbed through a window and hanged himself. . . . "The American worker must think carefully how he can best uphold the American institutions and the American industrial system which have made him the freest, the happiest, the most highly esteemed, and the most highly paid representative of constructive labor in the world," editorializes Arthur Brisbane in the Hearst papers. . . .

WITH THE STRIKEBREAKERS

"Employers like him because he is conservative and practical—he gets men back to work," says News-Week of Edward F. McGrady. McGrady is becoming the greatest traveler in labor history. "I hope that a settlement may be made by the time I have to leave by airplane tomorrow for the Louisville fight in New York," he remarked during the bituminous strike parley. From New York he hastened to Portsmouth, Va., to address the Holy Name Society. Then to the coast to head off a threatened longshoremen's strike that might mar the pleasantness of President Roosevelt's visit. . . . The Los Angeles Railway Corporation spent \$350,000 last November to break a strike of its employees. \$150,000 went to Nick Harris of the World Wide Detective Agency; \$7,398 to Chief Hynes of the Los Angeles Red Squad. . . .

SOCIETY NOTES . . .

Doris Duke Cromwell, world's richest girl, on her round-the-world honeymoon is collecting animals for her Palm Beach zoo. She resents reports of huge spending. "It's less than \$30,000," she says. Press reports state that "Doris wears a gold anklet and paints her toenails a pale lotus pink. She and her husband watch each other dive and make caustic comments which end in laughter. No matter how much she spends she can't use up the interest on her fortune." . . . Twin baby girls were born to Mr. and Mrs. C. R. McWhitty, in a tent near Springfield, Ill. The family could not afford a doctor. A woman from a neighboring tent acted as midwife. . . . From the fashion page of the Chicago Tribune: "Furs valued at \$657,000 will be shown at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. Fashionable women are preparing to swathe themselves from head to toe in luxurious furs. They make a flattering foil for maddly on crisp days and the enchanting lines upon which the new garments are modeled are remarkably slenderizing."

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'Militant Socialists' on Trade Union Question

The Old Reformist Line Is Dusted
Off; Basic Problems Not Answered

(Continued from Page 1)

other hand, has a completely different conception of its relation to the unions. For a revolutionist, his party is not merely a "political party," in the usual sense; his party is the vanguard of the whole working class, its consciousness; it is what the working class should be, while the trade unions are what the working class is today. Hence, the party must intervene, as far as it can find the power to, in every problem of the trade unions. For only by so doing can it eventually transform the working class into a revolutionary force.

To which of these fundamentally different conceptions of the party does the "Militant" program adhere? Elsewhere in the program, we find references to the party as the "vanguard," "revolutionary party," etc. But where the program must be concrete, as in its trade union section, its similarity to the reformist conception of the party becomes obvious. From the doctrine that "trade unions without a revolutionary party can achieve only partial and temporary success," a really revolutionary program would draw the conclusion that it is the right and duty of the revolutionists to fight for the supremacy of their ideas and leadership in the trade unions. The "Militant" program, on the contrary, draws from the

correct premise, the false (reformist) conclusion that their party "will therefore support the trade unions and work for cordial relations," etc. This is hopelessly Philistine stuff. The line here is in the phrase "cordial relations." With whom? Any party which advances a real class struggle program in the unions will not get "cordial relations" from the present officialdom. Yet, this is what the "Militant" program really means. True, they do not expect cordial relations with everyone. Their programmatic statements cut them off from white chauvinists, from the bitter-ender craft unionists, etc. They want cordial relations merely—with the Hillmans, John L. Lewises, etc.

The "Militants" do not say with the McLevys that they have no business in the trade unions. No, they say they have business in the unions. Not the revolutionists' business: the pitiless struggle against the reactionary officialdom and for the hegemony of the revolutionists, the faithful exposition to the working class, through the party press, of the whole truth. No, the "Militant" program in the unions is an implicit support of a degenerate clique which temporarily raises certain progressive slogans in its fight for power.

2. The Fight Against the A. F. of L. Officialdom.

Rubber Price War Begins

(Continued from Page 1)

many plans which mean added misery and starvation to the rubber workers?

The house-to-house canvas for members is not enough for the organizational drive.

Program of Struggle
Around a platform that meets the workers' desires and needs can they be rallied. This must include: (1) No wage reductions; (2) Continuation of the six-hour day and abolition of the eight-hour day where it has been introduced; (3) Seniority rights in lay-offs and no discrimination against union members. Mass meetings with the international officers as speakers should be held explaining what is happening and pointing out that the only bulwark against the capitalist offensive are the unions.

Insufficient stress has been placed on the fact that the rubber worker unions have won complete independence from the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and that now the workers can build an international of their own desire—one with a progressive policy that meets the changing conditions in the rubber industry.

Ample proof that the rubber workers will rally around such a program was given recently at Firestone where a threatened wage cut brought complete solidarity in

the department and forced the bosses to retreat!

Test of Leadership

This is the first major test of the new leadership of the U.R.W.A. Although the unfolding events in the rubber industry are filled with dangerous situations and can possibly bring further defeat for the workers, the key to success lies in this very danger.

For if the leaders can confront this situation calmly, armed with the correct policy and platform, they have created for themselves and the union a formula which, placed into action, can only result in bringing the rubber workers back into the union by the thousands.

As always, the Workers Party will do its utmost to achieve this aim—build the unions and strengthen the working class against the ravages of capitalism. This will show which leaders are giving the rubber workers the correct ideas and bringing results. Every officer of both the international itself and of the local unions should welcome this opportunity to display their abilities and their fundamental interest in the workers, as we do. It is in the field of battle that generals and the army itself are tested. This applies perfectly to the rubber workers' union today because of the crisis.

Coal Strike Exposes Keck Leadership in the P.M.A.

By GERMINAL

(Ed. Note: The following article, written before the settlement of the coal strike, throws a clear light on a significant aspect of the coal situation in Illinois.)

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Sept. 28.—The national strike of the bituminous coal miners might officially be called off any day now, as Lewis continues his shady maneuvers in Washington to help the coal operators rid themselves of a surplus of 55,000,000 tons of coal that threatened to glut the market.

Large coal corporations expressed no alarm over the strike. Demands by the United Mine Workers that the FEBA stand ready to rush relief to the strikers is the only thing that disturbed their conference of "mutual admiration," as Lewis himself called it.

Without question, the present strike, involving approximately 400,000 mine workers in 26 coal producing states, is the most effective walkout since the 1922 struggle when the United Mine Workers of America succeeded to tie up 650,000 coal miners—or 78 percent of the industry.

Only two sections of the country failed to respond to the strike call—Harlan County, Kentucky, and the 14,000 working Progressive Miners of Illinois. In Kentucky the open hatred of the coal corporations for an independent union of any kind had the first stages of the strike stopped the strike movement in this field. Western Kentucky, however, was solidly out.

"Progressive" Officials' Shady Role
Officials of the conservative Progressive Miners of America worked closely with the Coal Producers Assn. of Illinois to keep the miners at work. Taking advantage of the deep rooted prejudices the Progress-

sive rank and file have against the United Mine Workers in this state, the Keck leadership stated that the policy of the organization was against striking with John L. Lewis' union.

Keck's policy did not succeed to keep all the miners under his jurisdiction at work, however. In Saline county, Pekin, East Peoria and Belleville, Progressive miners voted to join the strike. Confusion was evident in the Progressive ranks and a bitter factional fight over the question of the strike threatened the very existence of the organization.

Constant reports that the strike would be short lived along with the fact that the United Mine Workers are deadlocked over a mere 1 1/2 cent wage increase aided the Progressive leaders in keeping the mass of the rank and file in check. Indications were that the Progressive leaders would not hold the rank and file at work should the strike assume a militant character, carrying forward a fight for the 6-hour day and a basic \$8 wage.

Left Wing Leaders in Action
For the first time since the inner struggle between the P.M.A. and the U.M.W. in Illinois, rank and file miners of both organizations met at Pekin, Ill., and voted to unite their forces in the strike for higher wages.

Jack Battuello, Joe Burrell, Pat Anshoury and Gerry Allard, left wing leaders, were carrying the fight to the Progressive membership over the heads of the union leaders, calling upon the Progressive miners to join the nation-wide walkout.

"In the strike the economic welfare of the mine workers is the first and foremost consideration," Allard said, speaking for the left wing. "John L. Lewis and his rotten poli-

The revolutionary party fights the trade union bureaucracy not only in order to infuse the unions with the spirit and policy of class struggle. Irreconcilable struggle is also necessary in order to secure democracy in the unions, an end to bureaucracy and racketeering, organization of the unorganized and unskilled, etc. The revolutionist, of course, knows that the fight for these is also the fight for a class struggle policy. Bureaucracy, for example, arises because of the necessity of repressing the combative instincts of the masses (John R. Commons, the theoretical exponent of the A. F. of L.'s "class peace" policy, has developed the tendency of bureaucracy along these lines into a systematic theory.) So, too, racketeering can only arise in the atmosphere of "deals" with the bosses which is typical of conservative unionism. And the failure to organize the unorganized and unskilled is perhaps the most pervasive expression of the class-collaborationism by which a privileged section of skilled workers is used in cooperation with the bosses who are simultaneously permitted to exploit the unskilled (and deliberately unorganized) workers in the same industry. This goes on in so-called industrial unions. For example, the sacred cow of the Socialist Call, Dubinsky, in the last agreement with the bosses, traded off certain points by abandoning the shipping clerks, who finally had to wage a fight by way of a federal local and in spite of Dubinsky. All this means is that the fight for every progressive demand is a fight against the Dubinskys, Hillmans, et al. Needless to say, there is not a hint of this in the "Militant" program.

3. The Fight Against Government Control.

The "Militant" program fails even to mention one of the most significant tendencies of the present regime: its attempt to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government, by way of boards, laws, etc., designed in the long run to emasculate the unions, to restrict the right to strike, and thus to undermine the workers' power of resistance. This policy is strongly nourished by the degenerate leadership of the A. F. of L., including the Lewises, Hillmans, Dubinskys, whom the "Militants" support. Lewis and Hillman, in fact, are even closer to the government than are Green and Woll.

4. The Fight Against the A. F. of L. Monopoly.

While we unreservedly favor the organization of workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. wherever possible, we also recognize present realities. Often enough, important groups of workers have been, and will be, repelled from the A. F. of L. by outright betrayal of strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils. Often enough, the A. F. of L. has been, and will be, unwilling to organize important sections of unorganized workers. Insistence on craft union jurisdictions

in some cases may make it even imperative that the workers first be organized in independent industrial unions. Last but not least, are the cases of unions under militant leadership, which have their charters taken away, as was the case with famous Teamsters Local 574 of Minneapolis. What does all this mean? It means that the revolutionary party must firmly declare itself against the claimed right of the A. F. of L. to a monopoly in the field of labor organization. The revolutionary party must openly state that in these instances it will solidly support independent unions, while working for the unification of the whole labor movement within the A. F. of L.

What does the "Militant" program do? It gives no hint of the conditions under which independent unions come into being; it gives no hint of the necessity of supporting such unions, if necessary against the really dual unions brought in by the A. F. of L. (as in the case of so-called "Local 500" brought into Minneapolis by Tobin). It typically Lovestonite fashion, the "Militant" program pumps down for the A. F. of L. and leaves it at that; thus providing no theoretical justification for the many instances in which any honest trade unionist must support independent unionism. Thus it provides the basis solely for capitulation to the dictates of the Tobins and Wollis. Is this part of the price which the "Militants" are ready to pay for "cordial relations" with the "trade unions"?

5. The Fight for Party Responsibility.

The distinction which the Jasper MacLevys make between politics and trade union work is not really as innocent as it appears. The real function of the distinction is to prevent the spotlight of proletarian policy from being cast on the "So-

THE 'MILITANTS' PROGRAM

(From the "Militant" Program presented at the "Call Institute")

"The Socialist Party recognizes that the trade unions, no matter how conservative, are organs of the class struggle and schools of Socialism. Without trade unions, even the most elementary labor struggles would be impossible. But trade unions without a revolutionary party can achieve only partial and temporary success. The Socialist Party will therefore support the trade unions and work for cordial relations with them. It will support all the actions of the trade unions on behalf of the workers (strikes, boycotts, shortening of the working day, etc.). It will work for the unification of the unions into industrial unions and against union splitting, disruption, or dual unionism; it will fight against bureaucracy and racketeering, and for clean and democratic unionism; it favors the organization of the unorganized and the unskilled; it opposes discrimination against Negroes, women and youth; and will champion them on all occasions. It opposes discrimination against union members or applicants because of their political beliefs. The Socialist Party recognizes and supports the American Federation of Labor as the mainstream of the American labor movement, and will urge all independent trade unions and individual workers to affiliate with it. It is the duty of every Socialist, and of every worker to belong to a trade union, and work there as a good trade unionist and a good Socialist. Through such work the trade unions and their members will eventually support the revolutionary struggle for Socialism." (page 8)

cialist" labor fakers. The distinction is a credential of irresponsibility to every Socialist to do as he will in the unions—to do as he will except that it rules out a demand that the Socialist Party accept responsibility for the conduct of its members in the unions.

If, in contrast to this, the "Militants" were to take seriously their phrase that their party must represent the "historic interests" of the working class, one of the first concrete applications of it would be to demand systematic fraction work in the trade unions. But even though their fractions would be already bound to a pusillanimous policy of supporting the Dubinskys and Hillmans, the "Militants" fail to put this demand into their slogans. Are they, perhaps, waiting to get the permission of Dubinsky to put it in the program?

We have touched on only a few points; but sufficient to reveal the bankruptcy of the "Militant" program on trade unionism. Psychologically, practically, this bankruptcy arises from the fear of breaking with the labor fakers. Ideologically, this bankruptcy flows from the failure to understand the meaning of the revolutionary conception that the party is the conscious vanguard of the proletariat. In line with what we have said, we ask Socialist workers to read Lenin's "What Is To Be Done," the classic exposition of the role of the party; read Trotsky's "Communism and Syndicalism," which, though it deals with France, illumines the revolutionists' task in the trade unions everywhere. Read the works of the great teachers, and see how utterly alien to their spirit is the cowardly program of the "Militants" on the trade union question.

(Note: This is the second of a series of articles; next week's will deal with the "Militant" program on the United Front.)

Allentown WPA Workers Win State-wide Victory

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 28.—

After two weeks of militant strike struggle, the WPA project workers of Allentown last night voted to return to work on the basis of the victory conceded by the state WPA administration on Thursday. The Pennsylvania Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg announced a raise of 10 percent in wages for all laborers, the payment of prevailing union scales for all skilled work and a reduction in hours from 140 to 120 per month last Thursday night.

Terms of Settlement

Before taking the vote, the strikers, meeting at the Silk Workers Hall, listened to reports by Anthony Ramaglia, chairman of the strike committee and Sam Gordon, speaking for the negotiations committee. The negotiations committee had met on Friday afternoon with Assistant WPA administrator Folkeston, who gave the strikers the following assurances:

- 1) The new schedule of wages and hours is to go into effect as of October 1;
- 2) There is to be no discrimination against strikers or strike leaders;
- 3) First men to be requisitioned will be the first to be returned on the projects;
- 4) The administration will recognize the collective bargaining agency of the project workers (the Joint Labor Council);
- 5) The administration will order recognition of grievance committees elected by the workers on each project.

The speakers stressed the fact that Pennsylvania is the first state to change the federal WPA wage schedule, a fact which serves to emphasize the force of the militant

AUTO
NOTES

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The "big three" of the automobile industry—Ford, Chrysler and General Motors—employ diverse methods in smashing unionism and keeping their wage slaves divided and unorganized. Ford likes concentration in the manufacture of automobiles. He has centered the greater portion of Ford Motor Car production at the River Rouge plant at Detroit, thus eliminating the necessity of constant shipping of parts to the various assembly plants. Ford relies therefore upon an elaborate and vicious spy system to terrorize his workers and keep them in constant fear of being blacklisted all over Detroit. The Chrysler-Dodge Co. has a particular fondness for the company union. General Motors, in addition to both these methods, has perfected a system of marvelous integration in the manufacture of its cars accompanied by a geographical decentralization of its various plants. In the event of a strike, a few plants can be temporarily shut down, the workers starved out and the particular work diverted to other nearby plants.

The Chevrolet strike has revealed a glaring weakness in the armor of General Motors. The Chevrolet plant at Toledo manufactures all Chevrolet transmissions. The company has found itself powerless to break the automobile union or divide the shop committee at the plant. By striking at this Achilles heel, it becomes possible to shut down General Motors assembly plants all over the country. Thus the whole carefully planned and adjusted mechanism of General Motors is thrown out of gear.

As soon as the recent Chevrolet strike was over, the order went out from General Motors: Break up Toledo! Instead of one plant manufacturing all Chevrolet transmissions, there will be three: Toledo, Munsey, Ind., and Saginaw, Mich. Munsey has already been shipped to both places and the Munsey plant is already working on transmissions. Every worker employed at Munsey is carefully checked and rechecked. He must live in Munsey at least one year prior to date of employment; he must have a recommendation from a reliable Munsey merchant. Saginaw will probably open up early in the winter.

For the workers to attempt to prevent these moves, would, of course be worse than futile. What must be done, and the only thing that can be done, is to organize Munsey and Saginaw! The offensive of General Motors must be answered by a counter-offensive by the Automobile International. Dillon has boasted that by October 1 a campaign will be started to organize "141 automobile plants in the United States." The automobile workers must force him to keep good that promise. The campaign should start with Munsey and Saginaw!

Toledo federal local 18384 of the United Automobile Workers is waiting expectantly for word from the International office at Detroit of the new charter which it will receive. It is believed that separate charters will be granted the various shops comprising the Toledo local and that a district committee will be formed on the model of the districts in the U.M.W.A. The present clique dominating the local executive committee belong mostly to the smaller and weaker shops and so fear that such a move would destroy them. If they attempt to fight it, however, they will probably meet with the resistance of the best union members of Chevrolet, Bingham and other shops who have no representation on the present executive board and who have been dominated by this unprincipled clique of union "politicians."

The committee of seven elected at the constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America to appeal the decisions of the executive council to the 55th convention of the A. F. of L. in appointing all officers of the newly formed automobile international, are preparing to leave for Atlantic City and are counting on the support of the progressives in rubber, steel, and many of the city centrals in their fight at this convention for trade union democracy and industrial unionism.

AFL Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

will not take place at Atlantic City. It is possible that the progressives will gain some apparent victories. The basic consideration is that by means of the amendment to the constitution or in some other form the foundation will be laid for the campaign against the emergence of class-struggle unionism—above all for seeking to prepare the unions for a role of subservience to capitalism and the capitalist government when war breaks. Progressives and revolutionists in view of this development, will have to learn to fight not only with more vigor but also with more subtlety than hitherto.

EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE

MARCH OF VENTS

By JACK WEBER

BRITAIN PREPARES . . .

The imperialist nation with the greatest colonial empire naturally has the most to lose in the attempt by lesser powers to redistribute the world and reallocate the raw materials and the markets that mean life and death to modern capitalism. By its invasion of Ethiopia Italy has served notice that the time has come for the posing of this question once more in Europe, as well as in the entire world. The preparations that were being made for the inevitable world war have been tremendously accelerated by this event. Not only has there been a dizzying speeding up of the production and stocking of munitions and the raw materials that enter into their making, but the diplomatic preparations in the maneuvering for alliances have been given a staccato tempo. Eden for England, Goering for Germany, Beck for Poland hasten from capital to capital seeking the best bargains in the holocaust each is helping to prepare. Baldwin announces that England's previous preparations have been mere play compared to what is to come, for Britain is about "to return in earnest." This imperialist rearmament is cloaked under the hypocrisy of defending peace. The "sanctions" of the League of Nations is in reality the sanctioning of this rearmament for keeping the exploited colonial peoples under the brutal heel of British imperialism. The robber League of Nations now becomes the instrument par excellence for creating the illusions of "right and justice," for justifying social patriotism, for binding the working class hand and foot and delivering them helpless into the bloody hands of the bourgeois ruling class. The propaganda for justifying imperialism war is made to center around the League of Nations and its "sanctions."

STALINISM AIDS THE BOURGEOISIE . . .

Why shouldn't Baldwin use the arguments of justification presented to him by Stalin? What better method could he adopt than this for fooling the proletariat? Baldwin tells the British workers that England is preparing for war "not only because of Italy's present defiance, but because of the challenge which all dictatorships have thrown down to the free peoples of Europe." This is the poisonous propaganda of the Comintern taken up, as was only to be expected, by those whom it will benefit. This is the attitude that motivates the "People's Front," the vicious distortion of the united front that makes of it an instrument not of the revolutionary proletariat, but of class collaboration

and truce with one's own bourgeoisie. Stalinism helps the capitalists in the so-called democratic countries to send their workers willingly to the slaughter. Meantime the British ruling class propose, purely in the interests of democracy, no doubt, to take all precautions against the workers at home. Their first proposal is to concentrate government power in the hands of their most direct and most reactionary representatives, rather than to permit any less reliable indirect representative, even one like MacDonald who has proved his faithfulness to the national bourgeoisie, to remain in control. Hence the rulers are now choosing their own time for parliamentary elections so as to crushingly defeat the Labor Party on the issue of war and patriotism. In this vital struggle the Labor Party has capitulated in advance by its anti-revolutionary stand on sanctions, the League of Nations and war. This stand may please the Stalinists but it can only arouse the bitterest indignation in the heart of every revolutionary worker who cannot but see in it the course of betrayal that was followed similarly by the Second International in 1914.

THE ENEMY AT HOME . . .

The Labor Party, just as the Second International, points to the enemy abroad and helps to divert the attention of the proletariat from its main enemy, the English capitalists. In imperialist war the capitalist class is driven by necessity to extend the sphere of its exploitation for the very purpose of preserving the system of capitalist exploitation at home. Success of the bourgeoisie in such a war means its success in fastening ever stronger chains on the working class at home. The effort of the English workers to free themselves from capitalist exploitation means also the effort to free their colonial brothers under the heel of the same enemy. The effort of colonial peoples to secure or to maintain national independence is at the same time a blow struck at the enemy of the workers at home, a strengthening of the workers and a weakening of the capitalist exploiters. Thus the best way to help free the colonial peoples under the domination of imperialism, is to strike at the imperialist masters in one's own country. The Ethiopian people must be defended not only against Italian imperialism, but against English imperialism as well, which intends soon to send in its own troops to seize the Lake Tana region. In short, the fight against imperialism is an international struggle in which each section of the proletariat must fight against its own bourgeoisie.

Labor Defense Front

CITY WIDE CONFERENCE TO AID ANGELO HERNDON

A city-wide conference to map out a program of work for the defense of Angelo Herndon, young Negro Communist sentenced to 18 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang on a charge of "inciting to insurrection," has been called for October 19, at 1 P.M., in the Imperial Auditorium, 160 West 129th Street, New York City. It was announced today.

The conference is called by the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, constituted by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the General Defense Committee (I.W. W.), International Labor Defense, League for Industrial Democracy, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners. Calls for representatives to be sent to the conference have been sent to hundreds of local organizations this week.

Besides reports from the various organizations, there will be a number of prominent speakers, including Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York. It was announced.

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CONCERT FOR FERRERO-SALITTO DEFENSE

A Concert and Festival is to be held Saturday evening, October 12 at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, to raise funds for the defense of Ferrero and Salitto against deportation.

These two defendants are legally resident aliens in the United States. Ferrero has been here for 35 years, while Salitto has lived in the United States for 15 years. They are being threatened with deportation to Fascist Italy on trumped up charges of harboring Anarchist views.

For the Concert and Festival there will be a good dance orchestra and a program of entertainment which will include a girls' string ensemble, a violin-piano duo and concert songs by Loforese. There will be refreshments, sandwiches, beer and soda. Admission is 35c.

Readers of the NEW MILITANT are urged to attend.

ALL OUT!

to the HOUSEWARMING PARTY Branch 1, N. Y. C. 320 East 14th Street This Saturday Night, October 12.

"WAR IN ETHIOPIA—IMPERIALIST SANCTIONS OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION?"

Speaker: MAURICE SPECTOR FRIDAY, OCT. 18, 8:15 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn Aus: Brownsville Branch, W.P.

LECTURE A. J. Muste will speak on "Do Sanctions Mean War?" at the Sunnyside Hall, 277 Kingston Avenue, near Eastern Parkway, Wednesday, Oct. 16 at 8 P.M. Admission 10c. Audiences of the Flatbush Branch.

WANTED! The first bound volume (1928-1931) of "THE MILITANT" State your price to the Business Manager of the NEW MILITANT.

How History Is Written

By ALFA

Dished Up to Order by Stalin's Savants on Frederick Engels Anniversary.

A considerable portion of the Pravda for August 5 is devoted to the fortieth anniversary of the death of Engels. Poor Engels! Assuredly he is undeserving of this mockery. Engels was not only a man of genius but also the soul of scrupulousness. In literary work as well as in practical affairs he could not bear sloppiness, inaccuracy, and inexactitude. He checked every comma (in the literal sense of the term) of Marx's posthumous work, and carried on a correspondence on the subject of secondary orthographic errors. Then why does the central organ of the Moscow bureaucracy come down upon the great thinker and writer with this flood of articles in which side by side with the tendentious and, so to say, standard lies one meets at every step with the lie that is unpremeditated, born out of ignorance, heedlessness and irresponsibility?

The leading article reads: "The reverberations of the shots on the barricades of the bourgeois revolutions had hardly subsided . . . when Marx and Engels were already pointing to the majestic figure of the proletariat, this gravedigger. . . and so forth and so on. What sort of 'bourgeois revolutions' are made mention of here? During the barricades in the year, 1830, Marx and Engels were still kids and incapable of pointing out the 'majestic figure of the proletariat.' Consequently the statement must relate only to the revolutions of 1848. But the 'Condition of the Working Class in England,' the genial work of young Engels, appeared as early as 1845. Finally, Marx and Engels did not at all await the reverberation of 1848 to proclaim to the world the doctrine of scientific socialism. 'The Communist Manifesto'—and may the editors of the Pravda be apprised of this—appeared not after the 'last shots had sounded' but prior to the time the first bullets hummed of the revolutions of 1848. But what does a functionary fulfilling the duties of a publicist care about the chronology of revolutions, or the ideological development of Marx and Engels to boot? Not for nothing did Bismarck say, 'Give me a journalist out of him; but there is no making a good journalist even out of a dozen functionaries.'

Stalinist Sharpshooters

Quoting, from the obituary in the Neue Zeit (1896), the sentence to the effect that with the death of Engels "Marx finally died too," the leading article unexpectedly appends the following: "the leaders of the social democracy who had slid down into the swamp of reformism and opportunism made haste to intern together with the remains of Engels the revolutionary teachings of Marxism." This is indeed sharp shooting: aim a finger at the sky and hit the bull's eye! Revisionism appeared only in 1897, the name itself came still later, the weekly Neue Zeit was not the organ of revisionism but of the struggle against revisionism. The above quoted sentence did not at all imply that revolutionary Marxism was being buried together with Engels. To ascribe to the Neue Zeit of 1895 such a notion is tantamount to being an utter ignoramus in the history of Marxism. In reality, the thought expressed in the Neue Zeit was to the effect that with Engels' death there also died that part of Marx's living personality which had continued to exist in Engels. In these words there is beautifully expressed the well high individualistic creative collaboration of Marx and Engels. But the functionary fulfilling the duties of a publicist opines that he best expresses his belated hostility to revisionism when he provides a stupid and pettifogging interpretation of a clever and correct thought. And this, at the moment when the entire policy of the Communist International is being directed into channels of reformism!

The Institute of Confusion

The Marx, Engels and Lenin Institute publishes in the self-same issue a letter from Engels to Kautsky which subjects to criticism the Lassallean formula of "the single reactionary mass of the ruling classes." The aim of this publication is quite clear: the Institute for the falsification of Marxism and Leninism seeks by means of this quotation to provide a prop for the policy of coalition with the "democratic" bourgeoisie. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the political fraud: toil and moli as the Meers functionaries may, they will not succeed in transforming Engels into the theoretician of conciliationism with the bourgeoisie. But at any rate, these gentlemen have forgotten to explain to us how the negation of the "single reactionary mass of the ruling classes" is reconcilable with the immortal aphorism of Stalin on the subject of: Fascism and social democracy. But here is the remarkable part: publishing the letter in its own solemn name, the Institute in a brief introduction commits, in the course of eight lines, two, if not three gross mistakes.

Says the learned Institute, "In this letter Engels subjects to criticism the draft of the Erfurt pro-

gram in which Kautsky, despite the instructions of Marx and Engels, was smuggling in the Lassallean thesis of the single reactionary mass."

Learned Nonsense

There could have been no instructions from Marx to Kautsky for the reason that Marx had died some eight years prior to the drafting of the Erfurt program; the only letter that Marx did write to Kautsky (in 1881) says absolutely nothing concerning the question that interests us. As regards Engels, in his letter to Kautsky he actually did subject to merciless criticism the phrase on the "single reactionary mass." But he did not at all ascribe it to Kautsky; he knew that this phrase was inserted by someone (obviously Wilhelm Liebknecht) into Kautsky's original draft, which had been approved in essence by Engels. Engels' critical letter was intended to supply Kautsky with support against Liebknecht, and especially against the old Lassalleans. "Ordinary" mortals have the privilege of not knowing this. But the learned Institute of Marx, Engels and Lenin!

Further on we read: "The instructions of Engels to the leaders of the German social-democracy were not executed when the final text of the program was accepted" (our emphasis). The style itself is noteworthy: the "instructions" of the head of the department were not "executed" by an underling. But Engels was not the one and indivisible "leader." He issued "instructions" to nobody. He was merely a genial thinker and he gave theoretical and political advice to different parties. Nobody was duty bound to "execute" this. This sentence, so remarkable stylistically, is all the worse for being false in essence. The formula of the "single mass" was deleted from the text of the Erfurt program, and Engels in his correspondence expressed his complete satisfaction on this score. What a deal of lying in eight lines for a learned institution!

Defaming Plekhanov

In the third article devoted to Engels' attitude to the Russian revolution we are informed that in a letter to the *Emancipation of Labor Group*, Engels warned against a mechanistic and doctrinaire understanding of Marxism. And the sage-Pravda remarks in this connection: "Alas! The outstanding members of the Group gleaned

little boon (!) from this warning of Engels; two decades later they turned out in the camp of the Mensheviks. . . . But what happened in the course of these two decades? Plekhanov's splendid and victorious struggle against philosophical idealism, against historic subjectivism and the economic superstition of the Narodniki; the entire work of the *Emancipation of Labor Group* unprecedented in courage and staunchness—the work upon which was directly nurtured the oldest generation of the Russian Marxists, including Lenin himself—all this is a "trifle" to the ignorant and bombastic Pravda. But Lenin, indeed, was enthralled by Plekhanov, he was, to use his own expression, "in love" with Plekhanov, nor did he forget the latter's great Marxist services even during the periods of irreconcilable struggle with him. Why, even Engels himself after the letter to Zasulich in 1883 had the opportunity over a period of some 12 years to observe directly the activity of the *Emancipation of Labor Group*, and he referred with extreme praise to the work of Plekhanov. Generally speaking, the old man was quite chary of praise. But the functionary who has been able to understand neither Engels nor Lenin nor Plekhanov sets upon the activity of the *Emancipation of Labor Group* the seal of his severe verdict: "little boon." One is impelled to say that only harm can come from such bureaucratic insects in literature.

Flame Belching Bureaucrats

One could call another dozen of similar pearls for each author contributed his bit to the public treasure chest of ignorance. But the reader must be fed up to his neck already. We shall only add a few words on the score of the bureaucratic pathos. The leading article speaks of "the chapters of 'Das Kapital' and the 'Anti-Duehring' flaming with revolutionary passion and hatred to the exploiters, and to joy in their wondrous philosophic profundity. . . . It is impossible to write more choicely. A philosophic profundity which turns into an ice flame at the same time that the flames of hatred flare. It is clear that at the mere sight of 'Das Kapital' the editors of the Pravda get fever and chills. Further on, mention is made of the "immortal and destructive (?) lines on the 'Gotha Program' and of the 'flame belching pamphlet' on the Paris Commune. In short, the flame

belching functionaries—in waiting write in a wondrous manner: the reader breaks out in a rash of burns and blisters.

Zaslavsky; Bootlicker in Chief

But the palm of primacy indubitably goes to D. Zaslavsky. In the literary sense he is immeasurably more literate than the rest, and in regards to flame belching pathos he can give anybody cards and spades. Zaslavsky concludes his article with the following words: "It was not by accident that the remarkable and well worth studying friendship between Marx and Engels found its counterpart in the remarkable kinship, the great friendship between Lenin and Stalin." An immortal Russian satirist has made a remark bearing upon such a case. Said he: "After this, the son of a gun squats on his haunches and waits to be petted."

Marx and Engels were bound together by forty years of titanic mental labor. The most informed and penetrating students of Marxism, like Ryazanov, have been unable—for it is unthinkable in general—to conclusively establish the line of demarcation between their creative work. As regards Lenin and . . . Stalin we want to be shown not a line of demarcation, but a line of continuity. In the titanic mental labor of Lenin, Stalin occupied the post of an ordinary "activist" side by side with a score of others. As regards "friendship," enough to recall Lenin's Testament and his letter written on his death bed in which he broke off all personal and comradesly relations with Stalin. But why pick on . . . D. Zaslavsky? He is the same scribbler who in 1917 hounded Lenin in the bourgeois chauvinist press as the paid agent of the German Kaiser. In a whole series of articles Lenin never made reference to Zaslavsky otherwise than as a "scoundrel." Only after the NEP and after the first pogrom of the Left Opposition was this individual able to enter the employ of the Soviet bureaucracy. At any rate, he remains true to himself in one thing: he calumniated Lenin while the latter was alive and he continues to calumniate him after he is dead. Such gentlemen are capable of proposing, say, for the 18th Anniversary of October to rename a dozen volumes of Lenin as the "Collected Works of Stalin," in accordance with the same method by which a city like Tzaritsyn is renamed Stalingrad: a single decree—and the matter is in the bag.

But let the lackeys sweat as they will, they will not attain their goal: we will stand in defense of Marx and Engels and Lenin against all the Institutes and all the Zaslavskys.

A Skeleton from Olgin's Social Patriotic Closet

By HENRY THURMAN

According to Moissaye J. Olgin, in his recent vicious pamphlet against "Trotskyism," Leon Trotsky was nothing but a petit-bourgeois compromiser up until 1917, when he managed to fool the Bolsheviks for a few years, returning to his old sins after Lenin died. But Olgin's evaluation of the Russian revolutionist's career was quite different in 1918, when he wrote in the preface to "Our Revolution," a collection of Trotsky's writings:

"The reader will see that Trotsky's views as applied in Bolshevik-ruled Russia are not of recent origin. They were formed in the course of the First Russian Revolution of 1905, in which Trotsky was one of the leaders. They were developed and strengthened in the following years of reaction, when many a progressive group went to seek compromises with the absolutist forces. They became particularly firm through the world war and the circumstances that led to the establishment of a republican order in Russia. Perhaps many a grievous misunderstanding and misinterpretation would have been avoided had thinking America known that those conceptions of Trotsky were not created on the spur of the moment, but were the result of a life-long work in the service of the Revolution."

Just such misinterpretations—claims that Trotsky hedged during the war (Olgin did worse than that!), that Trotsky did not believe in the socialist revolution in Russia—Olgin himself is spreading now!

In the biographical notes of this same work, Olgin, who claimed he was personally acquainted with Trotsky, makes numerous statements that blast the lying claims made in his slanderous pamphlet:

"Trotsky is not imposing. He is almost modest . . . an uncompromising Marxist. . . . Trotsky could not conceive of half-way measures, of 'diplomatic' silence over vital topics, of cunning moves and concealed designs in political struggles. . . . To secure permanent power, the working class would have to win over the millions of peasants. This would be possible by recognizing all the agrarian changes completed by the peasants in time of the revolution and by radical agrarian legislation . . . collectivism becomes

the order of the day. . . . It was precisely the same program which Trotsky is at present attempting to put into operation. . . . Whatever may be our opinion of the merits of his policies, the man has remained true to himself. His line has been straight."

Most significant of all, Olgin gives the definition of a Soviet. Now that he is crawling and licking the boots of his masters, and meekly concocting lies at their command, he might do well to remember the words of Trotsky on the nature of a Soviet:

"The Soviet was the organized authority of the masses themselves over their separate members. This was a true, unadulterated democracy, without a two-chamber system, without a professional bureaucracy, with the right of the voters to recall their representative at will and to substitute another."

At this point Olgin commented, "In short, it was the same type of democracy Trotsky and Lenin are trying to make permanent in present-day Russia."

51 Unions Support 574 Fight for Reinstatement

(Continued from Page 1)

crease promised to them by the Farmer-Labor organization.

The tactics of Mayor Latimer in using this police for the wholesale gassing, shooting and clubbing of workers were called to the attention of the Farmer-Labor party with a request that they expel Latimer from their ranks. Latimer's Employer-Employee Board was thoroughly analyzed and shown to be an artificial agency created for the purpose of usurping the rights of the unions and thereby stripping the movement of its growing progressiveness.

Delegates pointed to the growing need for the industrial form of union organization and told of the successes of several unions in working out a program of closer co-operation between trades. The conference adopted a proposal that this be made the policy of all local unions, and it was decided to hold the next conference on Wednesday, Oct. 30, at 1310 Marquette. An invitation was issued to all locals to participate in future conferences.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

H. R. N. V.—

Question: Certain Stalinists are today claiming that the designation of the social democracy as "social fascist" is merely a continuation, into modern times, of Lenin's characterization of the social democracy as "social chauvinist." What is there to this?

Answer: The Stalinists, who argue thus, are either new to the movement or short in memory. Otherwise, they are depending upon these shortcomings being present in their listeners.

First, as to the evolution of the theory of "social fascism." Its theoretical formulation was first propounded by Stalin: "Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of the social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. . . . These organizations do not contradict each other, but complete each other. They are not antipodes but twins. . . . This 'definition' was made the basis of the program of the Comintern and the policy of the G.P.C. (See, for example, 'What Is Happening in Germany,' pp. 20-21, by Fritz Heckert, published June, 1933, by Workers Library Publishers). Essentially, therefore, the Stalinists claimed the social democracy to be fascist and, based on this formulation, the C.P.G. refused to make united fronts with the social democracy against Hitler. (How could united fronts be made with fascists against fascists?)

As life itself began to hammer this "theory" to bits, however, it became necessary to offer a more "reasonable" argument, which was woven through the main fabric like an excess thread. The social democracy is "social fascist" because it "paves" the way for fascism. (You will find that intellectuals like Strachey, who confuse Stalinism with Leninism, use, or have used, this rather than Stalin's original formulation.)

Now that the C. I. is "united fronting" with the social democracy at all costs, it is necessary that the term "social fascist" be forgotten as soon as possible. When reminded of it, the Stalinists dodge the issue by stating that the term is the same as Lenin's "social chauvinist," merely brought up to date; the inference being, of course, that the Stalinists never meant any more or less than did Lenin by the term.

Factually, there never was, and, theoretically, there never could be an evolution or equality between the terms "social chauvinism" and "social fascism" insofar as these express actual, and not imaginary, social phenomena. Lenin's characterization of the social democracy as "social chauvinist" is scientifically correct: The leaders of the social democratic parties claimed to stand for socialism and yet acted as chauvinists. Stalin's designation of the social democracy as "social fascist" is a fantastic distortion of Marxism. The social democratic leaders, who can be chauvinistic because this does not do away with their sinuities, cannot at the same time be fascists because this would imply that they stand for the abolition of the very organizations upon whose existence their political career depends. The after-thought that social democracy is "social fascist," because it objectively paves the way for fascism, is meaningless. Objectively, the road to fascism was prepared for by the whole course of capitalism, and, let us not forget, by the course of the Stalinist democracy, as well as the social democracy. It would obviously be ridiculous and merely play confusion upon confusion if we were, for this reason, to call capitalism "capital-fascism" and the Stalinists, "communist-fascists."

Between the formulations of Lenin and the stupidities of Stalin lies, not a continuation but an abyss.

L. Z. BRONX—

Question: Is it true that the C.I. under Lenin refused membership to anyone who subscribed to the idea that the League of Nations was an instrument which helped to maintain peace?

Answer: Point 6 of the 21 conditions for admission to the Third International, adopted at the second congress of the C.I. in 1920, stated: "Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the social honesty, and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars."

Point 21 stated: "Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and those laid down by the Communist International are to be excluded from the party. . . ."

PARTY AT WORK

CLEVELAND

The message of the new revolutionary party is spreading in Cleveland, as the following events will indicate.

Joe Pierce, who was looked upon by many Y.C.L.ers as a leading element, came over to the Spartacus Youth League after two years in the C.P. and Y.C.L.

A number of the youth are now wavering between the Y.C.L. and S.Y.L. The NEW MILITANT is passed around openly at Y.C.L. meetings.

The Socialist Unemployed Alliance invited the Stalinists into a united front against relief slashes, and the Stalinists suggested that the Unemployed League also participate. However, they struggled against allowing Foley, the organizer, to speak! Imagine one organization in a united front dictating the choice of speakers to another—and trying to bar its main leader at that. The face of the Unemployment Council secretary twitched convulsively when Foley insisted that if he were barred, Thurman, the first "renegade" of the Cleveland youth, must speak!

At the demonstration, the young "Trotskyite" speech was received warmly, and the NEW MILITANT sold like hotcakes.

The Workers Party headquarters will open soon, and the comrades are planning forums, lectures, classes, organizational meetings, etc. One Spartacus is organizing a discussion group among his schoolmates, others are planning union work.

Recently a lecture, "The Need for a New International," was delivered before thirty-five young people, largely Stalinist members and followers, at the Lakewood Youth League. Other mass organizations are planning to have W.P. lecturers in the future.

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Mooney Trial Brings Out New Proofs of Innocence

SAN FRANCISCO—With their second week, the Mooney hearing sessions have really got under way. The most exciting moment of the week was the first meeting of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings since their trials in 1917. All minor differences of policy forgotten, the two famous frame-up victims threw their arms around each other and greeted each other in tears. Since he was permitted to come from Folsom and be present at the hearing, Billings' objections to testifying were relinquished, and he is doing his utmost to help Mooney in the court procedure that may in the end mean freedom for them both.

At the beginning of the week, Mooney was put on the stand again. The only remaining evidence offered directly by him, however, was the production of a long-lost letter from President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, authorizing him officially to organize the United Railroads employees, and enclosing funds for his expenses. This disposes of the state's contention that Mooney did not have the support and co-operation of the union in his activities in the carmen's strike.

Weinberg on Stand

Weinberg was the next witness, having come all the way from Cleveland to testify. He told again the story of how Martin Swanson tried twice, in vain, to get him to help frame Mooney in connection with the San Bruno electric tower dynamiting, and how when he refused, Swanson threatened to "get him for that."

After Weinberg's arrest, Swanson sneered, "I said I'd get you, and I got you." Weinberg also threw considerable light on the methods of "identification" used by the police, telling—as have all the other witnesses—how the defendants were pointed out individually, by name, to persons brought in to identify them, and how the only time there was a real line-up, Goff made him put on a cap (all the other prisoners being bareheaded), and then whispered to the would-be identifier, "The man with the cap!" He stated that while he was in the county jail, a fellow-townsmen of his from his native place in Poland came to him with an offer from Ficket of \$20,000 and his freedom if he would testify against Mooney. Clearly hastily moved that this be stricken from the records as hearsay, but the effect remained, and attempts are being made to locate this man, David Farber, and take his testimony if he is still alive.

Weinberg was followed by Ed Nolan, who came from his present home in Los Angeles. For a day Nolan gave rather routine testimony telling the off-repeated story of his arrest, the search of his home without a warrant, and the fake "identifications" to which he too was subjected. Then suddenly, on cross-examination by Cleary, he suggested that the hearing "get down to facts without so much mystery."

Testimony of Nolan

For the first time, he revealed that the various substances—clay, iron junk, etc.—found in his basement were his, that they consisted of welding compound used for him in experiments in a hardening process or soft steel, and that he accepted full responsibility for them. Mooney's key to his basement (where he kept his motorcycle) was not even in his possession while Nolan was in Baltimore at a convention during most of July, as it had been seized by the police when he was arrested in connection with the street car strike. Questioned by Cleary about the anarchist paper, The Blast, of which so much has been made by the prosecution, he cried, "I've been engaged all my

man who, when told "Here's the man you saw," still refused to be stampeded—and was never called as a witness.

Cross-Examination of Billings

Under cross-examination, as the week's sessions closed, he was being grilled on his account of his doings on July 22, 1916, with special reference to his concealment of his sabotage activities. He insisted that this concealment was voluntary and individual, based on his belief that he could easily prove an alibi any way, and did not want to be involved in any trouble on account of sabotage. When Cleary accused him of "concealing evidence," because he destroyed the paper containing his notations of numbers of scab-painted cars on which he had squirted paint-remover, Billings retorted, "I didn't destroy nearly as much evidence as the district attorney did in my case!"

During the week testimony was read from 17 police officers stationed near Stuart and Market Streets that no car had passed down Market St. during the parade except the official car and an ambulance. Many of the long-lost documents and transcripts which never have been seen by the defense have now come to light and been handed over to them; but some are still missing, including Rena Mooney's first statement and Billings' note.

Wage Cuts Heaped on Phila. Dress and Blouse Workers

Wage cuts and lengthening of hours have been put over on the workers of the cotton dress and blouse industry of Philadelphia by the bosses without any real struggle on the part of the union leadership.

Before the Fall season began, a new manager came into the union and soon after a meeting of chairmen and chairladies of cotton dress shops was called for the purpose of taking up the matter of the increase in hours as demanded by the bosses' association.

This demand aroused the workers who were present and all spoke in favor of a struggle against it. The manager, however, thought that a fight at this time would be disastrous since the industry wasn't fully organized and tried to discourage any fighting spirit on the part of the workers, by stating that if you go too strong on the bosses they may move out of town. One big shop did move out, but the union persuaded it to return by granting them all sorts of concessions.

"Impartial" Chairman
The matter was finally taken before the "impartial" chairman. When some of the shop representatives questioned him about the possibility of a wage cut as well as increases in the hours, he vehemently declared against granting any wage cuts. But his decision was a typical "impartial" chairman's decision—that is, a boss' decision. The hours were increased from thirty-six to forty and a technical term was used for wage cuts which the workers did not find out until prices on new garments were made.

Meanwhile the blouse shops started to work and the bosses refused to settle prices on the old basis. They also wanted some concessions. All this time no membership meetings were called to acquaint the workers with the situation and all sorts of rumors arose. Weeks passed, nothing was done. Unsettled garments piled up and finally the workers forced the officialdom to call shop meetings. At these meetings, we were told that the joint board recommended a five per cent reduction.

A few stoppages were made but they were declared illegal since the two year agreement has a clause in it against stoppages and strikes. Finally the workers in some of the

shops weakened and voted for a five per cent flat reduction. Of course, the other bosses took advantage of this and the reduction became official in a majority of the shops. Besides unofficial wage cuts are taking place in all the shops, amounting to twenty and thirty per cent.

Cliques in Union
In the midst of all this a factional struggle has been raging between two cliques in the union whose main object is control of the office; one of them, the former Reisberg faction, is supported by Dubinsky, and the other poses as a progressive group. In the elections that were held in spring, the so-called progressive action, supported by the Stalinist rank and file group, won the majority on the joint board.

The joint board is composed of the silk dress local, cutters and pressers as well as the cotton dress and blouse local; each are allowed five delegates.

Out of a membership of seven thousand, the cotton local numbering over four thousand, have only five mandates. The Reisberg faction controlling the Cotton Executive, used this disproportion for its own benefit and stirred up quite a number of workers to the point where there was talk of a split.

This struggle continued all Spring and finally culminated in the board requesting the resignation of Reisberg. Reisberg, manager of the Philadelphia local for fifteen years, has a record of class collaboration. The union membership dwindled down to a couple of hundred and it was almost put out of existence, until the strike of May 1933, when the workers responded in great masses to the call, much to the surprise of Reisberg and President Dubinsky as well.

Class Collaboration

While the workers were glad to be rid of this individual, Reisberg, nevertheless the members are now confronted with a leadership worse and more open in its policy of collaboration.

Collective bargaining, no struggle, the bosses might close up if we don't give in, is their song and dance at meetings. Two shops have a check-off system of collecting dues and there is talk of having it in every shop.

No effective militant opposition movement exists as yet in the union. The Stalinist controlled rank and file group helped this new leadership to get into power. They even swung the membership into voting for three business agents, when two are more than sufficient. There is great discontent with the present leadership and its policies, especially among the new elements in the union, and particularly in the cotton local, where a more militant attitude is being developed.

The Fall season will be over soon. A campaign must be started as soon as possible to organize the unorganized and to rally the union for a militant struggle in the Spring to regain our losses and obtain better conditions for the worker in the industry as this is the only guarantee for a strong union.

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SHADOW OF TREACHERY

(Continued from Page 1)

of truth, the precedent was set on August 4, 1914.

Litvinov's Role

October 3: An article on page 3 entitled "The Soviet Union Alone Fought Against Imperialist War at Geneva." How? "On April 17, the Council of the League adopted a resolution condemning Germany, then as now, openly rearming at a break-neck speed. . . . The Soviet delegate (Litvinov) at that time foresaw that the League was setting a very important precedent which could be later applied to Mussolini. . . . On April 18 the New York Times described Litvinov's action at Geneva as follows:

" . . . He raised the point that the proposed measures against the unilateral denunciation of treaties were applied only to European countries. . . . He wanted the Committee left free to propose measures for other than European countries."

"That is why it was no surprise that on September 5 at the Council of the League Maxim Litvinov rose to defend Ethiopia."

What can be said for this filthy hypocrisy? Ethiopia applied to the League in December, 1934. For more than eight months the delegate of the Soviet Union to the League "fought against imperialist war" and defended Ethiopia by . . . making a slight change in a resolution calculated to enable him to protest against the Ethiopian outrage months "later" whenever his French ally, Laval, thought it necessary. Not once during those

South Africans Back Ethiopia

(Continued from Page 1)

2. That this meeting of Langa workers unanimously pledges itself to support Abyssinia, the only remaining independent African state, against the proposed assault by Italian imperialism, and further pledges itself to do everything in its power to prevent the despatch of goods from Union ports to Italian troops in East Africa.

Both these resolutions were adopted with great enthusiasm by the meeting.

Questions followed, in which the workers expressed keen interest in the program of the Communist League.

When the five comrades were about to leave the location, they were charged with entering the location without a permit, and were warned that a summons would be issued against them.

Notwithstanding the close attention now being paid to them by the police and the Criminal Investigation Department, the comrades intend continuing their propaganda in the location. A mass meeting on the Abyssinian question has been called for the following Sunday.

The reactionary persecutions of the Fusion Government will not prevent the growth of the revolutionary movement in South Africa. The forces of the state cannot prevent the irresistible growth of the movement for the Fourth International.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

For the Fourth International,

CHARLES VAN GELDENEN.

To Lecture On AFL Conclave

The present convention of the American Federation of Labor will be analyzed in the first two lectures of a series to be conducted by A. J. Muste at the International Workers School. The series "Current Trends in America, Trade Union and Political" will open Wednesday evening, October 23 and continue the succeeding Wednesdays for 8 weeks.

A. J. Muste will be the speaker at the first three lectures which will include an examination of the past year of the A. F. of L., the deliberations and decisions of the Atlantic City convention, the prospects for the coming year and a detailed examination of unionization in the steel, automobile and rubber industries.

The lecturers for the remainder of the series will be announced later. The additional lectures are:

4. THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. Wednesday, Nov. 13.
5. THE CAPITALIST POLITICAL PARTIES. Wed., Nov. 20.
6. THE THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS. Wednesday, Nov. 27.
7. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE U. S. Wednesday, Dec. 4.
8. THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Wednesday, Dec. 11.

The fee for the entire series is one dollar, fifty cents payable at time of registration, and fifteen cents per lecture.

Register at School office, 55 East 11th Street, third floor, N. Y. C.

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Every Edition of Daily Worker Sinks Deeper into Social Patriotic Swamp

whole eight months did Litvinov so much as mention Ethiopia by name, to say nothing of fighting imperialist war and defending colonial peoples. And the Stalinist delivers, obliged to find some action to bear out the title of their article can find nothing more than a quotation from the N. Y. Times (How does it happen that comrade Litvinov's intransigent struggle for peace and the defense of Ethiopia did not find its way into the Daily Worker?) to the effect that he amended a resolution so that it might include Ethiopia. . . . and still did not once mention Ethiopia by name, although her protests had been sent to the League four months before.

On September 5 France decided to take measures against Mussolini. . . . and Litvinov, agent of Stalin, who has now become the agent of Laval, rose to protest in the League. This was "no surprise" to the Stalinists who had followed Litvinov's eight month's battle against the invasion of Ethiopia, a battle consisting of a one line amendment to a resolution last April, with such breath-taking interest that they had completely neglected to mention it in the Daily Worker.

Sanctions and British Labor

October 4: Like a criminal returning to the scene of his crime, the Stalinists return to the question of sanctions. Not content with the somewhat clumsy treachery of M. Repard, they employ the services of a certain R. Bishop to explain away the fact that Stalin's International has become the puppet of imperialism. An article on page 6 treats of "The Line-up of British Labor on Mussolini's War Moves."

"Fenner Brockway, the leader of the Independent (Left Socialist) Labor Party says that the only sanctions that matter are 'working class sanctions' that the working class cannot demand that the National government should apply sanctions, as to do so would be to align the working class with the National government."

"The I.L.P. leadership has been stating that the Communist Party line means lining up with the National Government. This misrepresentation of facts (what misrepresentation?) was dealt with very effectively by Harry Pollitt (leader of the British C.P.). He said the National government is seeking to preserve its vital imperialist interests on the one hand, and to cover this up by pretending to be a defender of peace on the other. Unless the fight for the independence of Ethiopia is accompanied by the most convincing exposure of the responsibility of the National government for the present tense international situation, a position can easily result which the National government will turn to its benefit at the coming election. The line of the Labor Party unfortunately helps the National government in this respect."

Covering Up the Tracks

This quotation, and this quotation alone, which is given in full, is said by the Stalinist, Bishop, to deal "very effectively with Brockway's (perfectly correct) misrepresentation of facts." Where? How? What has Pollitt to say on the question of sanctions? Only that the C.P. is prepared to "expose" the National government while supporting it in the application of sanctions, that is, handing the workers over to the service of British imperialism to be slaughtered in war.

Pollitt's "effective" answer boils down to a very effective exposure of the degenerate aims of Stalinism. Sell the workers to the imperialist government, send the workers into a new world war, that's all right, but be sure to cover up the tracks by criticizing the National government.

October 5: Harry Gannes takes up the question of sanctions: "With war raging, the line-up for and against sanctions has become crystal clear."

"All the Fascist nations . . . are lined up solidly against sanctions. In Britain and France the Fascist Mosleys and de la Roques are bitterly against sanctions. Confused elements in the labor movement play into the hands of these forces. On behalf of real collective effective sanctions are: The Soviet Union . . . the growing united forces of the world labor movement."

Playing the Fascists' Game

Harry Gannes makes of his own betrayal an argument for further betrayal. Because the Socialist Internationals have betrayed the workers into supporting the sanction policy of their imperialist governments Gannes is able to say that the labor movement is for sanctions. Perhaps Mr. Gannes has not read the New York Herald-Tribune which only the other day commented upon the situation in France. For the first time in history, said that reactionary paper, the parties of the Left are for war, and the parties of the Right, the Fascists, opposed to war. The latter are capitalizing on the peace sentiments of the people. The Stalinists are not only selling the workers out to imperialism, but they are playing directly into the hands of the Fas-

cists! By their persistently false and fruitless policies the Stalinists drive disillusioned workers to Fascism . . . but this is a startlingly clear example, almost unparalleled in the history of Stalinism. The Fascists are able to put on a "peace" front and win over workers directly from the "sanction" front of the Stalinists. This Harry Gannes considers a victory for Stalinism. Workers who oppose this policy are "confused," they don't understand why Harry Gannes is for imperialist war.

October 6: The Daily Worker goes into a veritable frenzy of League of Nations patriotism. Headlines of page one read: "Sanctions Are Demanded Against Italy; U.S. S.R. Bars Imperialist Deal Says Pravda." "British Communist Leader Presses for Sanctions." And a front page report of a Fascist rally in Paris states:

"Shouting, 'We don't want to be League of Nations Soldiers,' the Fascists marched through the streets in military formation." There is something for the Stalinists to wax indignant over, imagine, the Fascists are opposed to becoming soldiers of the League of Nations! Not the C.P. Their slogan is "Every Stalinist a soldier of the League of Nations!" Or rather, "Every worker," for recruiting sergeants never go to war.

Page 7: The Daily Worker overcomes the hesitations of another worker, who writes to ask: "Does not the support of sanctions by the Communists result in their helping British imperialism at the expense of Italian imperialism?" Answer: "Yes, of course. But that isn't the way the Daily Worker answers:

"This does not mean that Communists support British imperialism. . . . Communists have no illusions about the 'peacefulness' of British imperialism. They continue to press for the imposition of sanctions to save Ethiopia, but at the same time they expose the imperialist aims of the British ruling class," etc., etc. Everything but a direct answer to the question. But how the Stalinists are going to expose the government they are supporting they do not reveal. If they do expose British imperialism they expose themselves; if they don't, they simply grease the ways for the labor movement into the army. Which they are doing.

"Forcing" the Imperialists

On the last page is a streamer editorial of which the headline is sufficient: "League Must Be Forced to Act Against Mussolini's Robber War." Typical. Everywhere the Stalinists speak of forcing; the British government is forced to protect its colonies, the French government is forced to protect the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations is to be forced to protect the interests of its dominant member imperialists. A pathetic attempt to cover up their treachery. They propagate the absurd lie that the workers are fighting against the imperialists on the question of sanctions! In a few more months they will demand that the workers force their way into the imperialist army! And this is no fantasy. In France they demand the removal of "Fascist" elements from the army

staff! What is the next step? Stalinists will force their way into the positions vacated by the "Fascists." October 7: An editorial on sanctions, another one. Can it be that the "monolithic" party is not swallowing the Stalin-Laval communique?

"Ethiopia has put the question of sanctions squarely on the order of the day at the League of Nations. . . . Ethiopia, whose people are being slaughtered by the Fascist invaders, seems to have a different conception of its interests than certain people who persist in condemning sanctions."

A Prophetic Editorial

The "certain people" above are the followers of Lenin who resolutely oppose all imperialist war. There is something prophetic about this editorial; merely change the names a bit and you get an editorial from the Daily Worker a few months from now. Germany has invaded France (or vice versa):

France has put the question of war squarely on the order of the day before the American people.

France whose people are being slaughtered by the Fascist invaders seems to have a different conception of its interests than certain people who persist in condemning war.

The editorial continues: "Does it make sense to say that Ethiopia can fight so valiantly on its own soil and at the same time surrender to the imperialists at Geneva? When the opponents of sanctions claim that sanctions bolster imperialism it just doesn't make sense."

The Communist Party has now reached the stage of bankruptcy in which it takes its line from the Emperor of Abyssinia. If the Emperor supports sanctions why shouldn't we? says the Daily Worker. The last line of the editorial reads: "And Ethiopia, directly involved in the struggle, by her actions supports the policy of the Communist Party." (!)

So the party of the proletariat, in the greatest industrial country of the world, in the last stages of capitalist decay, is happy to announce that its line is endorsed by the feudal Emperor of Ethiopia, in the most backward semi-nomadic state of the world, barely on the threshold of civilization in any form. What an endorsement! That proves the line is right!

Shaking Heads With Green

Coming events cast their shadows before. On October 8, after seven days of preparing the workers for war, preparing them by examples from foreign lands, the Daily Worker comes home. A front page article on the A. F. of L. convention begins with a significant bulletin: "Washington, Oct. 7.—As William Green, President of the A. F. of L. finished his convention speech in which he advocated sanctions against Italy in the name of the convention, Samuel R. Salomonick, trade union organizer of the New York Committee Against War and Fascism, who was seated on the platform with Green, stepped forward and congratulated Green in the name of the League."

Think it over, Stalinist workers. Are you ready to be voluntary cannon fodder of American imperialism in the impending world war? That is the real question put squarely before you by the treacherous policy of Stalinism.

International Workers School

55 EAST 11th STREET, N. Y. C.
Second Year—Fall 1935. Beginning October 21, 1935.

1. ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES—Martin Abern. Monday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Eight sessions. This course will analyze party structure and methods of work. Open only to members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.
2. FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM—Ben Borkeston. Monday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. An elementary course which will trace the basic economic and political features of capitalist society, the development of the modern class struggle, the need or the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the working class and the role of the revolutionary party.
3. PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKERS PARTY—J. G. Wright. Wednesday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will analyze the contradictions of the imperialist epoch, the rise and degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals, the struggle against Fascism and war, the working class struggle for power and the need for the Fourth International.
4. CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICA, TRADE UNION AND POLITICAL—A. J. Muste. Wednesday, 8:40. Eight lectures. Lectures on the A. F. of L. unionization in the basic industries, the capitalist political parties, the third party movements, the Socialist and Communist parties.
5. THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX—Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxian economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
6. STATE AND REVOLUTION—J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration. For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

Mass Meeting

Unite Against Imperialist War DEFEND THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE

WORKERS!

Imperialist Italy is conducting a robber war against the Ethiopian people.

The Ethiopians are fighting, arms in hand, for the right of national self-determination; for freedom from imperialist control.

Roosevelt, like his predecessor Wilson, speaks about "neutrality" while he goes full speed ahead with the greatest military program the United States government has ever had!

The League of Nations, imperialist instrument of France and England, has decided to invoke "sanctions," penalties against Italy. Imperialist sanctions cannot defend the Ethiopian people or prevent a new world war.

Sanctions is only the preparations for the new international conflagration.

Both the Socialist and Stalinist Internationals defend the policy of imperialist sanctions. Both have pledged themselves to support the capitalist governments in this policy. This means support to the new imperialist war.

The social-patriotic course of social democracy in 1914-1918 is now the policy of the Socialist and Stalinist parties!

Organize against imperialist war! Defend the Ethiopian people! Rally against social patriotism! Help force the instruments for the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and capitalism, the Workers Party and the Fourth International!

Speaker:

MAURICE SPECTOR

Sunday, October 20--8 p.m.

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party, New York District, 55 East 11th Street.

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WAR CENTER SHIFTS TO EUROPE

Green - Woll Forces Suffer Heavy Setback At AFL Convention

Rift Among Fakers Gives Industrial Unionism an Opportunity; Red Resolution May Fail to Pass

By A. J. MUSTE

The fortunes of battle ebb and flow at Atlantic City in this most exciting convention of the American Federation of Labor since the war. While the convention is still in progress as we go to press and a definitive evaluation must wait until its close, certain assertions can safely be made as a result of the events of the last couple of days. The rift in the leadership between the Green-Woll and Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky, etc. forces is out in the open. There will be a more open and intense struggle between various tendencies in the Federation during the coming year than at any time since the early 1920's. Thereby genuine progressive and militant elements are given a magnificent opportunity, if they know how to take advantage of it.

The old guard received a stunning blow when John L. Lewis arose in the dramatic fashion he knows so well how to use and asked (after the regular time for presenting resolutions had expired) for unanimous consent to introduce two resolutions. Amid electric tension two die-hard old guard leaders, Wharton of the Machinists and Coveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, objected unless the resolutions were first read.

The Slam at Woll

Thus the drama was heightened, which undoubtedly was just what

MUSTE SPEAKS ON A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

A. J. Muste will speak on "Lessons of the Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L." on Sunday evening, October 27 at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Lewis wanted. His first and most important resolution, which after his reading of it was referred to the Resolutions Committee, would forbid any officer of the A. F. of L. from holding membership or office in the National Civil Federation, the peace-between-capital-and-labor organization founded by Mark Hanna, which in recent years, with Matthew Woll as acting president and the notorious Ralph Basley as secretary, has specialized in red-baiting and other forms of extreme Toryism. The Lewis resolution was, of course, aimed primarily at Woll himself, leading spokesman and strategist of the old line craft unionists in the convention. To smear Woll as one primarily identified with an organization outside the labor movement and against which a deep resentment existed at least in many of the unions, and thereby to deprive the craft unionists of their right to claim that they are the only sincere pillars of trade unionism, was Lewis' aim.

That his shot took effect in a vital spot was indicated when only a few hours later Woll announced that he had resigned from the National Civil Federation! Never, at least in the past 30 years has a leader of Woll's prominence in the A. F. of L. "lost face" so swiftly and thoroughly.

Not only was this a blow at the craft unionists' position but Lewis' stroke also served to discredit the "red baiting" proposals of Woll and Company and the indications now are that the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "Communists" from membership will not be obtained, and that at best the old guard will be able to put over some comparatively mild resolution against the "reds."

Industrial Unionism Edged Out

On the other hand, as the NEW MILITANT predicted last week, the advocates of a clear-cut resolution for industrial unionism in the mass production industries proved too optimistic in their expectation that they could get a majority in this

(Continued on Page 4)

Plan Fight For Herndon

Georgia Negro Is Given "Death" Sentence on Chain Gang

The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to rehear the case of Angelo Herndon has given added importance to the work of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. It was stated yesterday by Mary Fox, secretary of the newly formed defense body which includes representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense and several other defense bodies.

In addition to holding a conference in New York on October 19, the Committee is planning a variety of activities to push the signing of petitions and to increase the pressure on Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia for the release of Herndon. The Committee has already issued a pamphlet, "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation—Motto of the State of Georgia," which tells the story of the Herndon case. Copies may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., at 2 cents each.

The Herndon case deserves the support of all militant working-class elements. Tried under an old "slave insurrection" law, Herndon was convicted for the crime of organizing white and black unemployed together in Atlanta and fighting for better relief. His conviction was a blow at organized labor and all elements who dare challenge the existing social order of the Jim Crow South.

The U. S. Supreme Court hides behind technicalities in order to evade the real issue. This body, which some people praised so highly for its attitude in the Scottsboro case, lines up in the Herndon case with the Bourbon rulers of Georgia. The latest Supreme Court decision is really a sentence of death against Herndon, since few if any people have ever lived through 20 years on a Georgia chain gang.

Tarov Relates Torture of Real Bolsheviks in Stalin's Prisons

By A. TAROV

Hundreds and thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists are languishing in Stalinist prisons. Only yesterday I was one of them, and together with them I underwent every conceivable brutality at the hands of the Stalinist jail keepers. Today I find myself in a semi-capitalist country, a "free man." Sad to say, it seems to me that there is no free spot for a revolutionist on our planet. But for better or worse, today I have the opportunity to speak out publicly in protest against the Stalinist usurpers. My duty as a revolutionist obliges me to turn to the world proletariat with an appeal for help to free from the Stalinist jails the devoted and true revolutionists, the martyrs—the Bolshevik-Leninists. The world proletariat must learn that the land of Soviets as such is perishing imperceptibly, for Soviet power is unthinkable without a party of active and self-reliant Communists. That is why the struggle for a genuine Communist party, the struggle against the usurpers and the plebeian regime is a struggle for the salvation of the Soviet system from fatal degeneration.

To acquaint the working class with the condition of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the U.S.S.R. under the Stalinist regime, I intend to sketch briefly my own personal experience, in its unvarnished form. On June 30, 1934 I escaped from exile, from the city of Andijan, having in view



Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

The Stalinists find yeoman support in their battle for sanctions in the New Leader, New York organ of the Old Guard Socialists. The New Leader, an old hand at reformism, gives a much clearer theoretical and practical explanation of the sanctions policy than the novice Daily Worker. It is in the New Leader that the real basis, purpose, and effect of the sanctions policy is made all too clear. We quote from the issue of October 12:

"With the exception of small extremist groups who take the Trotskyist position that the Socialist parties and labor must reject any cooperation with democratic governments and the League of Nations in its efforts to curb Fascist Italy, organized labor throughout the world through its political and economic organizations has taken a determined stand in favor of sanctions and armed resistance, if need be, to the war policies of Mussolini and Hitler, placing itself squarely behind the League. . . .

"Only small groups of utopian

isolationists, embracing the Trotskyist position . . . fail to see the issue in this light."

Here is a clear and unashamed exposition of the social democratic position on war, manifested at present in support of government sanctions. Before we deal with it in detail it is important to note: The social democratic betrayers who have moved not one inch from the traitors' role of 1914, now at the approach of a new 1914, distinguish themselves in this fundamental question only from "the small extremist Trotskyists."

A military writer once remarked that "war is merely the continuation of politics by other means." Add to that the dictum that "Politics is merely the extension of economics on another plane," and you have the basis for a Marxian analysis of the war question.

In the period of imperialism, the present period, the economies of the various capitalist nations are in constant conflict in their efforts to

expand. No matter what political form they may take these economic conflicts never cease for a moment. Now they take the form of a "peaceful" struggle for markets, now a diplomatic struggle, now a warlike struggle. Politics is merely the outward form of this struggle which, change as it may, cannot do away with the struggle.

War is one of the political forms of this struggle. War is not some exceptional phenomena, it is simply the logical outcome ("the extension") of the struggle. In the imperialist epoch war is almost incessant; sometimes in the form of mere diplomatic threats, sometimes in the form of economic boycotts, sometimes as colonial expeditions, sometimes as open large scale war.

The treachery of both the Stalinists and the social democrats begins when they regard war as some extraordinary event, some political phenomena apart from and exceptional to the ordinary run of politics. (Continued on Page 4)

Britain - Italy Threaten War For Control of The Mediterranean

N. Y. Mass Meet On War Crisis

In response to the grave danger of a new imperialist war flowing from the League of Nations policy of sanctions and the need for solidarity with the Ethiopian people against Italy's rubber war, the New York District of the Workers Party has called a mass rally for Sunday evening, October 20, at Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place and 15th Street.

Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and one of the pioneers of the present movement for the Fourth International, will be the main speaker.

France Caught Between Two Fires; Germany Waits Opening

The flare-up in Ethiopia is rapidly taking on the proportions of a world conflagration. Inside of less than a month the smokescreen behind the colonial "incident" has cleared up and the real contenders in the struggle have become fully revealed. It is now evident that we are confronted not merely with a case of national rape but with a major inter-imperialist struggle.

Great Britain and Italy are at each other's throats in a fight for control of the Mediterranean.

Fascist Italy at least embarked upon the conquest of the much heralded new Roman Empire. For more than one reason, it Duce's decision is irrevocable. The Mediterranean is the indispensable gateway to empire. British imperialism, in control of the Mediterranean for generations, must maintain control of the route to her plundered possessions in India, Australia and Far East as a matter of self-preservation.

Faced with a national economy declining to ever new lows and the first symptoms of internal rebellion, the Fascist dictatorship has grasped at the Ethiopian adventure with the frenzy of a drowning man grabbing for a straw. That the blackshirts were not unaware of the impending clash with the British colossus is evidenced by the fact that from the first day of the invasion the entire Italian press has been conducting a systematic agitation against England, largely as a protective measure to stiffen the backbone of their own hosts in preparation for the worst eventually.

England Acts Rapidly

The cagy statesmen at Downing Street have likewise worked overtime to check the desperate offensive of the Fascist upstarts. Without any serious opposition they have cloaked their campaign for imperial self-preservation with the moral authority of the League of Nations. They have even involved France—for whom, as the major beneficiary of the Versailles system, Italy is just as important an ally as England—in a policy of sanctions against Mussolini carried through with such speed and sweep as to leave the diplomats of the Quai d'Orsay in an extremely embarrassing position. They have countered Mussolini's invasion and the troop movements of the Fascist General Staff with the complete militarization of Egypt and their other colonial possessions in Africa and with the greatest naval concentration in the Mediterranean since the last world war. The battle lines between the two imperialist powers have been drawn. Both sides are prepared to plunge wildly into the new holocaust.

The French imperialists, whose whole system of security hinges today upon the task of bringing about an Italo-British rapprochement, have been left floundering in the midst of an internal crisis. Rome has rejected any and all suggestions of retreat. The British have refused Laval's mediation in the naval conflict. The French bourgeoisie is thrown into a terrific turmoil by the diplomatic dilemma. The cabinet of M. Laval is due for a fall in the midst of the strife between the pro-British and the pro-Fascist factions.

The rest of the European nations are drawn into the same vortex of conflicting currents. Nazi Germany maintains a "neutrality" that has its eye peeled for the prospects of entering the fray with an attack in the direction of its formidable Eastern neighbor. Japan is threatening. (Continued on Page 4)

NEXT WEEK

The series on the Socialist Party and the program of the Socialist "Militants" will be continued next week with an article on the "Militants" answer to the Bauer-Tyromski thesis on war and the S.P. National Executive Committee's resolution on the war danger.

Japs Plotting China Grab

Threat of U.S. War Over Market Snatch During African Trouble

By LO SEN

Echoes from Ethiopia, bringing nearer to Europe the thunder of a new imperialist world war, have already resounded ominously against the troubled sounding board of Asia. Japanese imperialism, in the full stride of its own expansion on the Asiatic continent, has displayed its readiness to squeeze the last drop of advantage out of Europe's preoccupation with the crisis precipitated by Mussolini's African adventure.

The "utilization" of imperialist contradictions is by no means, unfortunately, the exclusive monopoly of "realistic" Stalinist bureaucrats. Events of the past week along the China coast and at the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier already offer sufficient assurance that the crisis cannot develop much further in Europe without leading to new explosions in Asia.

Japan Moves In

Great Britain, as part of her hurried preparations to counter Italy's African advance, has transferred practically her entire Asiatic fleet from its China station to the Mediterranean and Red Sea ports. The response of Japanese imperialism was so prompt as to be almost automatic. A strong Japanese flotilla dropped anchor in the harbor of Swatow, a Kwangtung port in the

(Continued on Page 4)

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A.V.D., NEW YORK—Question: The Lovestones (see the "Workers Age" of Oct. 12) claim that the accusation that the C.I. can be guilty of an "August 4th" in its war position is unjustifiable because of the "distinctions between the limited false war position of the C.I. and the unlimited false war position of the Labor and Socialist International" and because of "the very existence of the U.S.S.R. as the base of the world revolution, as a class state constructing socialism. . . ." What is there to this?

Answer: Lovestone is in the position of the marriage broker who was attempting to interest a young man in marrying a certain young girl. The youth, beauty, and financial resources of the young lady were so promising that the young man became suspicious and insisted that there was a catch to the proposition. After at first denying that there was the least matter with the girl, the broker, under the pressure of further questioning, finally admitted that the girl did have a slight failing, the slightest of failings; she was a wee bit, only the least bit . . . pregnant. So with the Communist Party (Opposition), the C.I.'s war position is false, but only "slightly" false.

An examination of Lovestone's ideas as to what constitutes a "limitedly false" position is interesting. We quote from the above mentioned issue of Workers Age where he makes the following four points:

Point 1: "The C.I.'s errors are limited only to the field of a mixed war; the U.S.I.'s errors pervade all types of wars today. . . ." This is tantamount to saying that the C.I. will betray the workers only in those countries which may be the temporary ally of the Soviet Union, whereas the Second International betrays the workers in all countries. The contention is false, however. It is impossible to betray the workers in certain countries and maintain a revolutionary position in others at the same time.

Point 2: "With the C.I. beginnings (???) of dangers towards national defense practices are strictly limited, may be resorted to for a time as a means of helping the U.S.S.R. False and harmful as the recourse to such tactics of helping the U.S.S.R. are, their motive is totally different from that of the motive animating International Social Democracy. . . ." In order to replace Marxism with psychology, Lovestone distorts the truth miserably. When the Socialist Party of Germany voted to support the war credits in 1914, they also claimed that it was necessary to do so to prevent the proletarian organizations from being destroyed; i.e., the betrayal of the proletariat by the Stalinists in the "interests" of the proletarian state stands on precisely the same level as the betrayal of the proletariat by the social democracy in the "interests" of the proletarian organizations. None of the socialist parties have ever openly advocated that the workers support imperialism. They were "motivated" by the need of defending "democracy" against Prussian militarism, or against Czarist autocracy, etc., etc. Today the Stalinists are "motivated" by the need of defending the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" against fascism, etc. Hell, for the proletariat, is paved with such "motives," which are identical in the Stalinist and social democratic bureaucracies: Each proceeds from the point of view of its own special interests.

Point 3: "Even in this deviation, the C.I.'s approach, the Comintern's viewpoint is international, while the attitude of the L.S.I. is thoroughly nationalist, dyed-in-the-wool social chauvinist." This is truly a remarkable statement, which, if it has meaning at all, can only mean that the Stalinists are betraying the proletariat on an international, i.e., on a wholesale scale, whereas the social democracy is doing it piece meal.

Point 4: "The C.I. is guilty of attempting a distortion, for a brief period (???) of sound principle; the L.S.I. is definitely committed to a completely false principle in the entire question of war." What, in politics, is the distinction between a betrayal over a "brief" or over a long period of time? Only a Jesuit could answer this. What Lovestone is attempting to claim, as indicated by the word "beginnings" in his Point 2, is that the C.I.'s "distortion," in principle, began with its present war position, a conclusion which naturally flows from his contention that the errors of the C.I. to date were limited to some incorrect tactics.

Insomuch, however, as the betrayal of the workers by the C.I. can be compared to the "August 4th" of the Second International, this occurred over two years ago with the capitulation before Hitler in Germany. The C.I.'s war position is thus not the first but one of a series of betrayals.

Nor does Lovestone's reference to the Soviet Union as quoted in your question make his position any

Buffalo WPA Workers Out On Restrike

Pauper Wage Levels Drive Men to More Militant Struggle

By CYRUS RIGBY
BUFFALO, N. Y.—The expressed policy of relief officials to "wait watchfully" and "starve out" the Buffalo WPA strikers last week came to grief through a new and inexorable solidarity of the unemployed. Women and children not only attended the meetings but also came out on the picket lines to march beside their husbands and fathers. A strike meeting held on October 7 was attended by well over 1,000 workers.

Sargeon G. Johnson acted as chairman and among the many speakers were William F. Sidman, chairman of the strike committee, and Thomas Dixon of Chicago. A pledge was made by those present to carry on the fight until they should win a living wage for themselves and families.

Police Brutality
During the week police tactics became more and more brutal, although the almost too passive actions of the pickets gave them excuse for only bullying instead of the murderous skullduggery for which Buffalo police are notorious. Mounted police would ride along the picket lines and reach over to snatch off the strike slogans pinned on the workers' chests and sleeves. Then the officer would slap the hapless picket square across the face several times before urging his horse toward him until the worker retreated. Women who remained on the picket line were subjected to the same intimidating treatment. But in spite of threats and official violence the strikers stood firm in their determination not to starve.

A local organization, the Citizens Unemployed Relief League, had previously been formed and this body sent a wire to President Roosevelt protesting against the use of stoopingtons against them as well as against the conditions which made the strike inevitable. The Administration's reply was a warning that all workers who did not show up on their respective jobs on Oct. 11 would be deprived of all relief. The ultimatum was issued by Daniel W. Streeter of ERB who further attached a number of conditions impossible for the workers to accept. Some jobs had been operated all week by scabs under police protection, but on these jobs there were always about as many cops as ERB or WPA workers.

Streeter's insulting public threat frightened a few strikers into returning to their jobs on the date of the deadline. Most of them, however, remained only long enough to persuade others to join the walk-out. A few hundred actually resumed work. That evening relief officials and police announced to the press that the strike had been broken.

No Settlement At All
But none of the conditions which forced the strike had been settled. It was still necessary for workers to accept the starvation wages of \$55 a month, so their temporary return to work was without meaning and shortlived as soon as they realized that it meant continuation of utterly impossible living conditions. Within a few hours the walkout began again, this time taking hundreds more than on previous days. On Monday 500 workers from the Lackawanna slag pit, which was the first job where women as well as men picketed the week before, dropped their tools and marched in a body to the nearest relief job in Buffalo proper. Here they began mass picketing and were able to persuade most of the workers on that project to join them before police intervened with the use of clubs. The effectiveness of mass picketing and flying squadrons, however, had been proved during the days before, so now the strike had reached the point where the workers were ready to employ modern methods of strike warfare. The second WPA strike in New York State continues!

The existence of the Soviet Union as a workers' state has not prevented the Stalinist betrayals. The existence of the Hitler regime is sufficient proof of this. On the contrary, the bureaucracy, by usurping the prestige of the October revolution, and cloaking itself with it, has had a comparatively easy time of deceiving the workers. It is only by his identification of the workers' state with the Stalinist bureaucracy that Lovestone can conclude as he does.

The actors and the staging are different but otherwise there is difference between the betrayals of the Second and of the Third Internationals, and Lovestone merely makes the feeble attempt at finding a distinction in favor of the latter in order to justify his attempt to crawl back into it.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

INT'L YOUTH BUREAU COLLAPSES

German S.A.P. Centrists Expel I.C.L. Youth Representative

Following is an account by the representative of the International Communist League of the ill-fated attempt to set up a new youth international, through the medium of the International Youth Bureau and in common with various centrist organizations. Its disruption and final extinction, in actual fact, can be laid directly at the door of the S.A.P. whose life work has become the struggle against the Fourth International even if the most opportunist and even treacherous alliances are necessary for this purpose. It can confidently be asserted that the death of the Youth Bureau is merely a setback—its experience was rich in lessons—for the forces of the Fourth International are everywhere gathering in size and importance. —Ed.

By W. HELD

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth was founded in February 1934 at the International Youth Conference at Laren, Holland, then at Lille (in reality, Brussels). There were represented at the conference: the I.C.L. youth, the Spartacus Youth League of the United States, the two Dutch youth organizations of the O.S.P. and the R.S.P., not yet united at this time, the German S.J.V. (affiliated to the Socialist Workers Party, S.A.P.), the Young Workers of Norway (N.A.P.), and the Norwegian Mot Dag group. Immediately after its opening, the conference was dissolved by the Dutch police and the foreign participants were expelled to Germany, the others deported to Belgium. Two of the comrades, Bobzien and Lieberman, delivered to Germany, were in the meantime condemned to long prison terms. (It goes without saying that our solidarity with these comrades and the struggle for their liberation will be carried on as before with all our energy despite the liquidation of the youth bureau.) After the expulsion, the remaining delegates convened in Brussels. The discussion, in the main, took place between the representatives of the S.A.P. and the I.C.L., the latter struggling primarily for a clear and precise expression in favor of a new international of the youth in the framework of the Fourth International. After some ardent debates on this question, two passages along this line were added to the resolution proposed by the German S.J.V. But we, on our side, committed a serious error. The arrests and the joint expulsion from Holland had produced a conciliatory spirit and we talked to implement the declarations of the S.J.V. for the new international with the necessary organizational guarantees. We accepted the creation of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations with Stockholm as headquarters. The Secretariat was composed of a representative of the German S.J.V., the Swedish S.J.V. and the I.C.L. (It is true the Swedes were not themselves present at the conference, although their acceptance was confirmed by the representatives of the German S.J.V. and by the Mot Dag group). The Young Workers of Norway had left the conference before the resolutions were adopted and later displayed hostility to the creation of the Youth Bureau.

Sabotage from the Start
After the arrival of the I.C.L. representative in Scandinavia he discovered that the Swedes had no intention at all of taking any responsibility for the Secretariat and that they opposed with all their might the residence of the I.C.L. representative in Stockholm. The German S.J.V. had also forgotten the conciliatory spirit of the Brussels conference and supported the Swedes in their negative attitude. They suggested the absurd proposition of scattering the Secretariat over three distant cities, separated from each other by several days of travelling and concentrating the practical work in the hands of the representative of the German S.J.V. This was categorically refused. Finally a compromise was found. The work of the Secretariat was concentrated in another Scandinavian locality and the Mot Dag group of Norway, an organization friendly to the Swedish Youth, was instructed to represent the latter. The work of the Secretariat went on—always hampered by internal conflict. In the autumn of 1934, for example, at a session of the Bureau at Copenhagen, the representative of the S.J.V. with the assistance of the Mot Dag group and the Swedish S.J.V., tried again to remove the I.C.L. from the Secretariat.

However, these internal conflicts did not reach their peak until after the pitiful conference of the International Community of Labor of the S.A.P. in February, 1935 in Paris, where the S.A.P. for the first time openly expressed its hostility to the Fourth International. It is true that Brandt as the representa-

tive of the Youth Bureau endeavored to fill up the breach by voting for the resolution presented by the Dutch delegates in favor of the New International as well as for the opposite resolution of the S.A.P. However, in the discussion he did not fail to join in the trades of the S.A.P. against the Fourth International. This attitude brought forth protests from the organizations affiliated to the I.C.L. A motion was presented to reorganize and enlarge the secretariat by a representative of the R.S.J.V. (the organization emerging from the unity of the two Dutch organizations), and the Bolshevik-Leninist youth fraction of the French Socialist Youth. Following this the Secretariat of the Youth Bureau decided to convene a session of the Bureau to deal with these questions, with the participation of all the organizations affiliated to the Bureau.

Betrayal Intervenes
In the meantime, however, it was impossible to continue the work of the old Secretariat for another reason. The coming to power of the Norwegian Labor Party had completely unmasked the opportunist character of the Mot Dag group. The Norwegian Labor Party in power carried on a completely bourgeois policy similar to that of the Swedish and Danish social democrats. Instead of fighting the monstrous treachery of the N.A.P., which previously had taken on a radical coloration, and instead of organizing the opposition, the Mot Dag group sought a "theoretical" justification of the betrayal. Besides they declared their agreement with the Stalin-Laval declaration and with the preparation of the union sacree by the French Stalinists. It was therefore no longer possible to collaborate with this group. Horrified by this degeneration, the representative of the German S.J.V. swung to the left by signing, together with the I.C.L. representative, a letter to the Swedish S.J.V., calling upon the latter to disavow its Mot Dagist representative in the Youth Secretariat. The Swedes did not reply to this letter and consequently the work of the Secretariat was suspended. Once again they called for a session under the chairmanship of the Swedish Youth and once again, as before, it was postponed. In the meantime the Swedes did not show any inclination to terminate their friendship with Mot Dag and proved this fact on every occasion (collaboration of the Mot Dag people in the Swedish press, etc.) But the representative of the German S.J.V. also changed his mind by placing in the background the struggle against Mot Dag and once again turning on the I.C.L. In an interview which helped to prepare the session of the Secretariat with the Swedish Youth he declared that the differences between the I.C.L. and the S.J.V. were of a more deep-going character than those between the S.J.V. and Mot Dag.

On August 18 the session of the Secretariat was finally held. The representative of the German S.J.V. again opposed placing the question of the Mot Dag group as the first point on the agenda and insisted that they deal with the differences between the I.C.L. and the Youth Bureau. He stated that the version of his statement as quoted above to be inexact in this form. He had wanted to say that the differences on the one hand with the I.C.L. and on the other with Mot Dag existed on two entirely different planes. But the entire proceedings of this session of the Secretariat gave confirmation to our version.

Touching Solidarity
The representative of the I.C.L., speaking on the first point of the agenda, believed necessary a reorganization of the youth movement in the framework of the Fourth International and demanded that the Youth Bureau sign the Open Letter

to the Fourth International. He demanded the immediate expulsion of Mot Dag and the reorganization of the Secretariat, since the situation had become absolutely impossible through the refusal of the Swedish organization to take responsibility for the Secretariat in Stockholm. The delegate of the German S.J.V. replied by a furious and subjective attack against the I.C.L., surpassing even the fantastic lies of the S.A.P. pamphlet, "Trotskyism or Realistic Revolutionary Policy." Finally he posed the following conditions to the representative of the I.C.L.: To disassociate itself from the attacks of the I.C.L. press against the Youth Bureau and to sever its connections with the work of the International Youth Secretariat of the I.C.L. The Mot Dagist present (to repeat again: this organization is in agreement with the reformist policy of the Norwegian Labor Party as well as with Stalin's French policy) declared its accord with the speech of the representative of the German S.J.V. against the I.C.L. And besides it had to be the representative of this notorious organization to pretend that the I.C.L. is ruining the workers' movement! Similarly the chairman of the Swedish S.J.V. limited his few remarks to approving the speech of the delegate of the S.A.P. Then the representative of the I.C.L. once more took the floor to say among other things:

The Bolshevik Position
"I especially enjoyed the remarks of the representative of Mot Dag because he demonstrated in a convincing fashion that every opportunist and treacherous group can hide behind the struggle of the S.A.P. against the I.C.L. I completely solidarize myself with the attacks of the I.C.L. against the present policy of the majority of the Secretariat. By the same token I am responsible for the policy of the Secretariat of the I.C.L. youth. I am ready to admit an error in the fact which occurred the section dealing with the Youth Bureau in the article 'Centrist Alchemy or Marxism?' appearing in No. 5 of Unser Wort and the July issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL. The Youth Bureau was not founded with the N.A.P. but with Mot Dag, which organization has the disadvantage of meaning nothing with regard to the N.A.P., while the N.A.P. represents almost the entire Norwegian working class. As for the political side the articles were 100 percent correct. If the Youth Bureau continues to work in its present manner it will only be another edition of the Amsterdam Bureau, whose work has only now been so strikingly characterized by P. J. Schmidt, up till now its secretary. The most obvious example proving the correctness of our attacks is given by this session itself. The German S.J.V. delegate could find not a word against Mot Dag and calmly accepted the Mot Dag repetition of the S.A.P. arguments. It has completely solidarized itself with the Swedes although they maintain a close friendship with Mot Dag; it defends the Swedes against the attempts of 'disloyal' factional work on the part of the I.C.L. But the S.A.P. itself uses its connections in the Dutch R.S.A.P. and the Workers Party of the United States to develop a poisoned propaganda and to carry on factional work against the champions of the Fourth International. 'Loyalty' to the Right and struggle against the Left, that is the real character of the S.A.P. I found in re-reading the manifesto against the war danger, proposed by the German S. J. V. among other things that the centrist of Fenner Brockway, Kilboom, etc., is not criticized. To this, the representative of the S. J.V. replied: But Fenner Brockway is with us. Finally we have

a clear answer. 'The Fourth International' is not a 'scheme' for us as the S.A.P. so assiduously spreads, but the touchstone which distinguishes the revolutionary Marxists from the Centrists in all other questions as well. To pronounce oneself today for the Fourth International means also to take a position for the arming of the proletariat, for the insurrection and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fenner Brockway, etc., are opponents of the insurrection as well as of dictatorship. It is clear that against such opinions we know only unremitting struggle."

On the conclusion of this speech the representatives of the Swedish S.J.V. and the German S.J.V. declared jointly that the continuation of collaboration with the representative of the I.C.L. to be impossible. The latter left the session. Mot Dag, the Swedish S.J.V. and the German S.J.V. continued in full agreement.

Significance and Prospects
If one takes into consideration the recent expulsion of our French comrades from the French Socialist Youth, our expulsion from the Youth Bureau assumes special significance. Our comrades were expelled because of their struggle against national defense. And today the S.A.P., in collusion with the Mot Dag organization, which approves the treachery of Stalin in France, expels us from the Youth Bureau.

Practically speaking, with the expulsion of the I.C.L. the Youth Bureau has been buried. What remains is the Swedish S.J.V., which in fact is not interested in the international work and whose only "activity" in the Youth Bureau consisted in hindering international work; the small Mot Dag group; perhaps a small group in Rumania; and the illegal German S.J.V. The whole thing is less than nothing. While the work to reorganize the proletarian youth movement on the basis of the Open Letter for the Fourth International, which up to now bears the signatures of the Dutch R.S.A.P., the W.P.U.S., the W.P. of Canada, the Bolshevik-Leninist group of the S.F.I.O. and the I.C.L., and in which new groups from all parts of the world are continually joining, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, born in a transitional period, has passed from the scene. Long live the youth section of the Fourth International, the world party of the revolutionary proletariat!

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Detroit—Monday, Oct. 21.
Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.
Davenport—Monday, Oct. 28.
Albert Lea—Tuesday, Oct. 29.
Austin—Wednesday, Oct. 30.
Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31 to Nov. 2.
Fargo—Sunday, Nov. 3.
Williston—Tuesday, Nov. 5.
Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6.
Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.
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St. Louis—Monday, Dec. 9.
Springfield—Tuesday, Dec. 10.
Columbus—Thursday, Dec. 12.
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Pittsburgh—Saturday, Dec. 14.
Charleston—Sunday, Dec. 15.
Washington—Tuesday, Dec. 17.
Allentown—Wednesday, Dec. 18.

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Outcome of SAP's Fight Against Forces of the 4th International

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LEFT JABS

LOVESTONE'S SPEECH AT THE 7th WORLD CONGRESS . . .

Under the streamer "Lovestone's Speech at Madison Square Garden" the Workers Age prints a speech which they claim Lovestone would have delivered at the C.P. membership meeting if Browder had given him permission. Again the Workers Age scored a scoop. Spurred to action by the enterprise of the Lovestone paper we have secured an equally imaginary speech which Lovestone would have delivered at the 7th World Congress if Stalin had not crooked his little finger in his direction.

In the report of the Madison Sq. Garden "speech" the following statements by Lovestone appeared: "At the outset I must underscore with greatest emphasis that the leadership of the Communist Party is to be commended for granting us the right to address you here tonight. . . . I want to assure you that I will not abuse the privilege granted us by speaking long. . . . It is with profoundest regret that we are compelled to say that the Seventh Congress has, either by way of omission or commission failed to check this serious right danger in the Comintern. Believe us, dear comrades, it is not as carping critics, not as chronic kickers that we now sound the alarm," etc., etc. After reading this and more of the same kind it was not too difficult to write the account of Lovestone's appeal to the Seventh World Congress.

LOVESTONE'S APPEAL . . .

"I want to humbly thank the Communist International and our dear comrade Stalin, best disciple of Lenin, at the head (loud laughter from all parts of the hall, shouts: 'You'll have to learn to sing better than that') for the privilege of begging forgiveness for my errors. I now pledge support to our great leader Stalin who has always been correct. (loud laughter and shouts: 'You're a bit late with that, fellow. How can we trust you?') I have always fought against Trotskyism. I expelled the American Trotskyists. I sent gangs to raid their homes." (Browder interjects: "How about your robbery of our National Office?" delegates: "Throw him out!") . . . Chairman Darcy: "Is there any delegate here who wants Lovestone to continue?" All shout: "No!" Lovestone kneels in silent prayer.

WOMEN'S DEB DENOUNCES LOVESTONE . . .

Martha Stone, leader of the working women of America, takes the floor and denounces the right opportunist Lovestone who had opposed the decisions of the great leader Stalin. (Congress cheers for 45 minutes. Japanese delegates shout "Banzai." British delegate: "Hear, hear.") Lovestone jumps on a chair and sings: "One, two, three, four, who are we for—S-T-A-L-I-N, Stalin! Rah! Rah! Rah!" (Ed. Note: The Lovestone group actually did this at the 1929 convention of the Communist Party held in New York.) Lovestone begs for a chance to work in the C.I., with Stalin at the head.

STALIN TAKES THE FLOOR . . .

As Stalin arose to speak the Congress went into its usual two-hour orgy of applause and singing. Stalin: "Many comrades have made mistakes. (Radek interjects: 'Quite right!') Mistakes will be made in the future by other comrades, big mistakes. (loud applause.) We must always correct mistakes. Self criticism is necessary to our party. We tried, dear comrades, to correct the mistakes of Lovestone. You know how crystal pure were my intentions. (Stachel: 'How true, how profound!') Comrades, can we trust Lovestone? No, dear comrades, we cannot trust Lovestone. Does that mean, comrades that he cannot work in our party? I propose that he be given work in the Communist Party of the United States. I propose that he be put in charge of Harbaway's People's Front election campaign on the Eastern Coast of New York City. Now Lovestone posh von, posh von! (Russian for scat.) Lovestone backs out from the hall bowing low repeatedly and crying: 'Thank you, comrade Stalin, thank you dear comrades. Down with Trotskyism. Thank you, comrade Stalin.'"

A FEW MORE SUGGESTIONS . . .

Following the great acclaim with which the reading public received "Lovestone's Speech at Madison Sq. Garden if He Had Been There" we suggest some new titles to the editor of the Workers Age. Lovestone's Radio Speech at Valley Forge; Lovestone's Speech at Caesar's Funeral; Lovestone's Inaugural Address as President. Any ingenious comrade can add to this list, to his heart's content.

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Tarov Relates Horror of Prison and Exile Under Stalin Regime

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

RENEWED MENACE TO CHINA

Japan will not miss its opportunity to make further inroads into China while the other imperialists are preoccupied with the Ethiopian situation. There is every indication that Japanese imperialism is preparing more extended operations for plundering China. A series of extraordinary meetings of the Japanese army and navy commanders and the diplomatic corps are in progress. One meeting is to take place in Dairen October 13 to 15. A second in which the various consular officials in China are to receive instructions from the army is scheduled for October 16 in Shanghai. A final gathering of all army commanders to work out details of the next steps in the seizure of China, is also planned in Shanghai for Oct. 20 and 21. The pronouncements of the Japanese Military Attache in China, Maj. Gen. Isogaya, provide several keys to what is intended. A "final" settlement of the North China problem is first on the agenda. The Kuomintang government is told plainly what is expected of it by its imperialist ally. "We do not want to provoke a crisis in North China but we hope that the Chinese will themselves make all the necessary changes to assure the establishment of authority with a responsible person at the head who would have Japan's confidence. . . . However, should a crisis arise which would endanger the lives of foreigners, Japan will be ready to make sacrifices to take the necessary steps for establishing a strong North China regime." What this means is the setting up of an extended puppet state to include the five provinces north of the Yellow River: Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shensi and Shantung, all now under Japanese control.

WHICH THEATRE OF WAR?

There have been previous indications that Japan wishes to add to its present booty Outer Mongolia. This territory is not nearly so important economically as Manchuria. But its control by Japan would determine the main theatre of war in the coming struggle against the U.S.S.R. Manchuria is too close to Japan to suit the Japanese strategists. Soviet aircraft are a menace not to be neglected. The seizure of Outer Mongolia would permit greater safety to the attack from the northwest corner of Manchuria, from the railroad line running from Hailar to Manchuli, on Chita, the most important railroad junction in Eastern Siberia. Chita is the point at which the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad (to Vladivostok) joins the branch line to Manchuli. The seizure of Chita would cut off communication with the Maritime Provinces over this railroad and would make the main seat of war the territory about Lake Baikal. Already special Japanese divisions in full war strength, with large numbers of tanks and armored cars are concentrated about Hailar. The latter is an important air base. The military railroad from Jehol Province to Dolonor was built to

aid the penetration into Outer Mongolia. But the attack on Outer Mongolia can only mean the prelude to war against the Soviet Union.

ATTACK ON SOUTH CHINA

The plundering of China is not to be confined to North China alone. The situation at Swatow threatens to become the pretense for the beginning of Japanese invasion into South China. Already all shipping to this port is forced to pass between two lines of Japanese cruisers and destroyers, holding the harbor in a tight grip. The Japanese object to the tax imposed by the Canton militarists on rice imported into Kwantung Province which raises only a two months supply of this necessity for thirty-five million people. The Japanese have been smuggling tremendous quantities of cheap Siamese rice into the province. The seizure of a small quantity of this smuggled rice has precipitated the issue, Japan claiming a violation of the treaty permitting only the national import tax, not involved here. By this pretext Japanese imperialism seeks to gain control of the vast trade of the East River District of Kwantung. At the same time this is a blow at the Canton militarists whose military machine is based on the so-called agricultural tax. The Chinese are entreaching along a fifty mile front in Kwantung expecting momentarily an ultimatum, to be immediately followed by invasion. The reactionary bandit-generals of Canton will hardly organize any real resistance to Japanese encroachments, no more than the "central" Kuomintang leaders, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Ching-Wei. On the contrary, these corrupt betrayers of the Chinese enter into competition to become the first to sell out to the imperialists. The other imperialist powers are greatly disturbed at the present situation, seeing in it not only the potentialities of another Shanghai incident, but also a fresh move of Japanese militarism. American warships have been sent to Swatow to take care of "American interests."

Shachtman Phil. Meeting

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 15.—Warming up for his national tour, comrade Max Shachtman opened the season for the Workers Party educational forum here last Sunday evening with a lecture on "The Truth About Trotskyism." The speaker dealt very effectively with O'gin's slanderous pamphlet, "Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution in Disguise," exposing all the falsity and rottenness of the fight against the living leader of world Bolshevism and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. A mass of evidence was produced, much of it from O'gin's own writings, to expose the Trotsky baiting campaign. The audience was attentive and asked many questions. Comrade Shachtman summed up and spoke of the need for a new revolutionary International of the working class.

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- THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX**—Rubin Grote. Thursday, 7:00-8:30 P.M. Seven sessions. An advanced course which will consider the origins and social roots of Marxism, the materialist conception of history, Marxian economics, the class struggle and the political party, theory of the state and working class internationalism.
- STATE AND REVOLUTION**—J. Weber. Friday, 8:40-10:10 P.M. Eight sessions. The course will deal with the origin and development of the state from the earliest times to present day capitalism. A detailed discussion of the capitalist state machinery, the attitude of the working class towards the capitalist state and the role of the workers' state.

Fees: \$1.00 per course, 50c payable at time of registration. For information, write to: International Workers School, 51 East 11th Street, New York City.

(Continued from Page 1)

ourselves, in protest against the brutal treatment of the prison administration. We were often beaten, the guards fired their guns through our cell windows, with the result that one of our comrades, Yessayan was shot in the chest. We demanded a commission, but, as a rule, we were refused.

The Hunger Strike

Then, 485 imprisoned Communists went on a hunger strike that lasted 18 days. A Commission arrived, transferred the "active prisoners" to other penitentiaries, and exiled the wounded Yessayan to Siberia. Thus, it "improved" our position. And then, another Commission came next year and extended our sentences. For this reason all of us who were imprisoned in the Verkhne-Uralsk penitentiary went on a hunger strike, in protest against this unheard-of lawlessness. We began the strike on December 11, 1933. On December 20 the hunger strikers were dragged from their cells—in order to search the latter. Then they began feeding us by force. Unheard of scenes took place, desperate fights broke out between the jailers and the hunger-striking. The latter were of course ignominiously beaten up. In our exhausted condition we were subjected to forced feeding by means of rubber tubes. The treatment was indescribable: thick rubber hose was shoved down our throats, the strikers were dragged into the "feeding cell" like dead cattle. There was not a single case of surrender.

On the 15th day of the strike our strike committee decided to discontinue it because many of the famished Communists tried to commit suicide. One of the G.P.U. functionaries from the Ural District appeared in the penitentiary and threatened the starving Communists with transfer to the Solovskiy Islands. Our comrades, of course, drove him from their cells. The decision of the committee to call off the hunger strike was accepted by all the strikers unanimously. The G.P.U. representative was compelled to make a verbal promise (for some reason he refused to put it in writing) that all those who had served their sentences would be freed. Since my sentence terminated on January 22, 1934, I was transferred to the cell of those about to be "freed."

On January 22, I was consequently set "free." Under a close guard, I was shipped to Central Asia, under the jurisdiction of the Central Asiatic G.P.U. We arrived in Tashkent, there being two of us—myself and comrade Zhantnev. In Tashkent we were lodged in jail; the next day, after stubborn protests, we were exiled, without being sentenced. Zhantnev to the city of Frunze, myself to Andijan. And, then, in March, I sent a telegram to the Central Committee about my readiness to give up Oppositionist activity. Two months elapsed without an answer. I sent a special letter to the Central Committee. Another two months went by, and again there was no answer. Both in the telegram and in the letter I made no mention whatever as to my views. I did not consider my views and position to be "counter-revolutionary," as is usually stated by the capitalists, but I emphasized that I would cease ideological and organizational struggle against the leadership. In short, from my communications the Central Committee and the G.P.U. could conclude that the leadership under the pressure of the Opposition had not betrayed the revolution as yet, and had even corrected its mistakes on certain points. And what was most important now was to purge the party apparatus of the debris of bureaucracy, and to wage a struggle against advancing Fascism by combined forces of the Communists and revolutionary forces in the U.S.S.R. and the whole world.

The bureaucratic leadership evidently deemed it offensive to reply to such a communication. No answer came from Moscow. But the local department of the G.P.U. sent its own agents who pled me with the following questions:

The "Interview"

"Tell me, please, do you consider your views counter-revolutionary, or don't you? In your opinion, is the Opposition and its activities counter-revolutionary or not? Do you think that Trotsky, for example, is the leader of the counter-revolutionary vanguard of the bourgeoisie, or don't you?" In answer I went into a detailed exposition of my views as to the Opposition, headed by Trotsky, and in turn I asked such questions as, "And what do you say, dear comrade, are these views of mine counter-revolutionary? Do you consider counter-revolutionary our Oppositionist work from 1923 up to 1930 against the Right opportunist tendency in the party? Indeed, in 1930 Centrism also began to fight against the Rights. Is one to consider this struggle counter-revolutionary too? As regards Trotsky, in my opinion, he is the most unswerving revolutionist de-

Given Long Terms Without A Trial Revolutionists Are Beaten and Shot

voted to the cause of the world proletariat. I consider him my ideological companion and comrade. I have no wish to fool the party, I can not consider as counter-revolutionary the revolutionary views of the Opposition."

My interlocutor would sit mum, with his head on his chest. Incidentally, this chap was a fine fellow with some brains. But apparently he had had little occasion to listen to Oppositionists themselves, but he had heard a great deal about them from the official sources. . . . I had an identical conversation with one of the representatives of the local section of the G.P.U. I remarked, among other things: "What is your opinion of such an act of lawlessness as this? I have passed six months in exile already without any sentence being passed, after serving a three year prison term." The assistant chief of the G.P.U. in answer pulled out from a drawer some kind of a paper and read me a new sentence, three years in exile. But for some unknown reason he refused to allow me to read the sentence myself. This, of course, was a common trick on the part of the apparatus hirelings. They probably wished to scare me with a new sentence so as to make me switch on the Opposition. Here I became completely convinced that these miserable functionaries had long ceased being Communists, that I had to deal with a gang of hard-boiled bureaucrats who were incapable of understanding the integrity of sincere revolutionary words. Nevertheless I decided to go to Moscow, and personally speak with the upper crust of the party apparatus, in order to find out at last precisely what it represents, what sort of people were they who shriek about revolution and socialism and communism and compel me to consider my purely Communist views as counter-revolutionary. In May I sent a telegram to the C.E.C. with a request for permission to go to Moscow to have some personal interviews concerning my case. This time I sent a telegram, with an answer prepaid. But it was useless—there was no answer. My attempts to gain permission to go to Moscow for personal interviews were not crowned with success. Then I decided to go without any permission. En route it became all too clear to me that no one would listen to me in Moscow, and that I would be immediately arrested for having fled from exile. I had no recourse left, except to escape abroad.

Turn From His Family

My renunciation of the Oppositionist struggle was sincere. Even at the present time I still hold to this point of view. From 1933, after the victory of Fascism in Germany, I took the position that all the Communist and revolutionary forces of the entire world had to be united against the Fascist reaction, no matter what the cost, without regard to the internal differences between proletarian organizations, no matter how serious these might be. This is the point of view that I defended among the comrades. But under no condition would I agree to solidarize with the bureaucracy, as I emphasized in my letter of April, 1934 to the Central Committee. I always held and still hold the standpoint of a stubborn and merciless struggle against the brazen bureaucracy which has usurped the rights of our party. My sincere letter and telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. were assumed, however, by the bureaucracy to be the first step of an ignominious capitulation. The miserable bureaucracy considered that I had become worn out in prisons and exile during the long years, torn away from my family, my wife and child, that I could bear up no longer and was ready at last to kneel before the G.P.U. pleading for mercy. The miserable bureaucracy overlooked that in my letter I asked no mercy, but demanded the restoration of my party rights. The miserable bureaucracy evidently attached no importance to my words when I said, "I cannot fool the party, I am not a bystander, I am a revolutionist and I am unable to serve passively in order to keep my belly full. I was an active Communist—I still am and will remain one; there isn't anything or anybody in this world that can sever me from my genuinely Communist convictions; I considered and still consider the views of Trotsky and his followers to be genuine Communist views. These views are a direct continuation of the views of Marx and Lenin."

A Bureaucrat and a Communist

Never in my life have I run across so malicious and cynical a functionary as the assistant chief of the local G.P.U. section, Margolin by name, who, after reading my telegram to the C.E.C. and the G.P.U. addressed me as follows: "Now, what can you tell us about your organization? Who was the leader of the Opposition movement in the Caucasus? Where did you function actively? We must make it hot for these Trotskyists." The miserable

functionary became confused when I refused categorically. I told him, "Up to now I fought against the C.E.C., and I fought according to all the rules of the Opposition; I assume the responsibility of this struggle against the leadership without proceeding from considerations of my own personal welfare. I have in mind the necessity of a joint struggle on the part of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against the advancing counter-revolution. I cease the struggle not because I am in agreement with the opportunist views of the bureaucratic upper-crust of the party, but because I hope our party will still succeed in restoring its rights and drive the brazen usurpers from its ranks."

Destroying the Revolution

At party and workers' meetings the assembled are in complete apathy. They have to be almost driven to meetings. Not only non-party but even party workers are very reluctant to go to meetings. At the meetings, "hold" speeches can be made only by the party and trade union parrots. They can be so bold as to always and everywhere praise the leadership, beginning with Stalin, and then down the line according to rank. Then a resolution is presented, and the assembled are terrorized by labelling as counter-revolutionists anyone who dares to object even to a single point in the resolution. Naturally, such a situation in the country tends to discredit the authority of the Soviet power and of the Revolution. The party leadership has despotically terrorized the entire party. In the party there is a complete lack of the conscious party discipline which was once the pride of our party. Barracks discipline reigns in the party, a mechanical fulfillment of orders. Hence, it is easily understandable why all sorts of grafters, charlatans, and shady characters of every description—thieves of the "gentleman" type—feel very much at ease and are very bold in the party, the Soviet, and trade union apparatuses, and consider it their native duty to look upon Soviet wealth as their own "property." And who is there to supervise them? Who is there to punish them for the plundered national resources? The rank and file Communists? Sad to say, the latter have been frightened by prisons and the Solovskiy Islands, where languish for many long years the boldest Communist and non-party workers, under lock and key, behind bars. Is it really possible that the world proletariat will maintain silence while in the land of the So-

viets the imprisoned Communists hang out the red banner from their cell-bars on the anniversaries of the October Revolution, and the turnkeys rip it down with rakes? . . .

Even the Infants Persecuted

Unfortunately I am unable here to dwell on all the abominations perpetrated in the Soviet prisons under the regime of the usurpers. I will depict only a single scene that I witnessed. In the Petropavlovsk prison, in a small cell, some 25 cubic meters in volume, are lodged 35 women, eight with suckling infants. The cell is ventilated by a peep-hole. I shall never forget those tiny emaciated bodies—I saw them through the peep-hole of our cell. The children stood in line, clasping their mothers' bosom in order to obtain their infinitesimal ration of fresh air at the peep-hole. Let the world proletariat look upon this brand of shame on the faces of the jail-keepers of the plebeian regime. Is it conceivable that there were no Communists in this city? Is it possible that they remained uninterested in the jails of their city where thousands were suffering from hunger, cold and filth? Wasn't there a prosecuting attorney? One is ashamed even to mention this title. There were! They were all there! Even a member of the Central Committee was in this city at the time—Mikoyan, by name. His picture was printed on the front page of the local paper. But Mikoyan was a personage in transit, his arrival could serve only as the signal for arresting an additional hundred women with suckling babes. One can refrain from mentioning Mikoyan. But what were the local Communists doing? Nothing! They have no independent voice. They haven't the right to think. For example, if a suckling babe is in the hands of an arrested working or peasant woman, then it means that the baby is guilty, it must sit in its mother's lap in a small cell with 35 women, and stand in line for "fresh" air.

The brazen bureaucracy of the Stalinist regime will label my words counter-revolutionary. Let them label them as they will. My duty is to tell the truth, and only the truth, for truth is the most dependable weapon in the hands of the proletariat against its enemies. Indeed, if all the working class organizations told only the truth and nothing but the truth, then the victory of the world proletariat over its enemies would have been assured long ago.

A. TAROV.

August 4, 1935

Plenum Meets; Plans A Campaign Against War

The third plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Workers Party, held at New York October 4-9, adopted resolutions on the main party problems and issued the call for the second convention of the party which is to convene December 26 at New York. The intensive discussion which has been taking place in the party ranks since the June meeting of the N. C. is to be continued at membership meetings and in the party internal bulletin until the convention.

The plenum held open sessions with the New York party members and numerous delegations from other cities in attendance. Party opinion on the main questions, which has crystallized in the course of the three-months' discussion, was reflected also in a strong consolidation of the leadership at the plenum. All the important political resolutions presented by the Political Committee were adopted by a vote of 18 to 2.

The first point on the agenda was devoted to a discussion of the Leninist position on the war situation and the preparation of the party to meet the test of war. Party activity in the next period is to be organized around a campaign on the question of war, public agitation being supplemented by intensive study and discussion in the party ranks. In addition to the public statement issued by the plenum the Political Committee was instructed to prepare material for the branches in the campaign.

Extended discussion took place on the subject of international relations and the struggle for the Fourth International which stood as the second point on the agenda. The resolution of the Political Committee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 2, declared in favor of an international conference to proclaim the establishment of the Fourth International and expressed full solidarity with the International Communist League and the R.S.A.P. of Holland in their common struggle toward this goal. The tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in entering the French Socialist Party were specifically endorsed. The proposal of comrades Oehler and Stamm to "condemn" the tactics of the Bolshevik-Leninists in this respect, already rejected by the overwhelming majority of the party in the pre-

vious discussion, was likewise rejected by the plenum. The reference to our French comrades as "capitulators" was branded as impermissible slander which has nothing in common with the attitude of the Workers Party.

Comrades Stamm and Oehler were similarly isolated on the general resolution dealing with tactics and methods of building the party and our attitude toward opponent organizations. The resolution on the internal situation drew attention to the repeated violations of party discipline committed by the Oehler-Stamm group and the repeated censures and warnings of the political committee and the protests of party branches against their disruptive course. The resolution specifically provided that the opposition comrades are to be assured full party democratic rights in the pre-convention discussion as hitherto. Their resolutions and articles are to be published in the internal bulletin for the information of all party members and they are to be given adequate time to present their point of view in the branch and general membership discussion meetings. As a further safeguard of the rights of the minority, elections to the party convention are to take place on the basis of proportional representation. At the same time the plenum resolution gave the Oehler-Stamm group a final warning that further violations of discipline and acts of disruption and disloyalty to the party will not be tolerated.

Following the plenum the party is swinging into action through its campaign on the war question and in other fields, while also carrying forward intensive discussion in preparation for the December convention.

CHICAGO MEETING

"ETHIOPIA"

Beginning of a New World War
Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN
SUNDAY, OCT. 27, 2:30 P.M.
Capitol Bldg., Room 412
159 No. State Street
ADMISSION 15c
UNEMPLOYED FREE
Aus: Chicago branch of W. P.

Trade Unions Merge In France

By H. F. ROBERTS

The recent fusion of the two big French trade union federations, the C.G.T. (reformist) and the C.G.T.U. (Stalinist), which took place in line with the Comintern's efforts to disembarass itself of its Third Period baggage, has given a new impulsion to the negotiations underway for the organic unity of the French Socialist and Stalinist parties, as a first step toward the merging of the two Internationals. The final plunge of the Stalinists into the swamps of reformism and the social patriotism following the Seventh Congress has cleared the path toward organic unity of all political obstacles, such as, for example, revolutionary principles.

The fusion of the two trade union organizations took place on the basis of the complete abdication by the Stalinists of all revolutionary political activity in the union ranks. A disavowal of factional activity was demanded in advance by the labor fakers Jouhaux and was readily made by the Stalinist bureaucrats who announced that the Stalinist workers' political activity would be strictly outside the unions! Speculation concerning the possibility of struggles between opposing political tendencies within the unified trade union confederation is answered by Marcel Gilton, secretary of the French Stalinist Party, with the remark:

C.P. Gives Up Political Activity at Reformists Bidding

the unification of the two parties. From this text he quotes the following passage:

"The unified party of the proletariat, seeking to combat and destroy the capitalist system, generator of misery and wars, cannot admit any policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. None of its members can participate in a capitalist government. Its parliamentary representative has the duty to refuse to vote for military credits destined to prepare imperialist wars," etc.

Now, says Lebas, "It is permissible to ask whether the Communist Party doesn't believe it necessary to modify somewhat its first text."

Since that text was issued, he goes on, "two important political facts have intervened. First there was the Congress of the Communist International and the vote on the Dimitroff report whose conclusions sensibly modified, I believe, the position of the Communist parties toward coalition governments. Secondly, there was the formation of the Popular Front into which all the parties and fractions of republican bourgeois parties may enter for common anti-fascist action. From this new action necessarily results a new Communist policy." (Emphasis mine—H.F.R.) And this policy, concludes Lebas with perfect justice, can scarcely be reconciled with the quoted paragraph from the Stalinist draft for a common declaration. He puts the question squarely. I quote the balance of his article:

"Exceptional Tactics" Throw Overboard

"Two things of importance are

expressed (in this paragraph): (1) Prohibition for the unified party of tomorrow to pursue any policy of collaboration with the bourgeois parties, and even more especially of collaboration taking the form of participation in a capitalist government." (2) Refusal of military credits, of credits for colonial conquests and the whole of the budget.

"A Socialist can ask me: What objection have you to this?"

"For me, none, or almost none. These two imperative ideas are found in the charter of the Socialist party founded in 1905. But the founders of the party were careful to foresee the possibility of exceptional circumstances, creating for the proletariat and its Party an exceptional situation justifying an exceptional tactic. They also introduced into the charter this simple phrase: 'Even in the case of exceptional circumstances, the elected representatives of the party cannot involve the party without its consent.' Which means that the policy of the party, even in such a case, is fixed only by the party itself."

"Doesn't the Communist Party believe that this phrase or a similar one should have its place in the charter of tomorrow?"

"Doesn't the Communist Party agree that it cannot maintain the text of the unity charter presented to us at a time when it is making the greatest effort to extend to the whole country the policy of rapprochement of the working class parties and the bourgeois republican parties for the fight against Fascism and to conserve democratic liberties?"

"Doesn't the Communist Party consider," asks Lebas finally, "that the common struggle against the decree laws... poses the question of a coalition government to which it would be impossible to reply in the negative?"

Green-Woll Suffer Big Setback

(Continued from Page 1)

convention. The Woll-Frey-Wharton forces rallied by 18,025 to 10,826, the majority report of the Resolutions Committee which reaffirms the San Francisco decision of last year. This decision permits the Executive Council to issue international charters to workers in such industries as rubber and automobiles but specifies that the craft unions of the Federation retain jurisdiction over the skilled craftsmen in these industries. The effect is instead of setting up a genuine industrial union to put the unskilled and semi-skilled into a "restricted industrial union" and to separate the skilled workers from them and from each other in a dozen or more craft groups.

Analysis of the role of Lewis and Company in developing government-sponsored unionism on which, incidentally, reactionaries such as Woll and Frey made acute observations in the convention, must wait for our next issue. Suffice it here to make

Lewis Trade Reflection of Rank and File Militancy

one important point. Lewis is nothing if not a shrewd politician. He seeks power. He does not cast himself in the role of a martyr making a splendid but futile fight for lost causes. When, therefore, Lewis now delivers a bitter and devastating attack on one of the pillars of the Federation, Matthew Woll himself, when he deliberately and publicly widens the breach between the old guard and other elements, when he shouts from the housetop what hitherto has been whispered only behind closed doors by any prominent Federation leader, namely, that the A. F. of L. is "a total failure" under its present leadership, when he who was an unwavering supporter of Tory Republicanism under Coolidge and Hoover, flirts with the idea of a labor party, when he who in the past has hounded progressives, not to speak of radicals in his own union more bitterly than any other international president, now protests against one of Matthew Woll's proposals to protect the Federation from "reds" as simply part of a general movement throughout the country against all "progressive and liberal thought,"

it can mean only one thing: Lewis knows that the sentiment of the rank and file in his own union and among the workers generally is such that anyone who now seeks power and influence among the workers must cast himself in the role of a progressive and fighter, even a "radical!"

The vote on the craft union resolution already referred to indicates that the old guard is far from locked. It would be dangerous for genuine progressives to cherish any illusions about a smooth road ahead. It would be downright suicidal to get a false conception of the role Lewis himself will play—for them to regard him as basically a friend rather than as a much more subtle and powerful enemy than the mere bas-beans, Woll and Green. But the indications which this convention has given of how astute and hard-balled labor politicians gauge the spirit of insurgency among the workers, plus the fact of a rift in the A. F. of L. leadership such as have never before occurred in all the 55 years of its history, opens wide the door for a mighty advance in building the left wing in the various unions and in the A. F. of L. as a whole.

Take the offensive! Press the fight. Be bold, be bold, be bold. That is what the Atlantic City convention says to the militants.

8 PAGES ON NOV. 7

For the eighteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution the NEW MILITANT will appear in a special eight-page edition. It will be a fore-runner to the regular eight page weekly to appear soon.

Several feature articles tracing the important lessons of this great revolutionary act of eighteen years ago and dealing with the world shaking events of today, especially the all-over-shadowing issue of new imperialist wars and the duties and tasks of the revolutionary movement, are in preparation for this issue. It should furnish an inspiration for new strides toward the building up of a stronger revolutionary press.

This is the particular duty now before us. Our ideas become a power when translated into action in the living movement of the proletariat. Our message must therefore reach wider fields. Only the Fourth Internationalists are maintaining a consistent revolutionary position in the face of the developing wars of imperialist aggression and the horrors of Fascism. The NEW MILITANT is our main instrument in making this position clear to wider masses and extend the revolutionary influence amongst them.

We propose that this announcement be the signal for a large-scale subscription drive. Start out right now with the zeal of true fighters for an invincible idea. We have set for ourselves an immediate goal of 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the second Workers Party convention, to be held December 26, and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. No more effective greeting could be given to the convention

of a revolutionary party than to attain this immediate goal. The funds coming in for the new subscriptions and for the enlarged bundle sales will put the campaign for the eight-page weekly over the top. The extended circulation will form a solid basis ensuring its future existence.

We ask the party branches to go to work without delay. We ask our sympathizers and the readers of the NEW MILITANT to pitch in and help. When all shoulders are put to the wheel we can reach this immediate goal.

The party branches and the bundle agents should order an extra supply of this special eight-page anniversary edition as a first step toward increased bundle sales. It will be off the press the week before Nov. 7 and reach all cities in time for the anniversary. The special distribution of this issue should be used as a means for new contacts to gain new readers and obtain regular subscriptions.

Above all, we want all forces to concentrate during this period mentioned on the job of building up a far wider circulation for the NEW MILITANT. It is the way to bring the campaign for the regular eight-page weekly to a real climax. Let the subs come rolling in and the rest will be easy. Let all go to work in this great job in the manner that only revolutionary fighters can do.

PHILADELPHIA FORUMS

The Workers Educational Forum held meetings every Sunday at 8:15 P.M. at Grand Fraternity Hall, 1626 Arch Street. The schedule of coming weeks is as follows:

Oct. 27: Karl Lore on "The A. F. of L. Convention."

Italo British War Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

ing a new offensive in the Far East. It is only a matter of time before all of Europe will be sucked up by the struggle.

Where Are the Facts.

The irony of the whole situation is best reflected by the fate of the various "Pacts." There is the "Pact of the Four," to which both England and Italy are signatories. Now null and void. There is the Anglo-French Entente. And there is the French-Italian Pact. Either one or the other is due for the scrapheap shortly. Then there is the Franco-Soviet Pact. In the light of the other experiences what value can any realist attach to it?

The fate of Europe is at stake. The Soviet Union is in danger. It is only a matter of time before the waves of war will reach our shores.

The most recent experiences confirm more than ever the realism and the correctness of the Marxist policy for the working class. The whole course of events dictates to the workers:

An immutable distrust of the imperialist governments, their "peace pacts," their League of Nations, their "sanctions."

A determined struggle against imperialism war by the only means possible—the revolutionary defeat of the imperialist governments.

A consistent fight against the agents of the imperialists in the ranks of labor—the social-patriots of all stripes.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY. GET SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT

Japanese Plot China Grab

(Continued from Page 1)

very heart of the British "sphere of influence" and a virtual ultimatum to the Chinese authorities over a local tax matter may prove the starting point for Japan's long dreamed-of and long heralded extension of her continental drive into South China, for decades the bait-wick of British imperialism.

At the same time "incidents" are once again taking place along the Soviet-Manchukuo frontier. Troops have clashed and casualties have been recorded. According to a Soviet protest delivered in Tokyo, Japanese and Manchukuo forces crossed the Soviet frontier no less than three times since October 6, provoking sharp skirmishes with Red Army border guards. Neither "side," according to press reports, expects "serious consequences" in the immediate future. But the recrudescence of these "incidents" at this particular time indicate that Japan stands poised to strike as soon as events in Europe draw the U.S.S.R. into a holy war for the defense of the Versailles system and of democracy.

U. S. Imperialism Trains Its Guns

It is because of this situation in the Far East that the "neutrality" of the United States consists prim-

arily in the maintenance of its entire battle fleet in Pacific waters. It was in 1915 that Japan, taking advantage of the World War situation, forced her famous "Twenty-one Demands" on China. American pressure after the war forced a Japanese retreat from the positions gained. But since 1931 Japanese imperialism has extracted from China far more than her Twenty-one Demands of 1915 ever asked for. For this American imperialism will sooner or later have to have an accounting and a settlement with Japan.

If the further development of events in Africa and the Mediterranean bring a forcible settlement of all outstanding international disputes once more onto the order of the day, the Wall St. head office of U. S. Imperialism Inc. will keep the European situation in hand but the strong-arm squad, Marines and all, will go to work in the Pacific. And any reader of the Daily Worker in these weeks may be sure that when that time comes, the American lackeys of the Stalinist bureaucracy will be calling upon the boys to unlimber their guns and to give it to that reactionary-Fascist-feudal Mikado and his generals for the defense of peace, of democracy and of the Soviet Union!

Partners in Social-Patriotic Betrayal

(Continued from Page 1)

ities.

The New Leader article continues under the head "Sanctions Do Not Mean War." This is precisely the thesis of the Stalinists who, like the Socialists, are obliged to cover up their first concrete step toward the support of imperialism war behind a denial of its existence.

The Socialists are as hard pressed to prove that sanctions do not mean war as the Stalinists. To quote:

"Sir Norman Angell, winner of the Nobel Peace prize, replied to the objection that sanctions mean war with the words: 'Sanctions do not mean war—they insure peace.'"

Further on: "The Joint Anti-war Committee of the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions... declared it was even more obvious today that only the energetic policy of collective security demanded by the two Internationals in their resolution of September 6 can still preserve peace."

The article continues with a list. The American Federation of Labor, the New Zealand Federation, the Japanese Federation, all approve the sanctions policy of the League. But nowhere is there one single argument to show why sanctions do not mean war!

There are no arguments. All the Socialist ghoulies of the dead Second International can do is to point with pride to the extent of their betrayal and gloat. But gloating does not make treachery any the less treachery.

The article concludes:

"Those who oppose the policy of

the Labor and Socialist International in this crucial matter and who seek to interfere with the application of this policy by urging opposition to the stand of the League of Nations and advocating revolution in democratic countries when they may be confronted with the necessity of taking up arms against the fascist dictatorships are, whether they know it or not, doing the work of Mussolini and Hitler."

This is in complete agreement with the Stalinists, who have stated that the French workers would be traitors if they made their revolution in the midst of a Franco-German war.

The basis of this line in both cases is the same. It lies in this case in the failure of the social democrats to combat fascism... their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie having crippled the workers and handed them over to the fascists, the social democrats, instead of purging their movement of compromise, pass even further over into the camp of the bourgeoisie and appeal to the democratic bourgeois governments to overthrow the fascist bourgeois governments. The fact that the very democratic governments they are appealing to are already themselves tottering on the edge of fascism seems to make no impression on the social democratic dunderheads. That they appeal to the enemy of the working class, the bourgeoisie, to perform the tasks that the working class alone can perform, is an index of their bankruptcy.

The Stalinists have to be a little more cautious about their approach to social-patriotism, to the support of the bourgeois government in its imperialist war moves. They conceal their social patriotism behind an even greater fog of phrases, mis-statements and equivocations. But the direction of the movement is the same. It is safe to say that unless some earlier catastrophe overtakes them the Stalinists will line up 100 percent with the social democrats and the bourgeois governments, of the democratic countries at least (and of the fascist countries which are allied with the governments which the Stalinists consider most democratic) in the next war.

Take the issue of the Daily Worker of October 8: On the front page

moment break out into open warfare, which is only an "extension" of "peacetime" politics.

Now what sense is there in this appeal to "all peace loving people?" None. As a matter of fact, almost every man in the country, with the exception of a few adventurers, is a peace lover. Ask an army general, a president, a senator, a bank head—they are all peace lovers by their own admission. But they are supporters of the capitalist regime, hence they are forced to support the wars which are its living manifestation. The Daily Worker by appealing to all peace loving people is simply confusing the issue, which is not between peace lovers and war lovers (show me an avowed war lover) but between capitalists and proletarians; between supporters of the capitalist regime and its incessant open and concealed warfare and enemies of the capitalist regime and its warfare. When the Daily Worker appeals to peace lovers to stop war it is appealing to capitalists, to army generals, government figures, fascists (for they profess to love peace too!) to overthrow the capitalist regime! For that is the only way peace lovers or anybody else will ever stop war.

Like the social democrats the Stalinists appeal to the capitalist government to stop war. The British Labor Party is ready to support "our government" in its efforts to "maintain peace." The Stalinists are ready, indeed they call upon Roosevelt and congress, to support capitalist measures to "stop" war.

Now it is possible that a capitalist government may stop open war for a short period... but only because that government does not consider the time ripe for war. For instance: it is conceivable that Roosevelt, like Wilson, might keep us out of the war for a year or two... but only in order better to prepare for the war when it comes.

The treachery of the social democrats and the Stalinists lies not in the fact that Roosevelt can't stop war for a year or so, but in the fact that they teach the workers not to rely upon themselves who, as enemies of the capitalist system can alone really put a stop to war, but upon Roosevelt, Congress, and a host of peace lovers who only love peace as long as peace lasts. The majority of so-called peace lovers, love capitalism infinitely more than they love peace, hence they can never be relied upon to put a stop to the wars that are the natural

manifestation of capitalism in action. When war comes the whole mob of peace lovers become just as ardent war lovers... and the workers whom the Daily Worker and the New Leader have taught to look to these peace lovers are easily led into the maelstrom.

October 9—From an article by Marguerite Young of the Daily Worker Washington bureau: "Secretary of State Hull's announcement today that the United States has warned Rome not to bomb or injure American lives or property in case of military operations at Addis Ababa was received today as another indication that mass anti-war sentiment is finding its mark in the Roosevelt administration."

Here we have the same misdirection of the workers' attention away from their own struggle against war to the maneuvers of the capitalists in preparation for war. This is an especially brazen example; brazen or stupid, it is hard to say. So anxious are the Stalinist lackeys to register a victory for their treacherous war policy that they seize upon the slightest incident and magnify it all out of proportion. Secretary of State Hull, it seems almost superfluous to remark, is only following the ordinary diplomatic procedure in warning Rome not to damage American imperialism lives and property in Ethiopia. Last week we remarked on the "forcing" policy of the Daily Worker, whereby they will soon be forcing themselves into an imperialist army. This week we have another example... the Daily Worker has forced the Secretary of State of an Imperialist government to protect its imperialist property!

war, but to actively campaign for it! Up to the last minute before the last war the future centrist socialists took a revolutionary position on war. But the Stalinists, already before the war, are forcing the question. If any value can be placed on the pre-war comparison of the Kautskys with the pre-war position of the Stalinists we must conclude that the latter are preparing for a recruiting campaign unrivaled in the history of socialism, even surpassing the efforts of capitalist recruiting agents! What else is to be concluded from the vain boast of having forced the Secretary of State, the very leader of all the forces of reactionary imperialism, to protect American imperialist property?

October 11—An editorial on sanctions: "Now the A. F. of L. can add its might and weight for such action (sanctions)—by endorsing the resolution before it, urging the Roosevelt government to act with the League of Nations on collective economic sanctions."

The Stalinists encourage the A. F. of L. to follow the same treacherous path—support the Roosevelt government, they advise. It is just possible that this advice will ultimately filter down to the ranks and have some influence on the membership. If the "red" Stalinists support the "peace" moves of the government there must be something to the government peace policy. Indeed if there were any opposition to support of the Roosevelt government in the ranks, the rotten bureaucracy could use the Stalinists as an example to force support of the government.

It is in just this situation that

Where does all this lead? It leads the Daily Worker to an eventual campaign of forcing the United States into a war with Italy (or Germany, or Japan, or any other power that threatens the Soviet Union). The Stalinists have stated that they are ready to support wars of democratic states against fascist states (Stalin-Laval pact, "defense the remnants of bourgeois democracy," etc.). It is possible merely to support war. During the last war the centrist Socialists of the brand of Kautsky and MacDonald may be said merely to have supported the war. They did not campaign actively for war, at times they even criticized it, but they did not campaign against the war.

The Stalinists indicate their intention not merely to support the

stupidity of the argument of some Stalinists, who still have a grain of class consciousness left, becomes evident. We will support the government now, they say, but when it turns in another direction, toward war with the Soviet Union, we will oppose it.

This the Stalinists consider to be another smart trick, like their policy of supporting the British imperialist government and at the same time calling for insurrection in the Italian army. It is just as treacherous. For by advising the workers to support their bureaucracy and their government the Stalinists bring those workers under the leadership of that bureaucracy and that government—they teach the workers to look up to and rely on that bureaucracy and government.

And when in the future these extra smart Stalinists decide to change their line again they will find that the workers no longer are under their influence... the workers will be under the influence of the bureaucracy and the government, under the "influence" of the officers in the army.

Not only do the Stalinists advise the workers to support the Roosevelt government, but they advise them to support the League of Nations. The League of Nations is no more than the sum of its parts. It is an association of international robber imperialists. If one imperialist government is a reactionary force, how reactionary is a league of fifty-two capitalist governments? The League is the International Burglars' Union, no more, no less. It has not changed one whit since the day Lenin called it "the Thieves Kitchen of Geneva."

It is in just this situation that

Mass Meeting

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON
A. J. MURPHY

ARNE SWABECK
MAURICE SPECTOR

Thursday, November 7th -- 8 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Workers Party, N. Y. District, 55 E. 11th Street.

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Oust 13 French Bolsheviks From S.P. for Stand on War

Central Comm. Splits on Issue Of Expulsions

By H. F. ROBERTS

Thirteen leaders of the Bolshevik-Leninist group of France have been expelled from the French Socialist Party. Preparing a sacred union of their own as a prelude to the sacred union government of the morrow, the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies are seeking to dismember themselves of a revolutionary left wing which does not and will not permit their gross betrayal of the French proletariat to go unchallenged.

In response to this reactionary offensive an organized bloc under the name **Revolutionary Left** is taking form in the Socialist Party of France. At a meeting of 1,500 militants in Paris Marceau Pivert, one of the outstanding leaders of the Socialist left, proclaimed the formation of the left bloc.

The expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists, long expected and forecast in these columns, was openly stated by the National Disputes Committee of the S.P. to be based upon the fact that the "program of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group cannot for a single instant be admitted since it would lead the party into an impossible situation." Impossible, because it would lead the party to the conquest of power by the proletariat!

Expelled for Bolshevism

Specifically, five articles in La Verite were given as grounds for the expulsions.

"The first article with which we are reproached," states a leaflet issued by the Bolshevik-Leninist Central Committee after the expulsions, "is the Letter of Trotsky to the French Workers. Trotsky advises the French workers that it is necessary to prepare a New International in view of the failure of the two old ones from the revolutionary standpoint, principally on the burning question of war (1914, Stalin-Laval declaration). Instead of replying politically to this question, instead of opening a discussion on the war question, the left is expelled."

"The second fact has to do with our issue on the expulsions of the Socialist Youth at Lille. We explained that these expulsions of the representatives of more than a third of the Socialist Youth were a joint maneuver of the Stalinists and reformists for the exclusion of all revolutionists hostile to the sacred union!"

The third crime laid against the Bolshevik-Leninists is their agitation for the slogan of revolutionary defeatism. "They call agitation for revolutionary defeatism and against the sacred union—violations of discipline! . . . The slogans regarded

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1500 in Paris Meet Cheer New Revolutionary Bloc

Faced with the crisis of war and the acute tightening of internal contradictions, the threat of Fascism and civil war, the Socialist and Stalinist bureaucracies in France are trying to cover with the fetish of "unity" their policies of betrayal, of social patriotism, of class collaboration. In so doing they are finding it necessary to cope with a growing movement of opposition from the left which they hope to silence by the simple expedient of bureaucratically expelling them from their organizations.

In the Socialist Party the left wing is rapidly crystallizing. At a meeting of the various left tendencies of the S.P. in Paris a few weeks ago, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Pivert group, the Action Socialiste and the C.A.S.R. took the preliminary step toward the formal constitution of a left bloc to be known as the **Revolutionary Left**.

Akron Bosses Union Revolts

Lay Off Resentment Rips Company Organization Wide Open

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 21.—Pressed by a powerful demand from 6,000 workers in plant 2, the Goodyear company union revolted against company orders to approve a shift from the six to an eight-hour day and created consternation among the rubber barons as the feeling against the brutal company policy spread from plant to plant and brought tenseness throughout this rubber center.

The lower body of the dual-house company union, which was formed 20 years ago after the 1913 strike, took this sensational action two hours after the company placed the 6,000 plant II workers on an eight-hour schedule, thus laying off hundreds of them!

Over 150 workers stormed the company union meeting and thundered their protest which caused the thirty-two "representatives" to bolt from the purse-strings of the company. The meeting had been called to hear that cruel exploiter, Paul Litchfield, company president, attempt to explain his order which would send thousands of workers into the streets facing a hard winter without food or shelter. Litchfield, a fat and slick capitalist, refused to appear, although he said he would, when he heard that the workers had stormed the hall.

Bitter protests were voiced at open meetings of the Goodrich and Firestone local meetings Sunday against similar policies in these two companies' various plants. Speaker after speaker aroused the workers against the wage-slashing, hour-lengthening drive of the companies which had been predicted in a report.

Continued on Page 2

Shachtman Tour Off to Flying Start

Rousing Meets in Toledo Youngstown, Pittsburg Cleveland

First reports on the meetings of comrade Shachtman on his coast-to-coast tour indicate the growing influence of the Workers Party and lively interest in its revolutionary position on the war question. Branches where meetings are scheduled are urged to emulate the fine work done in cities which have already held theirs. Brief reports follow:

PITTSBURGH: Shachtman spoke before Local 21 of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. Over 200 present. Subject: WPA and Prospects for the Future of the American Workers. He pointed out the need of a revolutionary party to lead in the struggle against unemployment, misery, exploitation, war and Fascism. Most workers present had been Democratic supporters up to a short time ago, but the speech was very warmly received. Questions asked indicate possibilities for speedy growth of the party in this city. Discussion showed growing disillusionment of workers with Roosevelt regime and readiness for action. Local 21 is one of the most militant locals in the organization, with many members of the W.P. active in it.

NEWCASTLE: On short notice, a handful of comrades organized a splendid meeting of more than 50 workers, where Shachtman spoke on Ethiopia and the war danger, attacking the patriotic position of the Second and Third Internationals. More than an hour of questions gathered around the speaker after the meeting to express their agreement with the revolutionary anti-war position of the W.P. Both the C.P. and the S.P. here are virtually non-existent and prospects for a strong branch here are excellent. Comrades are to be complimented on the work they did to organize so fine a meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN: Although many comrades have left town for other parts, those left in the city concentrated on a meeting of the party which was attended by half a hundred workers. Interest here too in the menacing war situation was very high. Significant was the presence of a whole group from the recently organized teamsters' union which has already fought a number of dramatic, sensational and victorious battles. The sympathy for the W.P. is on the rise here and local comrades are clamoring for organizers in order to speed up the work of establishing the W.P. as a force in this district.

CLEVELAND: Shachtman spoke on the same subject at a meeting attended by more than 50 workers. (Continued on Page 4)

Build the Left Wing, Is Real Lesson of AFL Convention

3,500 Out For N. Y. Herndon Farewell Meet

NEW YORK.—A crowd of 3,500 filled Manhattan Opera House late Wednesday afternoon on the call of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon defense, to pledge their solidarity with Angelo Herndon. Atlanta Negro ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court to begin in a few days his sentence of 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang.

The meeting applauded enthusiastically when it was announced that Herndon had gained a few days respite at the last moment, and that a Southern attorney had just been retained to apply for a habeas corpus writ on the ground that there has never been a test of the constitutionality of the slave insurrection law under which Herndon was convicted.

Scheduled March Called Off

By unanimous decision, the Joint Committee decided that Herndon should remain out of Georgia until the last possible legal moment without forfeiting bail. The Committee also decided that he should remain in New York as long as possible, and consequently a scheduled march to Pennsylvania Station was called off. The Committee unanimously decided that when Herndon departs in a few days, his friends should see him off at the station.

The time of departure will be announced as soon as it is known. In the meantime all efforts are to be directed toward getting more signatures on the Herndon petitions, as the result of the habeas corpus move is very uncertain at best.

Julius Hochman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., who unsuccessfully advocated a resolution on the Herndon case in the recent A. F. of L. convention, presided over the Opera House rally. Herndon was the main speaker. Among the speakers were Ernest Rice McKinney of the National Committee of the Workers Party, who brought the greetings of the National Unemployed League, Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense spoke on behalf of that organization and as a member of the Joint Committee.

Neither McKinney nor Solow received at the outset the ovation given by the audience to other speakers, and for a simple reason. As could readily be seen by the frantic delight of the crowd when a French C. P. member was smuggled onto the speaker's rostrum behind the back of the arrangements committee, the meeting was almost solely Stalinist in character. The rank and file Stalinists, however, are not yet sufficiently adjusted to the new party line to know that they must boo militant sentiments, and consequently the speeches of the N.U.L. and N.P.L.D. speakers finally wrung spontaneous applause. (Continued on Page 4)

Special Features For Nov. 7 Issue

Place your orders now for the special eight-page Russian Revolution edition of the NEW MILITANT.

The contents of this issue will be a treat for every revolutionary worker. Among the articles will be a section from Victor Serge's "The Year One of the Russian Revolution," appearing for the first time in the English language; comrade Trotsky contributes a penetrating analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy on the basis of Tarov's experiences, and his brilliant treatise on "The Art of Insurrection"; an essay by Lenin; articles by Cannon, Muste, Specter, Swaback, Roberts, etc. The special edition of the NEW MILITANT should serve not only to commemorate the Russian Revolution but should act as a spur in the subscription drive and in the campaign to make the eight-pager a permanent phenomena.

Try to Deport Jack Warnick

NSAC Comes to Defense As Courts Bait Cal. Prisoners

Special to the New Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 22.—While Attorney-General U. S. Webb, who spent thousands of dollars of state funds to finance the prosecution of Norman Mini and the other Sacramento workers for criminal syndicalism, refuses to prosecute the anti-labor vigilantes of Santa Rosa on the grounds that his office has no funds a new crop of reactionary prosecutions is arising out of the soil fertilized by the slush fund of the State Chamber of Commerce.

This fund, the revelation of whose existence by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee several weeks ago was a national sensation, is being used to send reactionary agitators around the state to finance labor spying activities. Prosecutors McAllister and Johnson, who managed the Sacramento frame-up, are now addressing Chamber meetings in various counties, and urging more criminal syndicalism prosecutions. Simultaneously, the American Legion has opened a drive to make life impossible for the ten Sacramento criminal syndicalism defendants who were acquitted.

Seek Warnick's Deportation Jack Warnick having first been fired from a WPA job without explanation, was recently arrested for deportation. Hearst's San Francisco Examiner candidly states that both blows against Warnick were (Continued on Page 4)

Put No Trust in Lewis and Co. Is the Slogan

By A. J. MUSTE

A fist fight between the heads of the two biggest unions in the A. F. of L., Hutchison of the Carpenters and John L. Lewis of the Miners, featured the closing day of the Atlantic City convention. In more ways than one this affair was symbolic. The boys were actually excited about something and that has not been true of the top leadership of the A. F. of L. for years. These comfortable bureaucrats were not the kind to take life seriously, and they did not need to excite themselves about anything except their golf scores and the stock market. That day is over. The rift in the leadership is the most serious that has occurred in the entire fifty-five years history of the Federation. The historic one-round bout of Hutchison and Lewis took place over Hutchison's opposition to letting a Federal Union delegate speak for an industrial union in his industry. Lewis said it was "small potatoes" of Hutchison not to let the "little fellows" have their say. Hutchison rose to the full height of his six feet two and said he had been brought up on small potatoes and that's what made him so little—just like a boy out of a Mark Twain story. He also, it is said, called Lewis a naughty name. With that Lewis sent one to the jaw. Soon the two men were rolling about on the floor. When they had been separated, Lewis brushed back his raven locks and like a nineteenth century Shakespearean actor strode to his seat. Hutchison, the craft unionist, had to take time out to dress his wounds. That also was symbolic. Meanwhile William Green, face as red as a tomato, looking on at the struggle of personalities and forces too big for him, strove in vain to get order. And that also was symbolic.

"Progressives" in a Minority

It must not be inferred that the so-called "progressives" under the leadership of John Lewis constituted a majority in this convention. On the roll call on key questions they were regularly defeated by the Old Guard by a vote of about 18,000 to 10,000. The convention reaffirmed the San Francisco decision for "restricted," i. e. trade, industrial unions in basic industries, thus favoring the craft unions. The convention is on record for the Roosevelt "social security" program and against the Lunden bill. Labor Party resolutions were defeated and the A. F. of L.'s stand for "non-partisan" political action reaffirmed, though the Executive Council was instructed to draft an amendment to the U. S. constitution to empower Congress to enact social legislation. The A. F. of L. forces generally can be counted on to support Roosevelt in 1936, unless entirely unforeseen shifts in the economic or political situation occur. After the smashing blow at Matthew Woll for his connection with the red-baiting National Civic Federation, the Executive Council has to withdraw its proposed amendment to the A. F. of L. constitution barring all "reds" from any A. F. of L. union. However, a provision barring them from being delegates to any State Federation of Labor and city central body was adopted, as was a strong resolution against "Communism" in general.

It may be safely predicted that within a year or two the so-called "progressives" of the Lewis-Hillman et al camp will achieve a majority. Their industrial union resolution e. g. got a bigger vote than resolutions for unemployment insurance at the A. F. of L. convention just preceding the one where it was finally adopted.

The Real Program of Lewis

It must again be emphasized that it now becomes a crucial importance for the workers, and especially the active and advanced ones, to understand precisely what forces suffered set-backs at Atlantic City and what is the real character and role of the elements now gaining (Continued on Page 3)

'Hot Cargo' Fight Rages Up and Down West Coast

By EARL LANE

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Oct. 20.—The bitter struggle over the hot cargo issue, which had been somewhat eased by the lifting of the embargo on the British Columbia cargo in the holds of S. S. "Point Clear" and the termination of the waterfront employers' efforts to blacklist 1,600 San Francisco longshoremen, flared into open warfare again last week.

On October 8 longshoremen began unloading the Swayne & Hoyt freighter, "Point Clear," which had been tied up in San Francisco harbor since June 22, following a release voted by the Waterfront and Transport Workers Association of Vancouver. As the striking bargemen had returned to work pending arbitration of their demands, the only vital question left unsettled was that of registering additional longshoremen. The union demanded that any additional workers to be registered must come from the

ranks of the extras holding I.L.A. permit cards. The bosses insisted upon the registration of 1,000 additional men, no doubt hoping to be able to train an army of strikebreakers to do the difficult stevedoring work, thus having a reserve army of workmen for use in future struggles with the longshoremen.

Victory in Honolulu

The matter was placed in the hands of the Joint Longshore Labor Relations Board. After the union had stated that they would resist any effort to put additional men to work, until all men with I.L.A. permits had been registered, the board handed down a decision that only these men be registered—a clear-cut victory for the union. Another longshoremen's victory was reported from far off Honolulu last week, 900 men at that port winning wage increases of ten cents per hour. The seamen are playing the role of the vanguard in the latest development. (Continued on Page 4)

rank of the Social Party, he said, "in order to fight side by side with militants who are developing toward correct revolutionary positions." The Revolutionary Left, he said, would have to work and fight in common on precise issues, "for it is in action and in the struggle itself that workers develop and perfect themselves." He called for the formation of a solid bloc to become "the embryo of the great truly revolutionary party of tomorrow!"

Ferment Starts in Stalinist Ranks

But it is not only in the ranks of the Social Party that this ferment and turmoil is apparent. Cracks and widening fissures are beginning to appear in the solidified bureaucratic front of the Stalinist party as well. The workers in the Stalinist ranks are resisting the rush to social patriotism, class collaboration and parliamentarism which has swept the party bureaucracy and which determine now all its policies.

Recently three of the most militant members of the 11th district in Paris, R. Clair, Fyot and Julien, were expelled from the Stalinist ranks. In their letter to the leadership they criticize the Front (Continued on Page 3)

"People's Peace Parades" Today, Preparedness Parades Tomorrow

The leaflet issued under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism to advertise the People's Parade for Peace, the latest Stalinist sideshow, for some reason bears the motto: "Remember Woodrow Wilson."

"Remember 1917!" It would be more in the interests of peace to have the slogan read "Remember Wilson . . . Remember 1916!" For the Wilson who in 1917 was marching in Preparedness and mobilization parades, was in 1916 marching in "People's Parades for Peace!"

When the Second International in 1914 made its last minute declaration of support for the bourgeois governments that were embarking on war, Lenin immediately proclaimed the death of the Second International and started to build the Third although the forces at his disposal were infinitesimal, a few hundred in Russia, and a few scores at the most in the other capitalist nations. From those few

hundreds a revolution sprang in less than three years, and in five the whole of Europe tottered on the brink of proletarian revolution.

Lenin, as a revolutionary realist, knew that there was only one way to put a stop to war; he knew that no mere masses, no matter how great, no mere demonstrations, no peace parades, no petitions and pledges, no matter how long and impressive, could stop war. He knew that only the proletarian revolution could stop the war—and he said so, even if he could find only a few hundred to agree with him at first.

Everybody "Opposes" War Now

Now the self-advertized leaders of the wreckage of Lenin's International, the Stalinists, may still believe that only proletarian revolution can put a stop to war—but if they believe it they are careful to conceal their belief. They take everything but a serious and real-

istic attitude toward war; they call on capitalist governments to stop war (sanctions), on combinations of capitalist governments to stop war (the League of Nations), on social democrats who have already once proved their inability to stop war (the British Labor Party, the French S. P., etc.), on Christian and church organizations, on reactionary trade unionists, they call upon everyone but the revolutionary proletariat—they call upon all those who turned against and persecuted Lenin in 1914 for his stand against war and for the struggle or revolution.

The Daily Worker of October 19 informs us that a great "People's March for Peace" is scheduled for the 26th under, among others, the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism. This People's March for Peace has the "backing of A. F. of L. leaders" the Daily Worker is happy to announce. (Continued on Page 2)

A. J. Muste
National Secretary Workers Party
will speak on

THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION

Sunday, October 27th - 5 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL

Irving Place & 15th St.

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

A fore-runner of the coming 8-page weekly will appear on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. It should be a spur to step up the present campaign by a serious concentration on the job of securing many more new readers. The funds coming in for new subscriptions, plus the enlarged circulation, will then serve to make the eight-page weekly a reality.

We have set a goal of 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the 2nd National Convention of the Workers Party, to be held December 26, and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. This would be a total of 2,000 new readers and the funds they bring will surely put the campaign over the top. Each party branch has been asked to accept a definite quota of new subscribers already submitted for its approval, and the full quota list is to be published in our next issue.

We are starting this phase of the campaign in a big way. All wheels are to be put into motion. A large-scale circulation of numerous contacts is the beginning; special advertisements will follow, with special efforts to obtain subscriptions at all party meetings. All party branches are asked to get into action and follow up the contributions they have already made by a steady flow of new subscriptions. The combination offer of \$2.00 for a year's subscription to the NEW MILITANT and NEW INTERNATIONAL has proved very popular and should be made use of. Also, the club card system is to be utilized.

The prices offered for individual subscribers are still in effect. The best sub-getter, so far, has been Leon Goodman of Philadelphia, whose additional \$2.00 sent in for new subscriptions recorded in this issue brings him to a total of \$19.00 turned in for new subscriptions during the campaign. He is only \$1.00 short of winning the first prize, "The History of the Russian Revolution." As soon as that additional sub arrives, the books will be forwarded to him. On the whole, the NEW MILITANT is making head-

way. The branches responded well to the Special Press Fund Tax which brought in a couple of hundred dollars extra during the recent weeks. Our financial statements show an increasingly better attention to sub renewals and bundle payments. Our economic base is much better than when the campaign for the eight-page weekly began and the present special sub drive should easily top the campaign off.

Among the direct contributions made, the Flatbush branch of New York is the first branch to exceed its quota. The Center Branch of New York has moved ahead to third place in the campaign with a total contribution of \$69.06, and it is now following closely on the heels of the Boston branch with a total of \$76.95 and Harlem with a total of \$73.10. Fourth place goes to the West Side branch, New York City, with a total of \$62.05; then follows the Kensington, (Philadelphia,) branch with \$39.78; the Los Angeles branch with \$37.50; the Minneapolis branch with \$33.50; the Chicago branches with \$33.05, etc.

Since our last report we have received the following contributions:

CONTRIBUTIONS	
Anonymous, N.Y.C.	\$ 10.00
Harlem branch, N.Y.C.	3.70
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	2.65
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Brownsville branch, N.Y.C.	1.00
Astoria branch, N.Y.C.	1.00
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	.50
Center branch, N.Y.C.	5.40
A. Friend, N.Y.C.	15.00
H. Smith, Hutchinson, Kans.	1.00
Minna Brettel, N.Y.C.	1.00
Boston branch	6.00
New Haven branch	1.00
Haines, Cambridge, Mass.	1.00
Los Angeles branch	.50
L. Lassen, Phoenix, Ariz.	1.00
M. Grob, St. Paul	1.00
Tropp, N.Y.C.	1.00
Youngstown branch	2.00

Total \$ 56.75
Subscriptions and greetings. 9.05
Previously reported 703.00
Grand Total \$768.80

People's Peace Parades Today Preparedness Parades Next

(Continued from Page 1)

And it proudly prints a picture of Francis Gorman, the man who sold out the textile strike, as one of the backers.

Onward Christian Soldiers

Lenin stopped war with a revolution; the Daily Worker is going to stop it with a parade up Fifth Avenue. And where is the parade going to march to? What is the objective of the People? How is this demonstration to stop war? Not a word. It seems that all good Christians, pacifists, legionnaires, Odd Fellows, etc., are going to march up to Columbus Circle where they will hear speakers, and then go home satisfied that the cause of peace is secure—until the day war breaks out. What a travesty of revolutionary Marxism!

The article continues with a quotation from the appeal of the Peace Parade Committee:

"The League of Nations did not prevent Japan from devastating Manchuria and North China. The League of Nations did not prevent Mussolini from unleashing the mad dogs of war. The neutrality resolution passed by Congress is not a guarantee of our security. . . . We solemnly declare to you that no League of Nations, no neutrality proclamations will secure peace and prevent world war."

All this is true enough. But we can as solemnly declare that People's Parades for Peace will never prevent another world war.

On the last page of the same issue of the Daily Worker we find an editorial:

"To support League of Nations sanctions against Italy and to fail to take concrete measures to carry out sanctions in this country by stopping all trade with Italy is to indulge in little more than a noble gesture." (!!!)

What kind of light-mindedness is this? On page two the Daily Worker justly remarks that the League can never prevent war; on page eight it editorializes for support of the very League which can never prevent war! Draw you own conclusions.

The "Church Militant"

October 20: Another advance notice of the People's Parade for Peace. "Walter Higgins, commander of the Marsh McLaughlin Post 5 of the United American War Veterans, said: 'I will be glad to participate in the march.'"

"The Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Negro pastor, said: 'The St. James Presbyterian Church approves the march.'"

"The Porto Rican National Organization, the Mella Club, the Chile Club and other local organizations endorsed the March."

On the last page an editorial exhortes: "On Friday the voice of Dr. Samuel Trexler at the Third Lutheran World Convention was raised in defense of peace. All friends of peace will hail Dr. Trexler's courageous statement."

The only peace lovers missing from this list are the Pope and

Hitler. As for all the reverends, who appear in increasing numbers at every new Stalinist demonstration: The Church has been opposed to war in peacetime for two thousand years and has never succeeded in stopping one. It remained for the Stalinists to discover after two thousand years that the Church is a force for peace to be "hailed by all friends of peace."

October 21: The People's Parade of Peace is being worked up into a regular parade of the people's betrayers. The Daily Worker headlines the fact that "35 A. F. of L. Leaders Sign Proclamation Against War" issued by the People's Peace Parade Committee. The 35 leaders whom the Daily Worker celebrates include such eminent labor fakery as Dillon, Gorman, Hochman, Murray, Kennedy (Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania), etc., etc. These are the sterling friends of peace to whom the Daily Worker delegates the struggle for peace. As if to paint up their treachery, they quote from the proclamation signed by the fakery: "This war has begun. We, organized labor of America, are opposed to war. As far back as 1914 our former President Samuel Gompers said that 'Labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose by war.'"

The Real Gompers

"As far back as" is the catch. For, like every other big shot peace time friend of peace, Gompers supported the war when it came with all his might and main. He ran up and down the country lining up the rank and file in the A. F. of L. for the war and for the army. And with him went how many of the present signers of the proclamation or peace?

October 22: The Daily Worker prints in full an appeal from Waldo McNutt, chairman of the American Youth Congress, who concludes: "We call upon our parents, our friends, our leaders in government and all sincere opponents of war to rally now to march for peace," etc. What has happened to the class struggle? Where is the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie? What has happened to Lenin's thesis that the only way to stop war is to intensify the class struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie? All have disappeared in a common class melange of Stalinist workers, ministers, parents, governmental leaders, trade union fakery, war veterans, and so on.

The People's Parade for Peace is a great illusion. Its members are not friends of peace but political demagogues who capitalize now on the peace sentiment and soon on the war sentiment. The parade up Fifth Avenue is but an echo of the parades before the last war, and a forecast of the next war, when many of the stalwarts of peace will march under peace banners today will march under the banners of war, and lead behind them the very workers whom the Stalinists are turning over to them today.

There is only one way to stop

Striker Tells of WPA Victory in Allentown

Independent Class Tactic Smashed Through Gov't Officials' Threats and Trickery to Union Victory

By LESTER HECKMAN

The WPA program in Allentown, Pa., as far as the unemployed workers are concerned, was and still is a program of forced labor at coolie wages, and an attempt by the capitalist state to smash the trade union movement and lower the American standard of living. But the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, together with other working class organizations, were prepared when the local WPA officials attempted to put the program into effect.

The first project to start was at Jordan Park, where approximately 430 men were called to work to beautify a park instead of doing some useful work such as slum clearance and the tearing down of hovels unfit for habitation. Of course these social-minded hypocrites never think in these terms. The project started on a Monday morning and worked long enough for the leaders of the various organizations to agitate and organize an effective strike by noon. A meeting was first proposed for the following Thursday evening, for the purpose of taking a strike vote. But the workers were so dissatisfied that they could not stand to work under these miserable conditions—even "for our Government," as some smooth-tongued politicians frequently try to make backward workers believe is the case. The reason the unemployed organizations wanted their members to work for a few days was so that we could contact those who did not belong to any of the unemployed groups, in order to have a perfect strike.

The arrested picketers were charged with disorderly conduct, and the reactionary justice, one of the political leaders of Allentown, said he would be lenient and suspend sentences. But to this the workers answered that they would appeal the decision of the Justice of the Peace Court and demand a jury trial, with the express purpose of making a test case not only of the Police Commissioner's ban of all picketing but of even the Mayor's year-old proclaimed limit of ten pickets. And the court, thrown into confusion for a time, saw the strategy and dismissed the case. Before leaving, the strikers were warned not to attempt to form a picket line again, but they replied that they did not recognize the Mayor's proclamation and so did not intend to live up to it.

The next steps were to meet the project workers before the latter went to work and to persuade them not to. This educational process had its effect on the scabs, and quite a few of them were unable to work due to "physical strain," through PEACEFUL persuasion. The strikers appealed to the labor unions of Allentown and received the support of 19 locals of the C.L.U. over the head of Mr. Bader, reactionary A. F. of L. faker.

About this time Mr. Donovan, labor advisor for six states in the East, came into the territory—whether on a visit, as he stated, or by orders, as we believed was the case and which later proved to be.

The strike committee had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Donovan one fine day, while calling on Mr. Mack to get his answer to our demands. Of course, Mr. Mack's answer was that he could do nothing about it since it was a Federal program and would have to be dealt with by Federal officials. After putting questions before Mr. Mack and asking him whether or not

the rubber workers' union! Despite the astounding proportions of the protest which has swept through the shops of Akron like a prairie fire fanned by a gale, the rubber barons have flung another challenge to the workers. They have announced that by January the eight-hour day will be here to stay! An indication of the restlessness of the rubber workers under this continual exploitation is the rejoining of over 100 men in the Goodyear local union. The bona-fide unionists are agitating through the factories, taking full advantage of the break in the company union and the company officials' consternation. We previously pointed out how the lash of competition and the battle of Wall Street interests for control of the rubber industry was the reason the rubber barons were cutting wages and lengthening hours.

War Situation Involved Another factor has arisen which the rubber barons are not overlooking as an excuse to lower the poor standard of living of the workers. The precarious world situation with its dangers to world commerce is causing a rise in the price of crude rubber; ninety percent of the rubber comes from the East Indies and India and there is possibility that the Suez Canal might be closed any day to shipping. This means higher freight rates for rubber across the American continent and increased difficulties in shipping.

These events in the rubber industry again show how the basic contradictions of the capitalist system cause the bosses to try to beat down wages and exploit labor more than ever before—a fall in the rate of profit drives them into a frenzy to preserve themselves.

They also indicate that the workers are becoming more resentful under the lash of these cruel masters and that this antagonism is gradually culminating into an explosive force whose power it is difficult to predict. It must be borne in mind however, that Akron has been the scene of more than one large spontaneous strike.

Even if the company should suddenly decide to accede temporarily to the company union demands, it will mean little for the rubber workers' union has already explained to hundreds of workers the exact meaning of the move—an attempt to fool the workers into staying out of their only real hope,

the area administrator, with the assistance of General Beary, police commissioner, and his Allentown cossacks, then prohibited any picketing. If the capitalist state is not overthrown the war cannot be stopped. It is the duty of the proletarian party to maintain a class line under every circumstance, war or peace. And if its ranks are small, if it cannot parade with thousands of "peace lovers" up Fifth Avenue, if it cannot rally the ministers, and government officials, and trade union bureaucrats, it can hold together on a principled line, the only line that will ultimately lead to the overthrow of the whole capitalist system and sweep away all the ministers, fakery, demagogues, politicians and . . . Stalinists who are its main support today.

CONCERNING RUMORS OF TROTSKY'S ILLNESS

(From Le Verite)

It was announced over the radio on Oct. 10 that comrade Trotsky, at present in Norway, was "desperately ill."

We openly brand this statement, made for reasons we cannot yet understand, as a canard. Trotsky's life is in no way in danger.

Numerous comrades have made inquiries on this matter—a sign of the profound regard in which the proletarian vanguard holds the companion of Lenin.

local state administrators had certain authority to change the program, he said they did not, and the only one to change any part of the program was President Roosevelt. The committee then asked him to give us an answer for the change in program in New York City. This of course he evaded by saying that he did not know anything about New York state. Still dissatisfied, the committee pointed out that there must be some flexibility in the program, and cited New York as an example, to which Mr. Mack very conveniently answered, "Yes, always do, that he did not know." During this conference with Mr. Mack, Mr. Donovan came into the office. His method of approach and trickery was to extend his hand and say, "Comrades, I am Mr. Donovan, formerly of the Machinists' Union."

The committee asked Mr. Donovan if he was sent into the strike situation by the Federal authorities. His answer was No, and that he happened to be in Harrisburg and, never having been in Allentown, decided to visit here, and that we should not feel that this little strike was so important as to cause the Federal authorities to send anyone here. After some discussion on the strike he said the strike smelled of a political nature and said the demands were utopian, to which the committee answered that this was a misinterpretation on his part. Charged with this, Mr. Donovan assured the committee that he had not been sent there, but a few minutes later, during the course of our conversation, he pulled out of his pocket our own typewritten demands and exposed the role he was playing.

Shortly after Mr. Donovan's visit the press received word that there was going to be an increase of 10 percent in wages and a reduction from 140 to 120 hours per month. The strike was settled and an organization set up of all project workers from the three participating organizations, to be known as the Joint Labor Council of Project Workers, under the leadership of the Joint Labor Council consisting of the unions that endorsed and supported the strike. Thus ended the duties of the strike committee. The organization of project workers have had membership cards printed, started on a dues paying basis, and are organizing for future strike activities which, of course, are very much needed in these trying times.

Resentment High as Akron Company Union Revolts at New Lay Off Scheme

(Continued from Page 1)

cent issue of the NEW MILITANT as a warning to the workers. Officials of the United Rubber Workers of America, who arrived home today from their battle for industrial unionism at the A. F. of L. convention, immediately laid plans to organize the angry workers into the unions so effective collective action could be taken against the ruthless companies.

The "upper-house" of the Goodyear "industrial assembly" as the company calls its tool, is expected to meet Tuesday morning with the "lower-house" to act on the resolution of the lower house which demands continuation of the six-hour day.

Spurred by the shouts of the workers, the lower house of Goodyear's pet project, voted to hold a referendum in the factories on the six-hour day but Litchfield coldly told the public in an interview that the company would not countenance any such move.

Probably the company union will be brought into line by threats from the officials. Nevertheless the damage has been done, for the veil of paternalism carefully fostered by Goodyear has been torn from the eyes of muddled workers because the hard-boiled, slave-driving vice-president, Clifford Slusser, contemptuously vetoed the resolution favoring the continuation of a six-hour day. This is what caused the revolt, and the lower house immediately over-ruled him by a unanimous vote!

The impotence of the company union to aid the workers in any real issue stood out nakedly and smashed through all the propaganda for it during the past twenty years.

Revolt Spreads Rapidly Even if the company should suddenly decide to accede temporarily to the company union demands, it will mean little for the rubber workers' union has already explained to hundreds of workers the exact meaning of the move—an attempt to fool the workers into staying out of their only real hope,

M'pls. CP'ers Picket Drivers Local 574!

Stalinists Rage While Union Organizes Chicken and Candy Workers Through Victorious Strikes

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—The Stalinists have lost no time in bringing to town the American edition of the French "People's Front"—in the form of a Women's League Against the High Cost of Living. This remarkable organization was formed about a month ago. The C. P. has mobilized all its forces to make the thing a success—from the pin-nez of the Theater Unionist to the fashionable glove of the League Against War and Fascism, all the professional Stalinists rallied around. After a sufficient number of Farmer-Labor women and wives of trade unionists were attracted, a mass meeting was drummed up in a local church (after all, it was only fitting that this group have the blessings of the King of Kings as well as the benedictions of Stalin). It was decided to call a meat strike. True, some of the Northside Stalinists objected to striking the Jewish butchers who, they said, were very poor and shouldn't be harassed. Finally the thing boiled down to a strike against Gentile meat.

Local 574 Becomes the Enemy But then came the puzzler—Who were to be the scabs? Should they be the meat packers? or the housewives who walked through the picket lines? The C.P.'ers immersed themselves in the gasses of the 7th Congress and finally came up with the answer. The big scab was to be Local 574! I am not fooling you, comrades, this is the actual truth. The drivers of Local 574 were designated the role of scabs. Because, you see, they transported the meat to the butcher shops, which made the Communist party very indignant, which caused them to form the W.L.A.T.H.C.O.L. Yes, it was finally decided to picket the market and the drivers of 574. A very foolish proposition was becoming slightly serious. On Thursday noon, the day prior to the four-day strike, a strike committee meeting was scheduled. Bill Brown and Miles Dunne of Local 574 attended. took the floor, and asked: 1. Why hadn't they been informed of the strike plans? 2. Why was Local 574—and meat—made the butt of the strike? Why not the electricians, or the pretzel makers or the creators of fancy silk stockings? 3. Why was the movement called a strike instead of a boycott? 4. If such boycotts were effective, what was the use of having such silly things as trade unions, political parties, or a class-struggle philosophy?

The assembly saw the point, and the Stalinists inwardly raged but remained mum. One Farmer-Laborite expressed the feelings of all: "If I had thought of these angles before," she said, "I would have had nothing to do with this movement." Dozens of other women followed her out of the hall.

A Real Organization Needed It is hardly necessary to point out that, by its very nature, such organizations as the W.L.A.T.H.C.O.L. are a complete negation of the class struggle. After all, Mrs. Fatt of Lowry Hill objects just as strenuously as does Mama Workman to being over-charged for pork chops. But the consumer will never alter this state of affairs. Only a victorious struggle of the workers can bring the giant packing plants to their knees. The accent must be placed on higher wages. What is needed is a Women's League of Struggle which will place its members at the disposal of striking workers, to function in the strike kitchen, in the hospital, etc.—to support all struggles of the workers for higher wages.

Needless to say, the Stalinists by their latest actions have brought the vegetarians to their feet with a bang. The most profound social convulsions will doubtless take place in the near future, and I promise to keep the comrades informed of every step of the battle.

CHICKEN AND CANDY WORKERS ORGANIZE AND STRIKE MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21.—Several weeks go, the girl chicken pickers in three of the largest houses staged a spontaneous walk-out and came up to Local 574's hall for assistance. The strikers were given assistance in organizing, and a set of demands was drawn up and presented to the bosses. The strike was won shortly. The new union continues to meet in 574's hall, is growing rapidly, and has already applied to the American Federation of Labor for a federal charter.

It will be recalled by readers of the NEW MILITANT that it was the question of organizing the chicken pickers that was used by the bosses to provoke the July-August 574 strike of last year. (There is something about the idea of an organization of chicken pickers that outrages the local bosses.) Today in Minneapolis the chicken pickers have a strong union. Roy Weir, organizer of the Central Labor Union, has indicated that Local 574 can retain them as a special section of the union.

Candy Makers Win Wednesday morning, Oct. 16, the workers at the Powell Candy Company staged a spontaneous walkout and also came to Local 574 for assistance. With 574's help, an agreement was drawn up, and by noon the strikers were back to work with wage increases of from fifteen to twenty cents per hour, and recognition. The next morning the good news had travelled to the other candy workers. On Thursday the Carley workers came to 574 and asked for help. The request was of course granted. Roy Weir, organizer of the Central Labor Union, was invited over, and made a fine speech, explaining to the new recruits to the union movement that their easy victories were the result of the militant struggles staged by Local 574 in the past. On Friday the Hollywood candy workers struck. A mass meeting for all local candy workers was held Monday evening. There is no question but that this industry, employing about 750 workers, will be completely unionized in the near future.

PARTY AT WORK MINNEAPOLIS The Minneapolis branch is making extensive preparations for the tour of comrades Shachtman and Wasserman. On Friday evening, Nov. 1, a mass meeting has been arranged at the Pythian Hall, 444 So. 4th St., Minneapolis, at which comrade Shachtman will speak on the subject: "The Danger of War!" Over one hundred tickets have already been sold for this important meeting.

On Saturday evening, Nov. 2, a party of all friends of the Workers Party will be held at the branch headquarters, 631 Third Avenue So. in honor of the visiting comrades. Other local meetings are being arranged for comrade Shachtman.

On Friday night, Oct. 25, V. R. Dunne spoke at an open meeting at the branch headquarters on "The American Federation of Labor Convention: Craft or Industrial Unions." Comrade Dunne spent several days at the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L.

EASTERN OHIO An inter-branch committee was formed at a conference in Youngstown by delegates from the Akron, Youngstown and Cleveland branches to cooperate in unemployed, trade union and organizational work with comrade Jack Wilson of Akron selected as permanent secretary. New Castle delegates who arrived, through unavoidable circumstances, after the conference did its main work, likewise joined in the move to co-ordinate the Party work in the Ohio district. A program including mass meetings with exchange speakers, special classes and forums was adopted.

A Sacramento Defense meeting is being held in Akron Sunday, Oct. 27 with comrade Wilson as speaker.

Sixty persons heard comrade Max Shachtman lecture on "The Coming World War," at a mass meeting held in New Castle last Thursday night.

A good portion of trade unionists attended the Youngstown mass meeting held for comrade Shachtman Friday night when he talked on the war question.

A meeting was held this Friday night in Youngstown by the Workers Party branch and the Spartacus Youth League with comrade R. Ferguson, of Akron as speaker. He discussed the life and teachings of Karl Marx.

TUCSON, ARIZ. Comrades in Tucson and vicinity are selling party literature and carrying on other activities. They believe a branch may be organized in the near future.

SALT LAKE CITY Splendid progress is being made by the branch here which includes a railroad man, teachers, smelter men, office workers, etc. in its membership. Members are taking an active part in mass organization work and making an excellent showing in sale of party literature, etc.

GALA AFFAIR SATURDAY NIGHT, NOV. 2, 320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Auspices: Branch 1, W. P. C. HOT BAND — DANCE GROUP Other Entertainment DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND!

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE DIVISION OF ETHIOPIA

The imperialist robbers have evidently reached agreement on the proper share of the "white man's burden" that each is to bear in Ethiopia. The inordinate ambitions of fascist Rome have yielded in part to the never satisfied hunger of the British lion. The Lake Tana region of Ethiopia has been recognized by Mussolini as sacrosanct to English capitalism. The English can pursue their vast project in the Sudan and Egypt for the building of a cotton empire which shall render Great Britain free from all dependence on the United States as a source of this precious raw material. The success of this enterprise depends on absolute control of the waters that give fertility to the land, the waters that flow from Lake Tana into the Blue Nile. This was one of the major interests that Britain felt to be threatened by the Italian thrust into Ethiopia. While the gestures at Geneva continue out of sheer inertia and in order to present some sort of facade for a structure that has long since crumbled, the real imperialist "solution" involving arrangements among Italy, France and England has been achieved. The spoils having been divided, the growls of the English lion will subside. English diplomacy will now devote itself, as it has been preparing to do since the start of the present crisis, to casting all blame on France for the failure to stop the seizure of Ethiopia by the Italian army. This propaganda will also serve to merge into justification of a more and more outright diplomacy of alliances in Europe. Already the writers are coining the phrase that will carry the gullible masses over to the new state of affairs. There will be not a League of Nations but Leagues of Nations. England will enter into such leagues to guarantee the peace in Western Europe, but not in Eastern Europe where "there will never be peace unless the nations there are left to work out their own salvation," as Sidebottom writes in the London Times. How hypocritical this is can be seen in the methods adopted by English capitalism to leave alone Russia and the East of Europe. The British navy is being expanded at breakneck speed, the armaments and munitions plants belch smoke night and day. At the same time England aids Germany materially and diplomatically in its preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union. Everywhere on the continent England is planning carefully for the new and inevitable world war.

FORCES IN BRITISH LABOR

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SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE COMING WAR

(By the Editorial Board)

Resolution of N.E.C. Reveals Centrist Position on Basic Problems of the War Danger

The resolution on the war situation adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its Chicago meeting, Oct. 12-13, and the "Answer" of the Socialist Call to the Bauer-Zyromski thesis, in the October 12 issue, constitute the two most important statements made so far by American Socialists on the war question. To understand what is going on among American Socialists on the war issue, one must recall the three tendencies within the world Socialist movement:

The Outright Chauvinists

1. The leaders of the Second International continue their historic position of unqualified social-patriotism, expressed most blatantly by the British Labor Party's declaration of "the duty unflinchingly to support our Government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty" against Italy. The American "Old Guard" automatically adopt this position; the same Oct. 12 issue of the New Leader which supports imperialist sanctions under the hypocritical slogan "Sanctions Do Not Mean War," already advertises a speech by Dr. William Bolin, Old Guard theoretician, in support of "Military Sanctions!"

The "Left" Chauvinists

2. The pseudo-lefts in the Second International, led by Bauer of Austria and Zyromski of France, use the most inflammatory language, the most "realistic" exposure of imperialism to call for support of imperialist governments in the war against Germany. These "lefts," now that the Third International has come down to their level, are the strongest proponents of organic unity on a program of social-patriotism and whitewash of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Those whom Blum and Vandervelde cannot bring along with their traditional chauvinistic support of "their" own capitalist governments, Bauer and Zyromski seek to drag along with their "revolutionary" reasons for social patriotism—reasoning identical with the Stalinist treachery of the Seventh Congress.

Division Growing Between Chauvinists and Revolutionists

3. The unification of chauvinists, pseudo-lefts and Stalinists into one camp has sounded the death-knell of all groups which seek to stand between this camp and that of the revolutionists. The alternatives are so clear-cut! Until the actual outbreak of war in 1914, the lines were not clearly drawn. Today, however, before the war, the traitors are already on record. Hence, intermediate groupings will inevitably be cut to pieces if they do not choose sides. Already such groups are moving decisively into one or another of the opposing camps. The long-independent Norwegian Labor Party, having come out for economic sanctions, moves rapidly toward the Second International. The S.A.P. of Germany, a left-wing split-off from the Social Democracy, led by ex-Brandenburgers, takes giant strides into the social-patriotic camp by declaring its admiration for the "realism" of the Seventh Congress. The boasted anti-war struggle of the Socialist League in the British Labor Party has already petered out; its spokesman, Sir Stafford Cripps, fawningly declaring to the Brighton Congress of the Labor Party: "Our common objectives (1) of peace and Socialism through Democracy (2) are far too great and too vital to the workers of this country to allow any question to arise of a split in our ranks." ("Any question" being in this case the question of social-patriotism versus revolutionary working class opposition!) Thus the Socialist League, in the name of unity, submits to social-patriotism.

The Camp of Revolution

But at the same time that some intermediate groups go into the traitors' camp, others move sharply in the opposite direction. The I.L.P. of England, yesterday closest of independent groupings to the Stalinists, comes out sharply against imperialist sanctions, and in its intransigent struggle against both chauvinist internationalists, is rapidly moving toward a Leninist position against war. The powerful group of French Socialists around Pivert, only a year ago identified with the Zyromski group, have come out against national defense; and the whole Socialist Youth of the Seine district, following its expelled leaders, is conducting a heroic struggle against the Stalinist and Socialists betrayers. Thus, the growing war danger unifies not only the social patriots; it also is the central issue which draws the revolutionary forces closer together and wins new contingents to their ranks.

It is against this background that one can best understand the meaning of the American Socialists' statements on the war situation.

The Old Guard and the N.E.C.

The American Old Guard is not a peculiar phenomenon; it is somewhat analogous to the Neo-Socialists, led by Marquet, who split from the French Socialists two years ago. Time and time, Leon Blum attempted to arrive at permanent harmony with Marquet, only to have to break, finally, because of the inability of this ossified right-wing to adapt itself to the revolutionary ferment pervading the Socialist masses after Hitler's victory. Similarly, the American Leon Blums, having sought by the ambiguous phraseology of the Detroit Declaration of Principles, to maintain their grip on the leftward-moving Socialists, made a desperate attempt, three months ago, at the New York N.E.C. meeting, to arrive at a "peace pact" with the Old Guard. But even this blow to the left did not satisfy the Old Guard which demanded nothing less than complete control of the party. Hence, after three short months, the N.E.C. majority, at the Chicago meeting, was compelled to break on a number of questions with the ossified Old Guard. This break may even lead to a split similar to that of the French Neo-Socialists. The complete rigidity of the Old Guard is shown by its present rabid opposition to cooperation with the Comintern, at a time when the Comintern has come out for social-patriotism when the French Socialists are moving toward organic unity, the Belgian and Swiss Socialists are in a similar united front, and the representatives of the Second International are conferring with Cachin and Thorez concerning the basis of cooperation of the two internationals!

The N.E.C.'s "Radical" Phraseology

At the time of the split with the Neo-Socialists, Leon Blum, leaning on the left for support, used positively inflammatory language. "Working class revolution," "armed insurrection," came trippingly from his lips. The split over, and his own hegemony temporarily consolidated, he reverted to his usual social-patriotism. A similar strategy governs the American Socialist N.E.C. as the struggle breaks out again with the Old Guard. Hence, one finds in its war resolution a great deal of radical phraseology. It also permits itself this phraseology for another reason: American imperialism is a colossus so powerful that it can afford for a considerable period to hold aloof from the opposing war camps forming in Europe; hence there is none of the governmental pressure which in Europe "helped" the Socialist parties make their decisions on the war question. The N.E.C. resolution, therefore, does not take the traditional, openly chauvinist position of the Second International leadership. Instead, it belongs to

the category of pseudo-revolutionary documents like that of Bauer-Zyromski.

The N.E.C. has learned not a little from the Jesuitry of Bauer-Zyromski. Its resolution bristles with such phrases as "No device controlled by capitalist governments can be a trustworthy instrument of peace"—"We call for ceaseless working class struggle against all capitalist governments including the government of the U.S."

The Real Meaning of the Document

BUT it ALSO boasts that the Socialist Party has been the only political party during the last two presidential campaigns which has stood for the League of Nations; nor does it now repudiate this stand for the League of Nations. True, it speaks of support of the League, "only through reservations designed to free the League from the domination of the large imperialist countries and to direct its procedure into channels of democracy and peace," i.e., for a "reformed" League.

But to sow the illusion that it is theoretically possible to make a peace instrument out of the League of Nations is to sow the worst illusions. The League is, and cannot be anything else than the sum of the capitalist countries which constitute it. What "reservations" can "direct the procedure" of the U. S., for instance, "into channels of democracy and peace"? Even to pose the question is to demonstrate its absurdity. How can the League be "freed from the domination of the large imperialist countries"? By giving more votes to Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Albania, Switzerland, etc.? But these "small" countries are merely satellites of one or the other imperialist combination! We see, then, what a vicious illusion it is to suggest the possibility of purifying the League. Tomorrow, when the League powers are about to launch the war, it is directly through its League that the imperialist powers will arrange the war and provide themselves with the necessary idealistic cover; already supported by the Second and Third Internationals, the League powers undoubtedly will go through some mummery of giving "parity representation" to their satellites; perhaps give the International Labor Office a "labor voice" in the League etc., etc.

Nor is this all the poisonous broth that the Socialist N.E.C. has pre-

pared for youth's future. America being outside the League, the N.E.C.—side by side with its radical phraseology about war resistance—calls for "legislation which will assure American neutrality." The American Socialist N.E.C., like its European colleagues, calls for imperialist governmental action as a peace move!

This is the same reasoning that leads the Stalinists and European Socialists to betray the working class to the capitalist war machine by calling upon the governments to enforce economic sanctions. The N.E.C. calls upon workers to fight for governmental legislation to insure peace. The fundamental crime is the same in both cases: it is to tell the workers to seek any form of governmental action against war, to entrust the fight against war, which is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism, to the imperialists themselves. The supporters of League of Nations' sanctions, the supporters of American "neutrality legislation" alike assign the decisive action to the imperialist governments.

Then fallacy of calling for governmental action against war arises from the failure to draw the necessary conclusions from the doctrine, to which the Socialists render lip-service, that war is inevitable under capitalism. From this doctrine it immediately follows that war is an integral part of the capitalist process; as "natural" to it as "peace" and a continuation of the "peace" policies by other means. Once this fundamental truth is grasped it becomes impossible to talk clap-trap about "legislation which will assure American neutrality." For the "peace" policy of American capitalist society is to secure the widest area of markets; without the expansion of markets capitalism cannot live; the only conditions under which a dominant imperialist power voluntarily withdraws from a given market is for war, as when Britain voluntarily withdraws, by means of sanctions, from the Italian market. In order to crush Italian competition in other markets! If American imperialism, therefore, were to accede to ironclad "neutrality" legislation, to withdrawal from the Italian market it would only be because its "peace" policy called for a war policy against Italy and her allies! In calling for such neutrality legislation, therefore, the Socialist N.E.C. is telling that section

of the working class which follows it, to pursue a policy which, if the government accedes to it, is but the immediate forerunner of imperialist war; and the workers having supported the government in the first steps, would be led blindly into war.

For all its radical phraseology, therefore, the Socialist N.E.C. resolution does not depart fundamentally from the position of the Stalinists, the Second International and the Bauer-Zyromski group.

Why Thomas is a Social Patriot

To those sincere Socialist workers who have hitherto unthinkingly accepted the "anti-war" pacifism of Norman Thomas and Devere Allen, the intellectual fathers of the N.E.C. resolution and who recoil from the implications of the resolution, we wish to point out that there is no question of personal sincerity involved. As Lenin pointed out, no one has yet invented a sincerimeter. Thomas and Allen fail to understand the Marxist theory of the state; their consequent reformism leads them on all critical questions to seeking state-aid on behalf of the working class. (There are, of course, certain concessions which can be wrung through struggle from the capitalist state, and embodied in legislation: minimum wage legislation, unemployment benefits, free education, etc.) But it is theoretically and practically impossible to embody in legislation under the regime of imperialism anything more than partial concessions. It is false to call, as the Hillquit amendment does, for socialized production by legislative process. It is equally false to call for legislation to keep American imperialism from going to war; for war is as necessary to capitalism as is the exploitation of wage labor. Not only will not and cannot the capitalist state grant such fundamental concessions; whenever the working class, by its independent organization and activity, grows powerful enough to threaten to bring about by its own efforts socialized production and peace that capitalist state will throw off its democratic trappings and with naked force attempt to drown in blood the working class which dares to seek such ends.

To those like Thomas and Allen who are, as it were, congenitally unable to understand the necessity of the struggle and its scope, the opportunist short-cut to "legislation which will assure American neutrality" may be a comforting dream. But it is a false dream; workers lulled to sleep by it will be awakened to a terrible reality of imperialist war against which they have failed to prepare the struggle. There is only one road to the struggle against war: to turn the imperialist war into the civil war for the liberation of the working class. The social revolution is a hard road, a difficult road; but it is the only road. And the first step on that road is clarity: to know how to begin!

(Note: This second section of this article, dealing with the Socialist Call answer to the Bauer-Zyromski resolution, will appear next week.)

School Notes

MUSTE'S COURSE

Due to an error in the printshop the notice intended for last week's NEW MILITANT in reference to "Current Trends in America" did not appear.

Originally planned for Wednesday evenings, the new schedule is as follows:

Sunday, Oct. 27, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza: "The Atlantic City Convention of the A. F. of L."

Sunday, Nov. 10, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza: "Prospects of the A. F. of L. in the Coming Year."

Wednesday, Nov. 13, 8:40 P.M. 320 14th Street: "Trade Unionism in Three Basic Industries (Steel, Automobiles and Rubber)."

The lectures for the remainder of the course will be held Wednesday evenings at 320 East 14th Street at 8:40 P.M. The speakers will be announced at a future date.

STUDENTS, TAKE NOTE!

Monday and Wednesday courses will be held regularly at 320 E. 14th Street (near Second Ave.) Thursday and Friday classes will take place at the School headquarters, 55 East 11th Street.

REGISTRATIONS

The coming week will be the final date for registration in the regular classes of the School. Registrations will be taken any afternoon or evening at the School headquarters or at the classes themselves.

MINNEAPOLIS LECTURE

"THE WAR DANGER" Will the U. S. Become Involved?

Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Editor The New Internationalist

FRIDAY, NOV. 1, 8:00 P.M. Pythian Hall

431 South 4th Street ADMISSION 15c

Questions Discussion

Ausp: Minneapolis Branch, W.P.

Build Left Wing -- Real Lesson of A. F. L. Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

ascendancy. The chief point that must be made is that Lewis-Hillman et al. do not represent genuine progressivism and labor militancy. They aim to build a more up-to-date model (up-to-date for the U. S., for it is the same type of unionism as that of the British Trade Union Congress for years and the famous German Confederation of Labor before Hitler so easily wiped it out, represented) of class-collaboration unionism. The Gompers craft model with its syndicated slant, its anti-state bias (opposition to social legislation, etc.) designed to bargain with small employers, could meet in some fashion the needs of an earlier period. What Lewis-Hillman stand for is a more efficient type of unionism, structurally adapted to dealing with big corporations and governmental agencies such as labor boards which can "bargain collectively" and thus hold the workers in line in the present period. Both proponents of the new unionism such as Howard of the Typographical Union and opponents such as Matthew Woll put their finger on the real issue in the convention debates. Howard, for example, stated that if members who had come into the new federal union and the workers in the basic industries generally "were not permitted to organize under the federation's auspices they would do so under other leadership or under no leadership at all, and would present the government with a far more serious problem than if they had been taken into the federation." Matthew Woll put it in his somewhat more theoretical fashion, that he feared the adoption of unrestricted industrial charters would "destroy the basis of voluntarism in the labor movement and work toward diverting control of labor organizations to the jurisdiction of government agencies."

End of Gompersism

It was, in other words, Gompersism which finally died at this A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City. His physical presence was absent from an A. F. of L. convention for the first time in the Federation's history at the 1925 Atlantic City gathering. His ghost made its exit from the convention this year.

Because there is thus no difference in underlying philosophy but only tactical distinctions between the old guard and the so-called pro-

gressives, it was possible, as the NEW MILITANT predicted, for Lewis to "attack" Green repeatedly during the convention and then turn around and nominate him for president of the Federation again, an office to which he was unanimously re-elected.

The present set-up, therefore, presents its encouraging and also its ominous aspect. The fact that there is a serious rift in the top leadership of the A. F. of L. which always means freer discussion and more leeway for dissenting conceptions of all kinds, is one of the encouraging features. The fact that hard-balled politicians such as Lewis sense an intensifying insurgency in the rank and file which makes it necessary for such labor fakers to step out of their old roles entirely and to pose as fighters and "radicals" also means much. The fact that the insurgent newcomers in automobiles, rubber, etc., who before the convention openly attacked Green in their own conventions have now also seen him attacked, his prestige and Woll's seriously undermined right on the floor of an A. F. of L. convention, will further encourage the militant elements.

Stalinists Trail Lewis

But it is a matter for the deepest concern that no voices were raised for genuine, as against fake industrial unionism and militancy, and that as yet no organized force appeared in an A. F. of L. convention to raise that banner. The Stalinists with their complete turn to the right in every field devote their energies not to building up a real left-wing but actually to playing up Lewis, Hillman, Gorman, et al. as the genuine article, pinning hope upon them for organizing steel and similar industries, carrying on cheap intrigues to get figures such as Gorman to introduce Labor Party resolutions and trying to make the workers believe that this is a triumph for progressivism. Browder and Company are not naive enough to believe this stuff. They are cynical enough, after years of tutelage in the Stalin school of goose-stepping, to try to make the workers believe it. Thus under their present policy of conciliation toward the A. F. of L., as under their third period policy of "dual unionism," they confuse the workers, dissipate the progressive forces and betray the labor struggle. And Louis Budenz, has after a few brief weeks

in the Stalinist camp also already degenerated to the point where he goes about the country supporting these betraying policies!

"Militant" Socialists, while moving toward a trade union program which abstractly sets forth a Leninist position, have their economic base in their jobs in the needle trades and other unions under the so-called "progressives" Hillman, Dubinsky, Gorman, Lewis himself. The "Militant" Socialists, too, therefore, utterly fail to attack these leaders and their policies and contribute to confusing and misleading the workers.

Opportunity for Militants

The line of policy for revolutionists and for all genuinely militant elements in the unions is not that of an alliance with Lewis-Hillman to wage a mock battle against the corpse of Gompers or the non-entity Green or the much deflated Matthew Woll whose ideas, like his oratory, are of nineteenth century vintage. No, the conservative forces in the A. F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive and up-to-date. The strategy of revolutionists is to take full advantage of any opportunity which these elements create for them by their attack on other trade union bureaucrats or by organizing campaigns or strikes on which they may embark under pressure on the one hand from the newer elements in the unions and in order, on the other hand, to show the employers and the Roosevelt administration that the workers will "really" follow them. On the other hand, the philosophy of these men must be combatted relentlessly. They cannot be depended upon to lead any organizing campaign or strike to a conclusion which is in the interests of the workers. In one way or another they will betray them as surely as Claherty betrayed the rubber strike and Dillon the General Motors strike. The militant forces in all of the unions, in every section of the country, in the A. F. of L. generally, must organize on a basis of class struggle, industrial unionism and genuine trade union democracy against the Lewis-Hillman line.

The Atlantic City Convention

The Atlantic City convention brought out the alarming fact that only the merest beginnings have been made with this job and that the would-be political leaders of the trade union movement are in reality sabotaging it. But the convention also made clear that in the coming year the genuine militants, if they are both aggressive and astute, have an unprecedented opportunity for work in the unions.

Expel 13 Bolsheviks From S.P. of France

(Continued from Page 1)
as undisciplined by the Bureau of the Party are also considered by the bourgeoisie to be a violation of social discipline within bourgeois society."

Fourth in the list of the crimes of the Bolshevik-Leninists are their articles on the events of Brest and Toulon which were greeted by the Stalinists and Socialists as acts of "provocation" and by the Bolshevik-Leninists as symptoms of the sharpening of the class struggle. "We maintain," they declared, "that at a time when the fires of revolution are being lighted, that at a time when the workers rise in their might, arms in hand, against the state forces of repression, to give the miserable explanation that all this is the provocation of 'suspect elements' instead of a Marxist explanation of the class struggle constitutes outright treason! A simple comparison of extracts from the bourgeois press and from the Populaire and l'Humanite suffices to confirm our charges."

Agitated for Fourth International
Finally, the Bolshevik-Leninists are indicted for the crime of agitating for and publishing an appeal for the formation of the Fourth International. On this subject an earlier leaflet of the Bolshevik-Leninist group made the position perfectly explicit. "Partisans of the Fourth International? We have never concealed that for a single moment. When we entered the Socialist Party it was perfectly well known that we considered neither the Second nor the Third International to be instruments of the struggle of the proletariat and that an international regrouping of working class fighters on a revolutionary basis was on the order of the day."

Appealing to all revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party to resist the expulsion of the left and to expose the reactionary policies of the bureaucracy, the Bolshevik-Leninist group declared:

"Expelled or not, we shall continue our policy of revolutionary regrouping. Expelled or not, while war thunders, we shall fight patriotism and chauvinism in the workers' ranks."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to face the Fascists with something better than pitiful invocations! We shall fight to build the people's militia which alone can smash the Fascist leagues."

"Expelled or not, we shall fight to orient the popular masses along the lines of the class struggle, for the revolution, for a workers and peasants government and to prevent the Front Populaire from ending up in a government of class collaboration with the Radical traitors."

The thirteen expelled leaders are comrades Hic, Frank, Rous, Rousset, Gerard, Melchior, Martin, Molinier, Van, Naville, Rigal, De Vreiere and Danno.

A few days after the expulsions, comrade Rous, who was a member of the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party, was asked to leave the session of that committee. Comrade Marceau Pivert solidarized with Rous. A discussion followed which showed that the ferment is having its effects even in the topmost rungs of the Socialist Party. In reply to the attack of the bureaucrats, Rous demanded a national congress to decide the question of the party's attitude toward war, to answer the following question: "Is it or is it not a violation of discipline to be an implacable enemy of national defense, to work for the defeat of the bourgeois government?"

S.P. Central Committee Splits
The reply was a motion to exclude comrade Rous from the meeting of the C.A.P. Among those who voted for it were Zyromski and Descurieux, members of the "left" Battalion Socialiste which is Stalinist and therefore thoroughly social patriotic in its tendency. But a minority motion which secured the votes of seven members, all of whom with the exception of Marceau Pivert are anything but Bolshevik-Leninist sympathizers, showed that a process of differentiation is taking place even at the summit of the Socialist bureaucracy.

Allies of the French Bolsheviks

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged

THE MILITANT

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JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

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Vol. 1 OCTOBER 26, 1935 No. 44

The Theoretical Origin of Social Patriotism

THE SOURCE

Called from Leon Trotsky's immortal classic, "The Criticism of Fundamentals: the Draft Program of the C. I." which exposed the foundation of Stalinist degeneration, the following section showed as far back as 1928 how the revisionist theory of "Socialism in One Country" led inevitably to social patriotism. This prediction, considered at the time of its presentation to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern to be an academic deduction, especially in view of the solemn pronouncements of the Congress in favor of revolutionary defeatism, needed hardly seven years and another Congress of the C. I. to find its confirmation in life itself and in the official minutes and resolutions. Indeed, so true has this prediction become that the official organ of the French Communist Party speaks ad nauseum of the need to defend French culture and patrimony, as the inheritance of the working class alone, against German invasion. A casual glance at the Daily Worker will reveal a similar and probably more obnoxious social patriotic propaganda.—Ed.

By LEON TROTSKY

The principle question raised in the quoted passage, namely, THE CONCEPTION OF BUILDING UP OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AS A SOCIAL PATRIOTIC CONCEPTION was undoubtedly formulated correctly. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a patriotism of their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of highly developed German technique and the high organizational abilities of the German people, the German social democrats were bent on the construction of their "own" socialist society. If we leave aside the die-hard bureaucrats, careerists, parliamentary sharpers and political crooks in general, the social patriotism of the rank and file social democrats was a result of precisely in the building up of German socialism. One cannot think that the hundreds of thousands of rank and file social democrats—let alone the millions of rank and file workers—wanted to defend Hohenzollern and the bourgeoisie. No. They wanted to defend German industry, the German railways, air highways, German technique and culture and especially the organizations of the German working class, as the "necessary and sufficient" national prerequisites.

A similar process took place also in France. Guesde, Vaillant and thousands of the best rank and file party members with them, and hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers in general believed that precisely France with her revolutionary traditions, her heroic proletariat, her high culture, her flexible and talented people was the promised land of socialism. Old Guesde and the Communist Vaillant, and with them the thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers did not fight for the bankers or the rentiers. They sincerely believed that they defended the basis

and the creative power of the coming socialist society. They proceeded entirely from the theory of socialism in one country and made sacrifices to this idea, believing that "temporarily" this was international solidarity.

The comparison with the social patriots will of course be answered by the argument that patriotism in relation to the Soviet States is a revolutionary duty whereas patriotism in relation to a bourgeois state is treachery. This is surely so. Can there be any dispute on this question among grown-up revolutionists? But this incontrovertible idea becomes, as we progress more and more, a scholastic cover for deliberate falsehood.

Revolutionary patriotism can be only of a class character. It begins at patriotism to the party organization, to the trade union, and rises to national patriotism when the proletariat has captured power. Wherever the workers have power patriotism is a revolutionary duty. But that patriotism must be an inseparable part of revolutionary internationalism, the invincible conviction that the main class aim, even less so than partial aims, cannot be realized by national means or within national boundaries, constitutes the heart of revolutionary internationalism. If, however, the final aim has been realized within national boundaries by the efforts of a national proletariat then the backbone of internationalism has been broken. The theory of the possibility to realize socialism in one country destroys the inner connection of the patriotism of the victorious proletariat with the defeatism of the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. The proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries is still on the road to power. How and in what manner it will march toward it depends fully and entirely on the question as to whether it considers the building up of socialist society a national or an international task.

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only AFTER the conquest of power but also "prior" to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. That will be the beginning of the downfall of the Comintern along the lines of social patriotism. The Communist Party of any capitalist country which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses all the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for the independent construction of a "complete socialist society" will in substance in no respect differ from the revolutionary social democrats who also began not with Noske but who definitely stumbled on August 4, 1914 on this very same question.

If they say that the very existence of the U.S.S.R. is a guarantee against social patriotism because in relation to a Workers' Republic it is a revolutionary duty, in this one-sided utilization of a correct idea is expressed national narrow-mindedness. Those who say so have in mind only the U.S.S.R., closing their eyes to the entire proletariat of the world. To lead the proletariat to the idea of defeatism in relation to the bourgeois state is possible only by an international orientation in the program on the main question and by a merciless resistance to social-patriotic propaganda which is now still masked but which seeks to establish a theoretical nest for itself in the program of Lenin's International.

(From "Criticism of Fundamentals: The Draft Program of the C. I." Submitted July 1928. Pp. 72-75.)

LAKE CHARLES, La. (FP).—Machine gun bullets protecting scab operations in several gulf ports closed by striking International Longshoremen's Assn. members, killed three men, injured at least eight, opened one port and forced Gov. O. K. Allen of Louisiana to call a 3-day truce while port authorities and union officials sought an agreement.

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 20.—Violence again flared in the bitter class war raging in Los Angeles, when on October 3, Phillip Weiss, a member of the I.L.G.W.U. was shot down by Sam Lubarsky, part owner of a cloak shop.

A strike has been in progress at Lubarsky's shop for some months. On the morning of the day of the shooting the union had pulled out two workers in the shop, and during the noon hour Lubarsky went to a restaurant patronized by union workers and attempted to recruit scabs. He was chased out of the restaurant by indignant workers. Outside on the street he got into an argument with Lutzky, of the I.L.G.W.U. and a crowd of workers gathered. Lubarsky suddenly pulled a gun and the crowd fell back. While the workers were still retreating to get out of range of his gun he fired and Weiss fell. Luckily the bullet went completely through the body after passing through the right lung, thus lessening the danger of complications. However, pneumonia developed and Weiss is not yet entirely out of danger. Lubarsky was held on \$5,000 bail.

Between 1,500 and 1,800 fish cannery workers will be affected by a strike against five large canneries which has been called for Tuesday morning. The strike call was issued by the Fish Cannery Workers Union.

Demands are for 40 cents per hour for the first eight hours, 45 cents an hour for the next eight hours, and 50 cents thereafter, for the women workers. The demand for the men is 5 cents per hour higher. About 75 percent of the cannery workers are women. The closed shop is demanded.

The plant of the Van Camp company will not be affected as it has already granted the demanded wages, but refused the closed shop. The strike has an excellent chance of succeeding as the sardine packing season is due to begin about November 1.

The Machine Is A Communist

Industry Idle to Keep Parasites in Power Cost Workers Three Hundred Billion in 1930-34 -- The High Cost of Capitalism!

By HILDEGARDE M. SMITH

There is proof enough in just one circumstance that Roosevelt and his New Dealers are insincere about their advocacy of "a more abundant life." That circumstance is their utter ignoring of their own "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity." Have you heard the Ginning Messiah give a "fire-side chat" on the finding of this—his own commission? No! And you won't! For just what were the findings of this government commission? Revolutionary stuff!

Our Production Capacity

This board of sixty experts worked for nearly a year measuring the product capacity of our United States. They did a good job. And an honest job. Too good and honest—too many unpleasant truths about how the masses in this country are being cheated—for Roosevelt and his New Dealers to tell the workers about it. True, a resume of it has been published, called "The Chart of Plenty." It is in many public libraries and all workers should read it. For in this survey is ample and reasonably authentic information as to just how abundant a life might be given to the mass of the American people. It is a careful study of not only how much is produced, but how much with the present equipment—the natural resources and the industrial plant—could be produced and how much for the best interests of the people should be produced. And the result was briefly this: if the resources of this country and its man-power were really put to work for the welfare of its citizens, every family in the United States could have an annual income in goods and services of \$4,400 per year valued in 1929 dollars. And that on a short work week! Also, with efficient planning this annual income could be greatly increased within a decade.

This is seemingly refuted by the survey made by the Brookings Institution, "America's Capacity to Produce," which has been hailed by advocates of the present social order as "proof" that the "Economy of

Abundance" is a fiction. But, as Mr. Harold Loeb, director of the H. S. of P. P. C., points out, the Brookings Institution survey was figured within the framework of the existing economic system. That is, their survey was not strictly a survey of physical factors but that they entangled themselves in two contradictory frames—the commercial and physical—which made their findings meaningless as far as actual physical capacity is concerned.

In brief, the facts established by the two surveys is this: the Brookings Institution survey makes it evident that abundance, in spite of our enormous resources, cannot be given to the people of the country under the capitalist system. The profit motive won't stand for it. The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity in essence establishes the fact that only under a socialist system can the resources be efficiently used to give the people the abundance to which they are entitled. For instance, in the four years, 1930-1934, nearly three hundred billion in goods and services could have been produced which were not produced. And on this point Mr. Loeb himself makes the following statements:

"The difference between actual production and possible production represents the cost to the people of the United States of maintaining present financial institutions. . . . The existing resources, plant and personnel of the United States, are not only capable of providing a high standard of life for the entire population, but are also capable of simultaneously replacing obsolete equipment and expanding the plant at a rate somewhat higher than the satisfactory rate practiced during the years 1923 to 1929. . . . A most curious spectacle this. . . . The American people, through their authorized agents are found using governmental power to maintain the 'blessed state of poverty.' . . . And to the favorite cry of the opponents of a socialist society that it would be the end of 'liberty' Mr. Loeb says: 'Liberty would be enjoyed by most people. Today over 90 percent of

our people have their freedom restricted by material necessities. releasing of production and the resulting abundance would enormously expand their freedom. . . ."

A Machine Civilization

But the most curious fact established by this survey—a government survey, remember—is this: our mass production factories, our machine civilization, can only be used efficiently. . . . If it is put to work producing things for the masses, food, clothing, houses, furniture and other household supplies. . . . all the things the masses want and need—and are now so largely deprived of. How many times have you heard some "statesman" or some capitalist journalist proclaim that our "American system has built the greatest civilization on earth?" Hundreds of times of course! And this "greatest civilization" today is what? A machine civilization. That is irrefutable. And now this government survey shows that this machine civilization can only be used efficiently if it is put to work producing for the masses. . . . dividing the wealth among the people. So what does that make the machine? A Communist! Nothing less. The machine is a communist!

This might be a joke on the rich exploiters and their lackeys. But as yet the "joke" is on the workers. For as the rich few who control this "wonderful civilization" have the workers "fooled"—persuaded to believe that this potential plenty is a delusion. Just as the powers that rule us are today suppressing the Marxists—the communists—so are they today suppressing the communist machine test it give this potential wealth to the masses. Theirs is a "dog in the manger" economics. They cannot possibly use the potential products themselves. . . . so they, with gas bombs, National Guard, bullets and oratory, are fighting the workers to keep them from getting what they cannot use themselves, but want to keep anyhow—to preserve their privileges and power.

Why They Buried the Report

No wonder the New Dealers and Roosevelt himself have buried the report of this, their own, commission! For they are "the authorized agents using governmental power to maintain the blessed state of poverty!" They aided and abetted the exploiters who control the product capacity of the country in their decision that those three hundred billion in goods and services which the people needed, would not be produced because it could not be produced at a profit to them! They are the ones, these advocates of "a more abundant life" who are willing that millions should live on the verge of starvation—the infamous Roosevelt subsistence wage—so that these rich and privileged persons—and they themselves—might continue to satisfy their swollen egos with opulence, and their lust for power and privilege. Their words say—"we bring you a more abundant life." But their actions say—"we are willing that millions should be deprived of what is rightfully theirs—the abundance of this country—in order that we may hog the fat of the land."

Workers! Your ancestors gave of their sweat and their blood to build up the abundance of this country! You have done likewise. That abundance is your rightful heritage! And now, every day of your lives, you and your children are being cheated—yes, shamefully cheated!—of what is yours. Give the lie to these who would tell you that "socialism is just dividing poverty." You can get the facts about that from this Government survey (of course you could tell your exploiters that Karl Marx said practically the same thing long ago) and throw this information in the teeth of anyone who tries to tell you that our abundance is "bunk." Their own dope now refutes them. \$4,400 a year might be "poverty" to a Roosevelt, or an Astor or an Andy Mellon, but to you and your children it would truly mean "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And that is what you are honestly entitled to today.

3500 at Herndon Farewell

(Continued from Page 1)

Despite the participation of the League for Industrial Democracy, headed by Norman Thomas, there was a notable absence of Socialists in the audience. Those who were not Stalinists were almost entirely Workers Party or I.W.W. elements, or non-proletarians.

Among the other speakers were Mary Fox, secretary of the Joint Committee; H. D. Sizemore of the General Defense Committee; Anna Damon, Secretary of the I.L.D.; Murray Baron; Heywood Brown, who called William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P., also on the speakers' list, a scab; and Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Browder was sitting on the platform but did not speak. His silence was made up for, however, by C.P.

Resist Attempt to Deport Warnick

(Continued from Page 1)

brought about by the special snooping committee of the American Legion. Warnick has been bailed out of Angel Island Prison, and is represented legally by Austin Lewis, well-known local attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee has been authorized by Warnick to undertake activity in support of his fight. It was the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, now a constituent of the N.S.A.C., which raised \$3,200 bail to take Warnick out of Sacramento County Jail last January after he had been there for six months.

Norman Refused Parole

Another example of continuing persecution is the failure of an attempt by Lorine Norman, one of the eight convicted Sacramento workers, to secure parole because she will shortly become a mother. She has been released on bail temporarily to go to a hospital. Governor Merriam is under pressure from the reactionary bloc to compel her to return to prison as soon as her child is born.

Recently also, as a result of the insidious campaign of the Chamber of Commerce, Associated Farmers, Industrial Association and American Legion, Charles McLaughlin of Santa Anna was held for criminal syndicalism, charged with being a member of the Communist party. If convicted, he would get 14 years in San Quentin along with Norman Mini, Caroline Decker and the other Sacramento workers. The case is pending.

members on the street after the meeting. Among those selling literature and giving out leaflets were three young girls, members of the W.P. The Stalinists demonstratively crumpled up leaflets and denounced the W.P. members as "degenerate renegades."

While the Herndon meeting showed that thus far only a limited circle is actively behind the persecuted Negro worker, it can be the beginning of a real movement. If the Joint Committee follows a really inclusive policy, designed to win the loyalty of all organizations of the working class and sympathizing circles, while pursuing that militant line which alone can save Herndon, it may yet get a wide following and do a constructive job for the class.

Many pamphlets on the Herndon case published by the Joint Committee were sold at the meeting. A new edition, specially prepared for the N.P.L.D., may be bought through Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. It sells at 2 cents per copy and may be had cheaper in bundles.

DUPONT PROFITS SOAR AGAIN UNDER 'OPPRESSIVE' N. DEAL

WILMINGTON, Del. (FP).—If the duPont family is opposed to the New Deal on the grounds that it is hurting business, they're kidding themselves.

For earnings of the E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. to be used for dividends amounted to \$35,534,717 for the first nine months of 1935, the company's reports show. The earnings are more than \$1,000,000 higher than for the same time last year.

Almost half the swag—\$16,314,708—was raked in during the third quarter of the year. During that time, it is pointed out, the European political situation became considerably more tense.

Mass Meeting

EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON
A. J. MUSTE

ARNE SWABECK
MAURICE SPECTOR

Thursday, November 7th -- 8 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street

Auspices: Worker's Party, N. Y. District, 55 E. 11th Street.

J. P. Cannon
A. J. Muste

FRANCE
The Key to the Int'n'l Situation

Sunday, Nov. 3 - 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA HALL
Irving Place & 15th St.

HAIL THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Green Trains Guns on Militant Minneapolis Labor; Appeals to Open Shoppery Against Local 574

V. I. Lenin

By JAMES P. CANNON

November 7th is our day. For internationalists the world over, it is the day of the great vindication of their ideas and the harbinger of their final victory on an international scale. This is the spirit in which all the authentic representatives of the great proletarian revolution in Russia celebrate its 18th anniversary. Not as a completed, self-sufficient national affair, but as a beginning of the international revolution—this is the inner meaning of the workers' victory in Russia as its organizers and leaders explained it and as we understand it. We hail the Russian revolution as the prelude to the world "October."

The Russian revolution represents the triumph of an idea which had penetrated the masses and become a material force. Marx transformed socialism from utopia to science; the Russian revolution developed the science into action. Since November 7, 1917 the theoretical concept of the proletarian revolution has been a demonstrated reality over one-sixth of the globe and an imminent challenge to the whole capitalist world. That is why the Soviet Union has been and remains the great magnet of attraction for the revolutionary workers in all countries.

It was the inspiring force in the regroupment of the vanguard which had been dispersed and demoralized by the treachery of the Social Democracy in the war, and also the rallying point for the masses in their struggle against capitalism on a world-wide arena. The will to defend the Soviet Union which animated every class-conscious worker in the capitalist countries was expressed—as Lenin taught—by the revival of the revolutionary fight against the exploiters at home. That is the line upon which we reconstituted the American movement. It remains our line today.

The Russian revolution demonstrated the heroic qualities of the proletariat and showed that revolutionary Marxism alone is capable of shaping leaders equal to the highest test of the historic turning point of humanity. In the persons of Lenin and Trotsky the revolution found its authentic representatives—organizers of the victory who stood on a historic level with the founders of the doctrine, Marx and Engels. In the organization of the Red Army and its magnificent and victorious campaigns against the people's enemies in the civil war and the war of intervention the unbounded resourcefulness, creative energy and courage of the historically rising class was displayed. The working class, even in a backward country in which it constitutes but a small percentage of the total population, is capable of making its revolution and also of defending it. This is the message of the Russian Revolution to the whole class. What miracles of energy may confidently be expected from the working class in the advanced countries when the masses are fused with a Marxist leadership at the mo-

Peace Parade Bluff in Fact and Figures

Unions Protest Use of Name in Jamboree Led by Father Divine

The Daily Worker reports that 50,000 turned out for the People's Parade for Peace... the metropolitan papers put the figure at 15,000, including 2000 followers of Father Divine's eggshell-blue limousine.

Two letters we have received make it clear that the Daily Worker's estimate was arrived at by counting the organizations who did not march in the parade. From the American Youth Congress the following:

"Editor, New Militant
"2 West 15th Street
"New York City

"Dear Sir:
"The national council of the American Youth Congress did not meet in time to consider the People's March for Peace. Therefore any public statement to the effect that we have endorsed this demonstration is unauthorized.

Very truly yours,
William M. Hinckley,
Executive Secretary."

Our information was derived from an article on page 1 of the Daily Worker for October 22: "In a ringing statement endorsing the People's March for Peace... Wal-

(Continued on Page 5)

INSPIRED!

Il Duce Colors Hearst Stories on Ethiopia

Readers of the Hearst press, 28 newspapers with a total daily circulation of 5,500,000, and other newspapers carrying the Hearst-owned International News Photo Service, are being daily fed photographs of the Ethiopian war, none of which are taken by American photographers, but are supplied to Hearst by Mussolini's official picture agency, Luce! Editors have to rely on the Italian firm's word that the pictures are bona fide.

This is the most obvious example of the way in which Fascist propaganda about the war is being fed to the American masses. But it is only part of the story. Mussolini has made special arrangements to accommodate the Hearst, United Press and Associated Press correspondents directly behind the Italian lines. This is in order to secure "eyewitness stories," which carry more plausibility than the usual dispatches. But all correspondents' reports must travel the regular military wireless route, with censorship at Asmara and then again at Rome. Nothing gets through this filter except stories satisfactory to the Fascists.

An example of the usefulness to the Fascists of so-called eyewitness stories is the A. P. dispatch sent by Andree Berding, who is being accommodated by high officers of the Italian Army. According to this lackey, on a 26 hour visit to the northern front, he found the natives not only already accustomed to the Fascist occupation, but that "Scores of Ethiopians gave the Fascist salute" and "Young Ethiopians already were calling out Buon Giorno."

Unfortunately, the lack of adequate communications and the difficulties of coverage from the Ethiopian side have so far made it impossible to counteract the Fascist propaganda by more accurate news.

Extend the October Revolution!



France Faces Civil War as C.P. Prepares Government for Imperialist Defense

By H. F. ROBERTS

Approaching war—now closer than ever with the impending conclusion of an Anglo-French alliance—is hastening the maturing of the internal political crisis in France. Laval stands today atop a teetering structure which will dissolve and disappear in the decisive days to come.

France faces civil war. The result will be either a new star in the European Fascist constellation or a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government. The choice of those two alternatives is being made now, when the preparation of the French working class for the offensive against war and Fascism—which means and can only mean the offensive against the bourgeois state—is the only hope of preventing Fascism from grinding the workers' organizations out of existence and hurling France and all Europe into war.

What is monstrous in the present crisis in France is the fact that the way may well be paved to fascism and to war by a Government of the Front Populaire. Under the direct pressure of Cachin, Thorez and Co., the Front Populaire is striving to prove to the French bourgeoisie that it does not intend to fight the bourgeois state, that it is capable of mobilizing the French workers for the holy war against German Fascism—for the defense of "democracy"—for the defense of the French imperialist state.

Class Struggle Set Aside
Class lines and the class struggle have been entirely obliterated by the Front Populaire. At its meetings the red flag of the workers is set alongside the tricolor of the French bourgeoisie. On its platforms sit representatives of the

French workers and the Daladiers, the Cots, the representatives of the French bourgeoisie. Daladier, "the murderer of workers of February 6," urged the Front Populaire policy upon the Radical Socialist Party at its Congress last week as an "alliance of the third estate and the proletariat." The Radical Socialist

cuts, bloody repression against the workers. With all this the Stalinists of France are not concerned. For Herriot is an adherent of "collective security" and the Covenant of the League of Nations and when he speaks in this spirit "Humanite" nods happily: "We cannot but approve of these words and it would be good if Laval could be inspired by them." (Sept. 30). The Stalinists are not so interested in protecting the workers against Herriot but they gratuitously offer to protect Herriot against the Fascists.

Protection for the French Breasting
"We can assure you," wrote the C.P. to the Radical Socialist Party in Lyon, "that the adherents of our party are determined not to permit injury to a hair on the head of those who fight for bread, peace and liberty—and in the very first place, of Chairman Herriot." (Quoted by Populaire, Oct. 19.)

Herriot is a member of the Laval government which last week passed a series of decrees stated to be directed against "all anti-Republican forces" but which were patently designed to deal with the organizations of the workers—just like the decrees of Bruening, von Papen and von Schleicher—to ease the way for the Hitler, the de la Roquette of tomorrow.

The most important of these decrees increased the Garde Mobile, which is a force educated in the spirit of civil war against the workers, from 15,000 to 20,000—and the new men were ordered to posts in 150 towns in the Seine and adjoining regions—the proletarian heart of France. Other decrees put restrictions on public demonstrations, on the carrying of arms by demonstrators and in addition gave the government the right to dissolve

(Continued on Page 5)

Britain Acts for the 'Small Nations'

Since 1870 the British government has annexed the following "independent" territories:

Baluchistan, Burma, Cyprus, North Borneo, Wei-hai-wei, Hongkong, Koweit, Sinai, North Guinea, South Guinea, East Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga Islands, Egypt, Sudan, Uganda, British East Africa, British Somaliland, Zanzibar, British Central Africa, Nigeria.

In addition, the following territories were mandated to Britain at the end of the World War: South West Africa, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroun, Samoa and other Pacific Islands.

And Sir Samuel Hoare says Britain is "now acting in the interests of 'small nations'!"

Party, which stands at the head of the Front Populaire, closed its congress with resolutions calling for "passionate devotion to national defense" and the "restoration of the authority of the state."

At the head of this party stands Herriot, minister in the Laval government, responsible for the miserable regime of decree-laws, wage

574's Fighting Policy Thorn in the Side of Labor Skates

Assistance Rendered to Six Strikes in Other Industries Resulted in Victory

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 31.—A representative of the Green-Woll-Tobin gang yesterday brought into the open plans for a pogrom against the famous General Drivers Union Local 574.

In a statement to the press, Meyer Lewis, representative of William Green, A. F. of L. president, declared that he was in Minneapolis to superintend a "purge" of labor organizations. Making no pretense that the "purge" was to be limited to the central labor body—the Green-Woll-Tobin gang were defeated at the recent Atlantic City convention in their attempt to secure authorization for expulsion of radicals from the unions, but did secure a provision giving central bodies authority to expel radical

delegates—Lewis bluntly indicated that "the big guns of the American Federation of Labor" would be aimed also at organizations outside the A. F. of L. ranks.

As proving the necessity to bring about "an industrial employer and employee relationship which is truly American," Lewis named the 1934 strikes of Local 574, the recently settled strike of ornamental iron workers and the Strutwear hosiery workers' strike which is still going on.

574 Leads Minneapolis Labor

Preceded by a successful coal drivers' strike in January, 1934 and a general strike of other drivers four months later, the famous July, 1934 strike of Local 574, which received nationwide attention, established the union's control of the transport industry of Minneapolis.

This made it the largest union in the city. Its militant leadership and success, its popularization of the slogan, "Make Minneapolis a Union Town," and its aid to other unions, inspired hitherto dormant labor into a series of successful strikes which have put Minneapolis into the forefront of the labor movement. This threat to the swivel-chair bureaucrats led, six months ago, to the lifting of Local 574's charter by Dan Tobin, head of the Teamsters' International. Despite this move, which split the Minneapolis labor movement wide open, half the Central Labor Union delegates refusing to unseat 574's delegates, a majority for unseating being secured only after a threat to lift the charter of the central body, Local 574 and the unions grouped around it have continued to grow in strength. Last month Local 574 won from the employers closed-shop contracts covering the transport industry.

The other two strikes mentioned by Green's representative were rescued by Local 574.

Iron Workers' Strike
The ornamental iron workers' strike, led by an A. F. of L. union against a plant owned by Walter Tetzlaff, notorious leader of the union-busting Citizens Alliance, was endangered by scabs escorted into the plant by Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer. The Farmer-Labor administration refused to enforce an anti-scab ordinance forbidding housing of employees in an industrial plant. On appeal from the striking union, Local 574 sent representatives to sit on the strike committee and sent its powerful picket lines to close down the plant.

In a desperate attempt to open the plant, the Farmer-Labor administration's police climaxed a three-night attack on the picket lines with an armored-car shooting barrage on September 11. Two workers were killed. But the strike held strong until the boss was compelled to settle with the union on terms favorable to the strikers.

Hosiery Workers' Struggle
The other strike mentioned by Green's representative as an excuse for a "purge" of "radical communist groups" is being conducted directly under the leadership of the national office of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, unit

(Continued on Page 5)

Both Sides Are Right!
Toledo and Mpls. Press Argue on which City Has Most "Labor Trouble"

By ART PREIS
Toledo and Minneapolis newspapers have been heaving editorial bouquets at each other recently, each one offering the palm to the other's city for the distinction of having the most militant labor movement in the country.

The following editorial published in the Toledo News-Bee (Scripps-Howard sheet) on October 16 is a humorous commentary on how the bourgeoisie is "whistling in the dark," and likewise an eloquent tribute to the effective work of the Workers Party in helping to make Toledo and Minneapolis the "hot-spots" of the class struggle in America. The editorial, entitled "The Pot to the Kettle," is here given in its entirety.

"The Pot to the Kettle
"The Minneapolis Journal evidently has had a young man out over the country, engaged in 'drawing the fire.'
"The Journal, in a city with the worst record for strike violence of any city in America, came out on Oct. 11 with a piece entitled 'New Factories Shun Toledo, City Torn by Violence of Strikes.'
"We can imagine that they had a staff meeting at The Journal, following that city's latest killing on the streets, and the editor told 'em: 'Boys, we've got to do something to show that Minneapolis isn't so bad, after all. Let's get a piece about Toledo. That ought to make Minneapolis look pretty good.'
"We will give The Journal piece credit, nevertheless, for its recognition that things have changed for the better in Toledo during the past summer, and particularly since the philosophy of the Toledo Plan has been applied.
"Throughout the country, however, there has been a lot of finger pointing at Toledo. Cities in trouble of their own have striven to boil up Toledo labor stories running back to the old Auto-Lite rioting story to draw the fire from their own labor controversies.
"Toledo has had troubles to be sure, but at no time have these been a circumstance to what they have been painted by our loving rival cities."
Short Memories
Of course, that crack about things turning for the better in Toledo during the past summer—meaning that the industrialists, etc., of Toledo have succeeded in putting the quietus on the labor movement here—is merely wistful wish-thinking. The Auto-Lite strike was merely a beginning, and not an end, as the

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J. P. Cannon
Chairman:
A. J. Muste

FRANCE
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Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

PEACE ON EARTH

Stimulated by the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, world arms exports to August 1, 1935 mounted to more than \$120,000,000 or 20 percent above 1934. An increase of 20 percent is expected as compared to a general world trade gain of 2 percent. The price level of arms dropped only 14 percent compared with a general world price drop of 50 percent. . . . The National Council for the Prevention of War urges that the present U. S. embargo on arms and ammunitions be extended to cover loans, credits and raw materials for war purposes. . . . 10,000 Missouri mules were shipped to Ethiopia via Cuba. . . . U. S. motor manufacturers have sold 2,200 trucks to Italy in the past five months. . . . In reply to Secretary Hull's request that no war materials be sent to Italy, Walter Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Co. of N. J., announced indignantly: "My firm has been doing business with Italy for 40 years and is not ready to quit now." . . .

CIVILIZATION

"I refuse to believe that Britain will make war on Italy for the sake of a barbarian country," says Mussolini. . . . Carrying sticks for guns and obeying the gibbering commands of a leader, a squad of baboons was seen going through mimic military maneuvers after watching Ethiopian soldiers drill near Addis Ababa. . . . Meeting in Amsterdam, a committee of 339 psychiatrists representing 30 nations declared that war is a manifestation of insanity and that Hitler and Mussolini who glorify war suffer from "hallucinations and delusions." . . . "If Duce impressed me as being probably the calmest ruler in the world today," remarked Henry Allen, former Governor of Kansas, after a half hour interview with Mussolini. . . .

EDUCATION

One schoolboy in Massachusetts, two in Pennsylvania, have been expelled from their classes for refusing to salute the flag. . . . The Ohio Veterans of Foreign Wars proposes the enactment of a state law requiring school children to take an oath of allegiance to the state and national constitutions twice weekly. . . . French psychologists are conducting extensive experiments with children to find their reaction to eating animals that have been their pets. . . . In Willard, Ohio, Eugene Truschel, 11, despondent because there wasn't a bite of food in the house, offered his pet rabbit as supper to his mother and brothers and sisters. He then hanged himself to leave one less mouth to feed. . . .

LAND OF THE FREE

David Ashcraft, crippled news seller, killed his five-year old son rather than see him starve. "I had to do it," he said. "The boy was all I had in the world, but I had to do it. I didn't want him dragged through the world the way I've been. I carried him over to the stove and held him there while the gas filled the room. Then I fell. After that I just remember being sick." . . . Representative Sol Bloom of New York orates on freedom: "The American citizen is still the master of his fate, captain of his soul and sovereign over his government, thanks to the glorious workmanship of the men who labored under the eye of George Washington in framing the Constitution of the United States." . . . Original American citizens, the Poosapatuck Indians, who have been occupying a 500 acre reservation near Mastic, N. P., since 1700 have been served with an eviction notice. A white neighbor claims the land. . . .

RELIEF

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway has asked for a \$5,000,000 loan from the R.F.C. Its current liabilities are \$86,000,000, its assets \$20,000,000. . . . John Haskin, 52, of Chicago faced eviction. Unable to endure the red tape of applying for relief, he slashed both wrists and turned on the gas. He left six children fatherless. . . . Miss Lucy Gillet of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor defends the 25 cent a day food allowance of the home relief bureau as being adequate for an emergency diet. . . . In Kentucky relief averages \$7 a month, or 6 cents a day per person. . . . Lewis W. Douglas, former director of the Budget, states: "Relief expenditures must be cancelled if our government is to be saved." . . . Roger Babson, statistician, predicts a period of prosperity accompanied by a lowered standard of living. His formula for prosperity: "If employers were encouraged to extend their plant, to conduct sales campaigns and to make profit, three-fourths of the unemployed would be absorbed immediately."

LABOR DEFENSE FRONT

Protest Against the Frame-Up and Deportation of Jack Warnick

It has been revealed that the evidence being used against Jack Warnick by Federal immigration authorities seeking to deport him to Canada consists of material obtained from the Sacramento court which acquitted him in the criminal syndicalism trial in April.

This material consists of a Communist party membership book issued in the name of Bertrand Warner, and an I.L.D. membership book in the name of Jack Warnick. A letter from Austin Lewis, attorney for Warnick, to a member of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, asks him to "get us all the help you can" in the Warnick case. The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which is handling the appeal of Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, and which fights for the release of all criminal syndicalism victims in California, has voted to aid Warnick's fight to stay in this country.

"The hounding of Warnick," according to Herbert Solow, Secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, "is a continuation of the drive to smash California unionism. Warnick is guilty of no crime. He was acquitted even by the frame-up court in Sacramento. Six years ago he tried to take out naturalization papers, but could not prove that he had been born in Montreal because that city had no birth registration. Consequently, he was not naturalized."

"It is not enough for the Associated Farmers and Chamber of Commerce that they have put Warnick's wife, Caroline Decker, in Tehachapi Prison. Now they want to prevent Warnick from alleviating her suffering by an occasional visit. They want to deport him from the country in which he has spent his whole life since the age of two. They want every militant worker to understand that to take part in a strike struggle or a union organizing drive is to become subject to the most bitter and endless persecution."

Importance of Case

"Warnick is deserving of wide support. His case is of concern to the whole working class and to every friend of civil rights. Protests should go at once, from organizations and individuals, to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C., calling for the abandonment of deportation proceedings in the case of Jack Warnick. The N.S.A.C. will be glad to transmit to Warnick's attorney any funds contributed to his defense."

The N.S.A.C. is continuing its drive for funds for the Mini appeal. Raymond W. Henderson, Bakersfield attorney who handled the famous Wobblly trials, is now preparing his brief. Contributions should be made payable to Harry W. Latimer, Chairman, National Sacramento Appeal Committee, Room 707, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C.

Jack Warnick is a graduate of the University of California. He was brought to the West coast from his birthplace, Montreal, at the age of two and has lived in the United States ever since. He was a leading militant of the now-extinct Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and belonged, with Caroline Decker and Norman Mini, to the faction which dared criticize the policies of Sam Darcy of the Communist party. He was active in the Redwood City mush-

room strike and other union work. During the criminal syndicalism trial in Sacramento, Warnick and Mini protested against the C. P. defense policies in several respects. When the C.P. tried to wipe out its record of disruption by denouncing Mini as a stool-pigeon, Warnick issued a statement blasting the slanderers and expressing solidarity with Mini.

He resigned from the C. P. and was subsequently "expelled," with the proper ceremonies of denunciation. He was "charged" with being a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite," but in fact has not been connected with the political movement since leaving the C. P.

Herndon Sick; Faces Chain-Gang

Angelo Herndon surrendered to the Georgia authorities October 28 in accordance with the orders of the U. S. Supreme Court. An attorney immediately applied for a writ of habeas corpus on the grounds that the ancient slave insurrection law under which Herndon was sentenced to 18 to 20 years on a chain gang has never undergone a test of constitutionality.

Herndon's motion will be heard Nov. 12. In the meantime, the court has ordered that he shall not be removed from Fulton County (Atlanta) before the issue is settled. He is now lodged in Fulton Towers, the county jail. While he is thus saved for the moment from the chain-gang, his health is endangered by the damp atmosphere in Fulton Towers. Herndon suffers from gastritis and chronic bronchitis, the latter being almost as bad as tuberculosis.

Should Herndon win a writ, he would be retried. Should he fail to get a writ, an appeal will be made all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, demanding such a writ. This would involve a long struggle, somewhat similar to Mooney's repeated efforts to force the Supreme Court to act on his case.

During such a struggle, whose eventual outcome cannot be foretold, the courts could grant or refuse bail as they chose. Herndon might have to go to the chain-gang while the issue is fought out.

The Joint Committee to Aid the Defense of Herndon, organized by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and five other organizations, is extending its petition campaign. The N.P.L.D. has brought out a special edition of the new Herndon pamphlet. Already 4,000 copies have been sold. A few more are available at 2 cents each or \$1.50 per hundred, at the office of the N.P.L.D., 22 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Sac'to Defense Meet In Cleveland

John N. Thurber, leading Socialist, will preside at a mass meeting called by the Cleveland sub-committee of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee on Nov. 1 at 8 P.M. The meeting will take place in Morgan Hall, 1550 E. 40th St. The speakers will be F. Cedervall of the I.W.W., Joseph Knight of the Workers Party and J. Sommer-

latte of the Socialist Party. The Cleveland committee is the latest sub-committee to be set up in the Sacramento movement. Its forces are now organizing for the mass meeting, selling pamphlets and circulating collection lists. Other sub-committees are functioning in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Boston, and are being organized in several other cities.

Court Reverses Ruling In Ohio Railroad

Mike Lindway, National Screw Co. striker framed on a dynamite charge in Cleveland, Ohio, has advanced a step in his fight for freedom. The Ohio Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on the grounds that certain evidence used by the prosecutor should not have been allowed in the case. Prisoner 69549 of the Columbus Pen, and the General Defense Committee which handled his case, thus win a real victory. The Associated Industries may compel a new trial of Lindway, according to Tor Cedervall, secretary of Local 2 of the G.D.C.

Mendieta Gag-Law Outlawed in Cuba

The Cuban Supreme Court having declared unconstitutional a newspaper gag-law adopted by the Mendieta regime, conditions for the work of the Cuban National Committee for Amnesty for Political Prisoners may be eased somewhat. The work of this Committee, itself a united front of thirty-one workers' organizations, is being supported in this country by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Vigilante Justice in Santa Rosa, Cal.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 21.—District Attorney Wm. F. Cowan of Sonoma County late today refused to accept statements from three victims of the Santa Rosa vigilantes, so long as they insisted upon having one of their own representatives present. Mr. and Mrs. Sol Nitzberg and Charles Mayer met at the District Attorney's office in Santa Rosa by appointment, but Mr. Cowan refused to conduct his inquiries in the presence of Ernest Besig, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union from San Francisco. The entire group thereupon departed with Besig, promising to submit sworn statements from all three.

"It is perfectly obvious," declared Mr. Besig, "that Mr. Cowan by delays is maneuvering to escape issuing complaints against the more than twenty known vigilantes. Previous interviews with victims of the vigilantes have been turned into fishing expeditions concerning their economic and political opinions because they did not have the protection of counsel. The district attorney is doing no more than attempting to put our clients in a bad light."

Explaining the two-month delay in taking any action, Cowan in a letter to Besig complained that "None of these victims, except one, ever solicited a personal interview with this office. . . ." In today's brief conference the District Attorney also asserted that, "If it were not for outside interference, these people would be content to do nothing."

Moreover, the October meeting of the National Committee laid down regulations to guarantee the minority the same rights to present their case in the period preceding the second convention of the party which is to convene on Dec. 27. This opportunity is still open to the Oehler-Stamm group if they wish to return to the party and conduct themselves as loyal members. Their refusal to accept it is only a confession of lack of confidence in their ability to influence the party members with their arguments.

WORKERS

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Opportunities Big for New Rubber Union

Confidence in Own Strength; No Reliance in Boards or Labor Fakers Is the Road to Victory

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 28.—The prelude to a new epoch in the history of the labor movement in the rubber industry is being written by the United Rubber Workers of America since its inception as an international union following two years of constant defeats for the workers under the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Not only did the rubber workers distinguish themselves by freeing the unions here from the stranglehold of William Green and his henchman at their convention but now they are leading a fight against the establishment of an eight-hour day and wage cuts. Non-union members are rapidly returning to the fold.

Sunday night a mass meeting with the young officials of the international union as speakers was attended by nearly 2,000 workers, the largest gathering since the fall of 1933 when the unions were just formed.

The futile "effort" of the Goodyear company union to fight against the 8-hour day under the pressure of the 12,000 workers in the two plants here has neatly exposed the lies built by Goodyear in the 20 years existence of this tool, and swung more workers into the bona-fide union.

Union Active

The United Rubber Workers' leaders took quick advantage of the exposure of the company union. A committee went to the Goodyear president and demanded a return to the six-hour day. Mass meetings were held. A picket line was established around the entrance of the Goodyear plants, urging the workers to rejoin the union.

The Union Buyers club held militant demonstrations at the factories pleading to all workers to join the union so that a real fight against the starvation policies of the rubber barons could be made. These facts indicate what the temper of the rubber workers has become as the rubber barons are trying to foist the cost of a price war upon the backs of the already underpaid workers.

Significant too is the open letter written by the independent union leaders who have been fighting the A. F. of L. since they were ousted for trying to form prematurely the international union. These leaders praised the United Rubber Workers of America and asked for re-admission into the ranks of the bona-fide union.

What has caused this seemingly sudden lift from the apathy of last spring after the betrayal by Claherty? What does the future hold for the rubber workers in view of the facts of today? These are questions in every progressive's mind which need an answer.

Struggle of Rubber Barons

We have already mentioned the valiant fight against Green and company. This gave self-autonomy and an opportunity for the rubber workers themselves to guide their union.

Then the inexorable laws of capitalism forced the rubber barons to try to save their profits, defeat their competition and fight for monopoly control of the industry which created the basis for the present upswing of labor.

To defeat competition Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and the others had to sell tires and other articles for lower prices. But they wanted to make profit so they naturally wanted to cut wages. That's why they introduced the eight-hour day under which a worker toils 40 hours a month more but receives only \$3 extra! In other words, he gets longer hours and a wage cut.

The workers began to fight against this move. At Goodyear the company union was meeting. It

claimed to be there to help the workers. That's why 150 workers jammed the meeting and asked for the return of the six-hour day.

But the move of the company union naturally failed. John House, Goodyear local president, told the workers at a mass meeting that "the company union will never bite the hand that feeds it. Join our bona-fide union and we'll really fight together against the rubber barons!"

Fight for Six-hour Day

The other union leaders took up the cry. Warned by the NEW MILITANT, the progressive and other unionists were prepared for the rubber barons. They used the slogans advocated in these columns: Fight for the Six-Hour Day! No Wage Cuts! No Discrimination in Lay-offs!

"Only through the United Rubber Workers of America can the workers fight against the attempt of the companies to lower the miserable standard of living!" This message has been patiently explained to workers at meeting after meeting. The utility of the company union moves has helped greatly in establishing this truth.

Boldly the leadership of the international is trying to meet the challenge of the rubber barons. Holding mass meetings; the picket lines; patiently teaching the facts to the workers; these are correct steps to rebuild the unions.

But there is much more that can be done and must be done if the challenge is to be met successfully. And the first thing is the necessity of realizing that the federal government, despite talk of Madame Perkins, won't do anything.

No Illusions in Boards

Remember, this same woman helped in the rubber betrayal this spring. Likewise, at best she will only appoint a fact-finding board. But the rubber workers know the facts. Smaller pay checks with more work speak for themselves.

No illusions must be tolerated regarding the role of the federal government. It has in the past, it does today, and it will tomorrow do all in its power to aid the rubber barons. For it is their government, not the workers'.

The workers must realize that the simple act of their joining the union will not mean that the companies will be frightened into returning the six-hour day. Quite to the contrary. The rubber barons will fight more strongly than ever against the workers.

What is necessary is to educate the workers into seeing that organization can mean something only if it has the correct program, not only of what they want, but how the workers can achieve it. How they can re-establish a six-hour day.

Capitalists have never given anything voluntarily. Only insofar as the rubber workers have strength to force their demands, by strike, if necessary, can they succeed in wresting back the wages and hours stolen from them by the companies.

Until this is permanently established in the workers' minds and they are convinced they must fight with this fundamental idea as their policy, the hard work of the union leaders will come to naught. The basis for the defeats by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats lay in their class-collaboration philosophy. They preached that the rubber barons and the workers were brothers. The latest company moves tears this falsehood apart. The lesson of this should not be forgotten.

The progressive platform of the United Rubber Workers, which recognizes this idea—class struggle—as embodied in the constitution, gives a good basis for winning back the rubber workers. Events favor the union too.

Continue the Battle

By starting a fight against the companies, the union leaders have aroused the workers who are rejoining the ranks. They are writing a good first chapter in the future history of the labor movement in rubber.

A continuation and intensification of the efforts, bringing more sharply into the progressive program adopted at the rubber workers' convention, will bring further success and stave off the drive of the companies.

The battle between the capitalists and the workers has begun more openly than ever before in the rubber industry. Final victory can come to the workers only when the present decaying system is buried in its grave and a socialist economy under the control of the workers lives in its place.

In this epoch of imperialism with nothing but war and further degradation of the workers' standards possible under capitalism, no illusions can be tolerated that security and peace will reign in the future. This can come only under a workers' government. These thoughts must prevail among the rubber workers if they are to fight correctly against the rubber barons. In them lies the only hope of victory!

LEFT JABS

By BILL

PRAYDA ON "MOTHER"

All the old, worn-out claptrap of bourgeois democracy finds a ready market in Moscow today. In an article that outdoes a 1927 Mother's Day speech by the president of the Florists' Association "Prayda" describes a visit of Stalin to his "dear old mother." Any hack who translates into Russian the song "Mother"—"M is for the million things she gave me"—is due for a sure fire success. . . .

"POPE'S COUSIN ONCE REMOVED"

The Daily Worker announces with justifiable pride that a "First Cousin (once removed) of the Pope" has come out in favor of the Stalinist Peaceful People's Peace Program and joined the League Against War and Fascism. The D. W. says that this "once removed cousin" is a real "religious Catholic." ("Real religious" to differentiate her from the ordinary Stalinist stooge type.) The cousin is all for Pope Pious but the "D. W." informs us that she has learned "that more than prayers are needed to preserve peace." "Organic Unity" of "Christ's Vicar" and "the Infallible Leader" is now on the order of the day. I suggest as the first article of the new creed: "I believe in the Holy Roman Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the life everlasting, the indivisibility of peace, and the infallibility of Stalin." "I knows it, Browder, I knows it, Browder, I knows it, Browder—our line's been changed again." . . .

CHAMPS

"Detroit Michigan, Oct. 21.—A leaflet issued by the Young Communist League here, calling for the support of Morris Sugar, labor's candidate for the Common Council, carries the picture of three champs—Joe Louis, Tommy Bridges and Morris Sugar." —Daily Worker, Oct. 22.—The Daily Worker should have added that the three champs were blindfolded, then copies of the "Mirror," the "News," and the "Daily Worker" were placed before their noses, all agreed that the Daily Worker smelled equally as strong as the other two. . . .

THE CHANGING LINE

"Jasper McLevy is a bosses' skate—our line's been changed again. Now we vote the S. P. slate—our line's been changed again." The Daily Worker of October 24 announces the withdrawal of all C.P. candidates in Bridgeport and the pledge of support "to Jasper McLevy and the entire S.P. slate."—"I knows it, Browder, etc." . . .

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"I will support all moves of the League of Nations or any individual nation for genuine peace"—O. G. Doonan, Communist candidate in East Edmonton as reported in the Canadian Worker.

Point 6 of the 21 conditions for admission to the Third International. "Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars." —But "the line's been changed again." Today, any C. P. member carrying out Point 6 is a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite" and is excluded from the C. P., while the spokesmen and press of the C. I. with Stalin at the head, are busy painting up that old prostitute-hag, the League of Nations as a blooming, peace-loving virgin.

Philadelphia Mass Meeting

on "WAR AND THE WORKERS"

Issues of monumental importance have arisen out of the present Fascist onslaughts on Ethiopia and the general preparations for new imperialist wars. Come and hear

JAMES P. CANNON

Editor New Militant

E. R. McKINNEY

Editor Mass Action

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The Danger of War and the Defense of the Soviet Union

New Version of Social Patriotism as Deadly as Old

Fourth Int'l Only Guardian of Workers Fatherland

By MAURICE SPECTOR

Theodore Dan of the Russian Social-Democratic Party bitterly resisted the Soviet seizure of power. Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party dragged the masses with poison of "constitutional" Marxism and confidently took Dollfus's word for it that the latter was not plotting a counter-revolutionary coup d'état. Jean Zyromski of the French Socialist Party lavishly scatters revolutionary phrases while supporting the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists. Having thus brilliantly acquitted themselves in the class struggles of their several countries, these worthies in a thesis on "Socialism and the War Danger" jointly rally to the defense of the Soviet Union.

The International, they declare, meaning the Second International, must free itself from "traditional opinions." It is common knowledge that the "traditional opinions" meant raising the sword of "revolution against war" in the security of peace-time and docilely capitulating to the military budgets on the declaration of war. In 1914, says Bauer, "the International could not decide in favor of either of the two coalitions which were both composed of capitalist and imperialist powers, and the Socialist parties accepted a policy of National Union with their respective governments." But the present danger of a war between two coalitions, one headed by Hitler Germany, the other including the Soviet Union, creates an entirely different situation. The amendments to the "traditional opinions" the thesis presents for the changed situation only prove that the more Bauerism changes, the more it remains the same, with this difference that in its pre-war manifestoes at least, the Second International never did come out in support of "National Union." In words at least, the pre-war pledges of the International threatened the imperialist war-mongers with a revolutionary crisis.

Defending the Soviet Union With Social Patriotism!

On their own candid admission, the motives impelling Bauer-Dan-Zyromski to flaunt their social-patriotic policy are the noblest, the most impeccable. "The interests of international socialism demand that German fascism shall be defeated. The interests of international socialism demand that the Soviet Union shall be victorious." How is all that to be effected? By a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and not against the war danger merely as some isolated phenomenon? By organizing the forces of the working class in the direction of the dictatorship of the proletariat? By registering the bankruptcy of the Second and Third

Internationals whose policies and leadership were impotent to stem the tide of fascism? Do Bauer and Company urge the British Labor Party to fight for a government to establish socialism and not administer capitalism or the Socialist-Leninist leadership of the People's Front to quit collaborating with Herriot-Laval and organize the workers' militia against the armed menace of La Roque?

Not at all. To appeal to the independent action of the masses was never the weakness of Bauer-Dan-Zyromski. As their signal achievements indicate, they are realists. To overthrow fascism, promising their recruiting services in advance, they invoke the powerful aid of the peaceful and democratic imperialist powers associated in the League. The Comité des Forges, Schneider-Creusot, and Winston Churchill, these will make the world safe for the Soviet Union! But if you think we are going too far, let us quote: "In fighting against war, international socialism must support the governments of those countries which, saturated by the results of the last war, want to preserve peace"—as the British Royal Air Force is preserving peace beyond the north-west frontier of India. "International socialism," they add, "must support the institution of the League of Nations. . . . In all countries allied with the Soviet Union, Socialists cannot and must not hinder the conduct of the war. They must appeal to the workers to do their duty as soldiers as well as in the war industry." Compelled by the obvious realities to admit that the League is an instrument of imperialism, that the good Democracies are based on subjection of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, that the regional pacts are modern military alliances, they nevertheless cling to their main thesis that imperialism in military alliance with the U.S.S.R. is still hallowed.

Essentially the Bauer thesis urging the alliance of the working class with the capitalist state allied with the U.S.S.R., is the now familiar and treasonable position of the Stalin-Laval communique. Both declarations of policy serve as the basis for "organic unity" of the Second and Third Internationals. Unless the masses can be organized to resist the social-patriotic sophistry of Stalin-Bauer, they will be involved in a ghastly repetition of August 1914. The most tragic illusion of all is that the defense of the Soviet Union requires the betrayal of the working class independence in countries allied with the U.S.S.R. The Stalin-Bauer policy invites the defeat of both the Soviet Union and the international working class.

The one reliable ally of the Soviet Union is the international working

class. But it is that ally that Stalin and Bauer with their social-patriotism are attempting to demoralize, systematically driving them into the camp of the rival imperialisms struggling for the redistribution of the world market. On this point there can be no doubt. The whole policy of the People's Front in France is directed to civil peace, class collaboration in preparation for the coming war. The support of the sanctions policy of the League of Nations involves the proletariat in support of the gov-

ernmental policies of the imperialist powers in the League. The Bauer thesis piously expresses the hope that the lessons of the last war "will inspire the working class of the world with the determined will to throw a new war . . . to overthrow the capitalist system." The Bauer position will do anything but that. The fruits of the Stalin-Laval pact are already tragically apparent. The former communist and revolutionary ideology in the ranks of the Comintern is being supplanted by the ideology of liberalism,

patriotism, and pacifism. The collaboration with the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" proclaimed by the Seventh Comintern Congress must inevitably sabotage any developing struggle for power, lest it undermine the military capacity of the bourgeois ally and appear to redound to Hitler's advantage. Once educated in the spirit of the "sacred union," it is not easy to make a right about face at anybody's command. Declaration of war will be followed by the suppression of all critical working class organization

and press. The General Staff will rule. Bauer's policy will never lead to the revolution; it can only lead to another Versailles or the complete collapse of civilization.

Our's Is the Policy of Lenin

To the social-patriotism of Bauer-Dan we oppose the only policy that can save the Soviet Union as a socialist state, the position of revolutionary defeatism in every capitalist country whether allied with the Soviet Union or not. Lenin advocated the defeat of Czarist Russia and the overthrow of the Kerensky Government regardless of the protestations and oburgations of patriotic socialists that defeat, revolution and a separate peace would betray the cause of Western Democracy and play into the hands of Prussian Militarism. Lenin and Trotsky were vociferously denounced as German agents. Their former slogan of "make the world safe for democracy"—the democracy represented by the imperialist Allies,—the socialist-patriots have now supplemented with the plea of the Defense of the Soviet Union. But this kind of "Defense" must lead exactly to the same results as their 1914 defense of Entente democracy or "socialism" on the part of the German government-socialists. Social-patriotism had done its work so thoroughly that despite the terrible slaughter of the war and the subsequent chaos, in the victorious and vanquished countries alike, the proletariat was unable to overthrow the guilty ruling classes. "The working class," Bauer-Dan write coolly, "were not able to overthrow capitalism when it was weakened by the World War; they are now threatened with the danger of having to go through the hell of a second World War." If that is the case, it is thanks principally to the social-patriotic and treacherous doctrine and leadership of Bauer and Company in the last war.

Logic of Stalinism Precluded

The whole course of events which culminated in the Stalin-Laval pact and now finds expression in the Bauer thesis accurately verifies the consistent contention of the Russian Opposition that for the U.S.S.R. the most serious of all questions in connection with the war danger was the inner regime. The ebb in the tide of the post-war revolutionary movement nurtured the soil of the nationally disposed bureaucracy. Stalinism rationalized its position in the familiar theory of socialism-in-a-single-country, which by implication dispensed with the necessity of a revolutionary Communist International, since socialist construction was independent of the "state aid of the Western proletariat." Accommodation with the "neutralized bourgeoisie" and maneuvering through the League of Nations realistically followed. To destroy

the Leninist Opposition it was necessary to crush the party. The anti-Marxist policies of the Stalinized Comintern contributed decisively to the accession of Hitler. The sequel of it all was the defensive measure of the Stalin-Laval communique which directs a mortal blow at the remnants of revolutionary policy of the Comintern. Every defeat of the Western working class has in turn resulted in the strengthening of the bureaucratic reaction, to the point where its most perfect expression is the personal dictatorship of Stalin. A new world war in which the workers would fail to achieve their independence of both the Soviet and the Comintern bureaucracy, in which they would continue to take part as an ally of the imperialist governments would spell doom to the Soviet Union as a workers' state.

The Two Roads

If the Stalin-Bauer policy leads to the calamitous repetition of August 1914, it criminally opens the door to the peril of imperialist intervention, not only from the direction of Hitler, but also from the "democratic" allies of the U.S.S.R. In the event of a protracted struggle and under the dictatorship of the most reactionary elements whom the imperialist war inevitably brings to the top, the "democratic" allies may turn openly fascist, concluding their own peace with their fellow-fascists at the expense of the Soviet Union. Even now, Laval's collaboration with the Soviet Union is sufficiently precarious and feeble for a rapprochement with Hitler have been extended more than once. But if the proletarian revolution does not destroy Western imperialism, the Soviet Union will be subjected to the terrific pressure of world reaction. This and the exhausting demands of modern military operations would confront the Soviet Union with the peril of an internal bourgeois-Bonapartist attack on its social basis. In these circumstances it is in the vital interests of the defense and preservation of the U.S.S.R. as a Workers' State (1) to build up the new revolutionary Fourth International independent of the diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy, and directing its energies to the transformation of the impending world imperialist war into a civil war for international socialism; (2) despite the perilous difficulties involved, to make every effort to renew the Bolshevik party of Lenin by the organization of the Soviet section of the Fourth International, pledged to the unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R. but in the interests of very defense to the unsparing criticism of everything in the war and diplomatic policy of the Stalin regime that is incompatible with revolutionary Marxism.

WHO FINANCES ITALY'S WAR?

How Big Business Provides Loans to Mussolini

(Reprinted from the British "New Leader," Organ of the I.L.P.)

Speculation has been very active in European capitals recently about the possible source of funds to keep the Italian war machine going. Will France furnish Italy the money to fight a war in Abyssinia? It is extremely improbable that the Laval government, pledged to economy and the security of the franc, will permit any loans. But there is another power in the French Republic from which Italy can obtain funds.

Observers have been wondering why certain French newspapers have shown such an exaggerated friendliness towards Italy. This friendliness cannot be entirely attributed to outright subsidizing of French journalists by the Italian government (it is common gossip that there have been large quantities of Italian money going around the Paris publishing world). A better explanation can be found in the enormous influence certain portions of French industry have on the press.

Loans to Industry

If the French banks, so the story goes, cannot lend directly to the Italian government, there is nothing to prevent them from offering loans to French industry. And the latter are in no way forbidden to assist Italian industry. It is a roundabout way, but, for that matter, no less effective.

This is how this reported scheme will work. French industries will invest their funds in Italian industry. The Italian government, which has a very thorough control over Italian industry, will convert those francs into lira and utilize them for the purchase of the raw materials, which Italy so sadly lacks, from foreign countries. It is very simple, and works just as well as a direct loan.

There have been some indications which support this story.

At the time of the Stresa Conference, a delegation of French bankers and industrialists, led by Ernest Mercier (one of the subsidizers of Colonel de la Rocque's Fascist Croix de Feu), were escorted on a tour through Italian industrial plants

under the guidance of Count Volpi, the great Italian capitalist who has profited heavily from his connections with the Fascist government. As a climax, this delegation was received in Stresa by the Duce himself.

Money from War

Late in July, the "Eco de Paris," a newspaper with Fascist sympathies, which has shown a marked friendliness to Italy, published an article signed by the editor on the state of Italian finances. The article painted a very rosy picture of Italian finances and industry. But there was one very significant sentence in it: "It is probable that Italy must sooner or later make a bid, under one form or another, for foreign credit." The "under one form or another" was obviously the Duke's bid, through his principal spokesman in the French press, for the sort of circuitous financing described above.

Whether the Laval government will allow such a deal to be made remains to be seen. But deal or no deal, there is little doubt that French industry stands to make money from war and preparation for war in Italy. For important French firms are closely connected already by investment in Italy.

M. Albert Galcier, for instance, M. Galcier is one of the directors of the great Italian trust Montecatini, whose chemical works profit from the sale of explosives. He is also director of Hauts Fourneaux, Forges et Aciéries de Denain et d'Anzin, affiliated with the Comité des Forges, and having as vice-president M. Léopold Pralan, vice-president of the Comité des Forges. This firm of Denain and Anzin make special steels for war vessels and other steel products for military purposes.

There is another director of Montecatini, M. Paul Ernest Picard, also director of the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, one of the great credit establishments in Paris. M. Picard is also a director of Forges et Chantiers de la Méditerranée, which makes armaments.

Explosives Pay

The lines run the other way, also—Italy into France. Montecatini

is interested in the subsidiaries of the great French chemical trust of Kuhlmann and in another French chemical firm, La Société des Phosphates Tunisiens et des Engrais et Produits Chimiques.

The French financial press, "Information," August 1, gives a brilliant picture of the place Montecatini holds in Italy, especially in war time:

"The explosives branch is prospering. Besides receiving the ordinary orders, it is a secret to no one that the present outlook of the exterior politics of Italy is provoking additional orders which are not confined only to explosives. It is certain that, under the present circumstances, Montecatini will find their importance increasing, especially since Montecatini tends, more and more, to satisfy all Italian industrial needs."

While the French business men are profiting from these war preparations, it is interesting to find the Germans are not absent either from the fertile field of Montecatini.

Germany's Part

The I. G. Farbenindustrie, the enormous German chemical trust, long ago leased patents to and acquired shares in the Italian trust. And now we find that, according to "Information," a banking group, at the head of which is the Dresdener Bank, Montecatini shares amounting to about 500 million lire, par value. Knowledge of this fact should throw light on the German attitude, which is undisguisedly hopeful for an Abyssinian war. Thus while German arms have been sold to the Abyssinians, German industry has been investing in the Italian munitions business.

And Britain? It is well known that Britain's export trade with Italy is larger than that of other countries. Even without this trade, there are British investments in Italy, prominent among which is the branch of the armaments firm of Vickers, called Vickers Termini.

Participation of British industry in the profits of war in Italy may provide one explanation why the "big business" press in London has been so friendly towards Italy.

Comrade Candide and Comrade Browder ... A Tragi-Comedy

Being the Story of an Honest Worker Who Fell into a Coma in the Twilight of the "Third Period"

By JOHN MARSHALL

Chapter I

THE story is told of an honest worker, who was a fraternal delegate to the 8th Convention of the Communist Party in April, 1934. For want of a better name, we shall call the comrade Candide. The high point of that convention, all must recall, was a programmatic speech by Earl Browder, which lasted six hours; its conclusion was, according to the Daily Worker, rapturously greeted by a prolonged ovation from the assembled delegates.

At the very moment Browder finished his report, Candide suddenly lapsed into utter unconsciousness. After several weeks at the hospital, the doctors diagnosed his case as sleeping sickness, and there he lay in a coma for over a year, kept alive by artificial feeding.

During that time tremendous changes came over the policies of the Comintern. The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations; Stalin-Laval concluded the Franco-Soviet pact, warning French communists not to actively oppose French imperialist military preparations. The "social-fascist" leaders of the Second International became brothers-in-arms. The C. P. discarded the "united front from below" and formed united fronts from above, forswearing in advance any criticism of their allies. The Social-Democratic policy of "the lesser evil" was taken up by the C. P. through the medium of the Popular Front. The dual Red trade unions, which had been declared parts of the capitalist state apparatus and even semi-fascist and company union in character, were dismantled

twice as fast as they had been created. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern gave official blessing to support of bourgeois democracy, both in peace and war.

Oblivious to all these mighty events, our hero slumbered on, until, on May Day of this year, he was unexpectedly aroused from his coma by the stirring strains of the Internationale from a workers' parade. His revolutionary spirit reawakened, Candide's body quickly followed, and he was soon on the road to recovery.

While convalescing, Candide began to read the Communist press with great eagerness, to review the progress made by the movement during his long sleep. He could hardly believe his eyes. Slogans in the Daily Worker: "For a Labor Party—Invoke Sanctions Against Fascist Italy—Support the League—Blockade the Suez Canal—United Front—Popular Front—Hurrah for John L. Lewis, etc., etc." He asked himself: Had illness affected his mind? Or was all this a monstrous deception perpetrated upon the revolutionary workers? Had the enemies of the C. P., the social-fascists or the Trotskyites, captured the Daily Worker? He piled the comrades who visited him with question after question without satisfaction. They kept assuring him that all this was the new official line. He could not believe them; they were merely trying to humor and soothe an invalid.

Browder's magnificent speech at the Eighth Convention still echoed in his ears; its compelling analysis of the world situation and its clear directives for the forthcoming period were still fresh in his memory. Candide could not rest until he had seen his beloved leader to find out from his lips the truth of the matter.

Chapter II

ONE day last week, restored to health, comrade Candide made his way to the ninth floor where Browder holds court. We have received a transcript of their conversation from our private agents, from which we extract the following:

Candide: "Comrade Browder, for four years I have been a loyal member of the party, the International Workers Order, the International Labor Defense, the Trade Union Unity League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the League Against War and Fascism, the United Front Supporters, the A. F. of L. Rank and File Committee for Unemployment Insurance, the Anti-Nazi Federation, Friends of the Workers School, Film and Photo League, the Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra, the Pierre Degeyter Society, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the Workers International Relief, and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. For the past year and a half through no fault of my own, I've been out of touch with party affairs. I've so many things to ask you about, I hardly know where to begin. But tell me, comrade, is it true that the Central Committee addressed a letter to the leaders of the Socialist Party here, asking for a united front?"

Browder: "Yes, we sent the first letter on June 25 last year, and we've been sending them at regular intervals ever since."

Candide: "But only two months before your letter at the Cleveland Convention I heard you say: 'Unity behind these gentlemen, Norman Thomas and the S.P. leaders, means surrender to the capitalist attacks. That is not the kind of unity the

workers need. We need a united front of the workers against the capitalists, and all their agents. But that means that unity must be built up, not with these leaders but against them. That means not a united front from the top, but a united front from below.' (p. 56.) To verify my recollections, I bought a copy of your speech the other day, and, sure enough, those were your very words."

Browder: "The world situation has changed since then, comrade, and we must adapt our tactics accordingly."

Candide: "But has the situation so radically changed in this country, or has the essential character of all these social-fascist leaders changed?"

Browder: "Dimitroff, the new leader of the Comintern, declared at the recent Congress: 'We must unite all democratic forces in the non-fascist countries in order to defend the remnants of bourgeois democracy.'"

Candide: "How can we unite with social-fascists, those cunning agents of fascism in the ranks of the working class, to fight fascism? Isn't the slogan of 'the defense of democracy' a social-fascist slogan, and a reliance on the democratic state in the struggle against fascism, the fatal policy of the 'lesser evil' that handed Germany over to Hitler? How well I remember your condemnation of these craven Socialists and the reformist trade union bureaucracy who hold back the workers from revolutionary struggle which alone can defeat and destroy fascism, and under the slogan of defense of democracy, and choosing the lesser evil, lead the workers to submit and support the intermediate steps to the introduction of fascism. That is why we call these leaders social-fascists, and their theories social-fascist. (p. 15.)

Candide: "I'm glad you brought up the united front in France. One of the conditions for the united front agreement there reads that both parties shall abstain from criticism of each other. But at Cleveland you said: 'In all united front

activities, the Communists must always grant the right to all other groups, and reserve the right for themselves, of mutual criticism.' (p. 72.) Why did the French Communist Party give up the right of criticism, and even agree to abandon all factional work in the trade unions?"

Browder: "It was necessary in order to attain unity and maintain it."

Candide: "But you went on to say: 'The Communists can never agree to be silent, to refrain from criticism, on any breaking of agreements for struggle, or any betrayal or desertion of the fight. Any such agreements would not be contributions to unity, but rather to disunity.' (p. 72.)"

Browder: "Our Socialist comrades are fighting side by side with us" and the Radical Socialists, against the fascists. There have been no betrayals, no desertions of the fight."

Candide: "But at Brest and Toulon, the sailors, who protested against the Laval-Herriot decrees, were killed and wounded. What did the Socialist leaders, what did we do about that? Could we stand silent when workers are shot down by French gendarmes, while Herriot sits at the same time in the Laval cabinet and the Popular Front?"

Browder: "You don't understand the cunning of the fascists, comrade. Those riots were the work of police provocateurs, of fascist agents, possibly of White Guard, Menshevik, counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. Blum and Cachin, the leaders of the united front, agreed on that. No, we have the most harmonious relations within the Popular Front, and as for the united workers' front, that has been going so well that we are even now negotiating to form a single party."

Candide: "Every day, comrade, and sometimes three and four times a day. Now I think I understand the reasons for all these things, and then again I'm not sure. There are so many innovations in the

Candide: "Unite in the same party with social-fascists? On what basis? A revolutionary program of struggle, the program of Marx and Lenin?"

Browder: "The time is not ripe for that. We will unite today on a program of struggle against war and fascism. We must overcome the sectarian tendencies in the party. That's why it's necessary, for example, to build a Labor Party here."

Candide: "But, comrade, how can you win the workers to a revolutionary program in this epoch, which Lenin called 'the epoch of wars and revolutions,' by uniting with reformists on a reformist program? Isn't it the worst form of right opportunism to hide the face of the party in that manner? You, yourself, said at the last convention that 'we must again emphasize . . . that . . . under no circumstances . . . (can we allow) . . . the abandonment of the independent role of the Communist Party. To push the Communist Party into the background, to allow it to be forgotten, is fatal to the success of a particular campaign, as well as endangering our future development. The tendency to bring forward workers' tickets in large industrial cities is generally wrong; it is a tendency to succumb to Farmer-Laborism.' (p. 69-70.) How can we withdraw our party candidates in favor of a joint labor or people's tickets, as we are doing today?"

Browder: "Don't you read the Daily Worker, which explains all these things?"

Candide: "Every day, comrade, and sometimes three and four times a day. Now I think I understand the reasons for all these things, and then again I'm not sure. There are so many innovations in the

(Continued on Page 6)

The Art of Insurrection

By LEON TROTSKY

(From Volume III of the History of the Russian Revolution by Leon Trotsky)

People do not make revolution eagerly any more than they do war. There is this difference, however, that in war compulsion plays the decisive role, in revolution there is no compulsion except that of circumstances. A revolution takes place only when there is no other way out. And the insurrection, which rises above a revolution like a peak in the mountain chain of its events, can no more be evoked at will than the revolution as a whole. The masses advance and retreat several times before they make up their minds to the final assault.

Conspiracy is ordinarily contrasted to insurrection as the deliberate undertaking of a minority to a spontaneous movement of the majority. And it is true that a victorious insurrection, which can only be the act of a class called to stand at the head of the nation, is widely separated both in method and historic significance from a governmental overturn accomplished by conspirators in concealment from the masses.

Conspiracy and Insurrection

In every class society there are enough contradictions so that a conspiracy can take root in its cracks. Historic experience proves, however, that a certain degree of social disease is necessary—as in Spain, for instance, or Portugal or South America—to supply continual nourishment for a regime of conspiracies. A pure conspiracy even when victorious can only replace one clique of the same ruling class by another—or still less, merely alter the governmental personages. Only mass insurrection has ever brought the victory of one social regime over another. Periodic conspiracies are commonly an expression of social stagnation and decay, but popular insurrections on the contrary come usually as a result of some swift growth which has broken down the old equilibrium of the nation. The chronic "revolutions" of the South American republics have nothing in common with the permanent revolution; they are in a sense the very opposite thing.

This does not mean, however, that popular insurrection and conspiracies are in all circumstances mutually exclusive. An element of conspiracy almost always enters to some degree into any insurrection. Being historically conditioned by a certain stage in the growth of a revolution, a mass insurrection is never purely spontaneous. Even when it flashes out unexpectedly to a majority of its own participants, it has been fertilized by those ideas in which the insurrectionaries see a way out of the difficulties of existence. But a mass insurrection can be foreseen and prepared. It can be organized in advance. In this case the conspiracy is subordinate to the insurrection, serves it, smooths its path, hastens its victory. The higher the political level of a revolutionary movement and the more serious its leadership, the greater will be the place occupied by conspiracy in a popular insurrection.

It is very necessary to understand the relations between insurrection and conspiracy, both as they oppose and as they supplement each other. It is especially so, because the very use of the word conspiracy, even in Marxian literature, contains a superficial contradiction due to the fact that it sometimes implies an independent undertaking initiated by the minority, at others a preparation by the minority of a majority insurrection.

The Role of Spontaneity in Social Crises

History testifies, to be sure, that in certain conditions a popular insurrection can be victorious even without a conspiracy. Arising "spontaneously" out of the universal indignation, the scattered protests, demonstrations, strikes, street fights, an insurrection can draw in part of the army, paralyze the forces of the enemy, and overthrow the old power. To a certain degree this is what happened in February 1917 in Russia. Approximately the same picture is presented by the development of the German and Austro-Hungarian revolutions of the Autumn of 1918. Since in these events there was no party at the head of the insurrectionaries imbued through and through with the interests and aims of the insurrection, its victory had inevitably to transfer the power to those parties which up to the last moment had been opposing it.

To overthrow the old power is one thing; to take the power in one's own hands is another. The bourgeoisie may win the power in a revolution not because it is revolutionary but because it is bourgeois. It has in its possession property, education, the press, a network of strategic positions, a hierarchy of institutions. Quite otherwise with the proletariat. De-

prived in the nature of things of all social advantages, an insurrectionary proletariat can count only on its numbers, its solidarity, its cadres, its official staff.

Just as a blacksmith cannot seize the red hot iron in his naked hands, so the proletariat cannot directly seize the power; it has to have an organization accommodated to this task. The coordination of the mass insurrection with the conspiracy, the subordination of the organization of the insurrection through the conspiracy, constitutes that complex and responsible department of revolutionary politics which Marx and Engels called "the art of insurrection." It presupposes a correct general leadership of the masses, a flexible orientation in changing conditions, a thought-out plan of attack, cautiousness in technical preparation, and a daring blow.

Limits of Spontaneous Insurrection

Historians and politicians usually give the name of spontaneous insurrection to a movement of the masses united by a common hostility against the old regime, but not having a clear aim, deliberate methods of struggle, or a leadership consciously showing the way to victory. This spontaneous insurrection is concedingly recognized by official historians—at least those of democratic temper—as a necessary evil, the responsibility for which falls on the old regime. The real reason for their attitude of indulgence is that "spontaneous" insurrection cannot transcend the framework of the bourgeois regime.

The social democrats take a similar position. They do not reject revolution at large as a social catastrophe, any more than they reject earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, eclipses and epidemics of the plague. What they do reject—calling it "Blanquism," or still worse, "Bolshevism"—is the conscious preparation of an overturn, the plan, the conspiracy. In other words, the social democrats are ready to sanction—and that only *ex post facto*—those overturns which hand the power to the bourgeoisie, but they implacably condemn those methods which might alone bring the power to the proletariat. Under this pretended objectivism they conceal a policy of defense of the capitalist society.

The Significance of "Blanquism"

From his observations and reflections upon the failure of the many insurrections he witnessed or took part in, August Blanqui derived a number of tactical rules which if violated will make the victory of any insurrection extremely difficult, if not impossible. Blanqui demanded these things: a timely creation of correct revolutionary detachments, their centralized command and adequate equipment, a well calculated placement of barricades, their definite construction, and a systematic, not a mere episodic, defense of them. All these rules, deriving from the military problems of the insurrection, must of course change with social conditions and military technique, but in themselves they are not by any means "Blanquism" in the sense that this word approaches the German "putschism," or revolutionary adventurism. Insurrection is an art, and like all arts has its laws. The rules of Blanqui were the demands of a military revolutionary realism. Blanqui's mistake lay not in his direct but his inverse theorem. From the fact that tactical weakness condemns an insurrection to defeat, Blanqui inferred that observance of the rules of insurrectionary tactics would itself guarantee the victory. Only from this point on is it legitimate to contrast Blanquism with Marxism. Conspiracy does not take the place of insurrection. An active minority of the proletariat, no matter how well organized, cannot seize the power regardless of the general conditions of the country. In this point history has condemned Blanquism. His affirmative theorem retains all its force. In order to conquer the power, the proletariat needs more than a spontaneous insurrection. It needs a suitable organization, it needs a plan; it needs a conspiracy. Such is the Leninist view of this question.

Engels on Barricade Fighting

Engels' criticism of the fetishism of the barricades was based upon the evolution of military technique and of technique in general. The insurrectionary tactic of Blanquism corresponded to the character of the old Paris, the semi-handicraft proletariat, the narrow streets and the military system of Louis Philippe. Blanqui's mistake in principle was to identify revolution with insurrection. His technical mistake was to identify insurrection with the barricade. The Marxian crit-

cism has been directed against both mistakes. Although at one with Blanquism in regarding insurrection as an art, Engels discovered not only the subordinate place occupied by insurrection in a revolution, but also the declining role of the barricade in an insurrection. Engels' criticism had nothing in common with a renunciation of the revolutionary method in favor of pure parliamentarism, as the philistines of the German social democracy, in cooperation with the Hohenzollern censorship, attempted in their day to pretend. For Engels the question about barricades remained a question about one of the technical elements of an uprising. The reformists have attempted to infer from his rejection of the decisive importance of the barricade a rejection of revolutionary violence in general. That is about the same as to infer the destruction of militarism from considerations of the probable decline in importance of trenches in future warfare.

The organization means by which the proletariat can both overthrow the old power and replace it, is the soviets. This afterwards became a matter of historic experience, but was up to the October revolution a theoretical prognosis—resting, to be sure, upon the preliminary experience of 1905. The soviets are organs of preparations of the masses for insurrection, organs of insurrection, and after the victory organs of government.

However, the soviets by themselves do not settle the question. They may serve different goals according to the program and leadership. The soviets receive their program from the party. Whereas the soviets in revolutionary conditions—and apart from revolution they are impossible—comprise the whole class with the exception of its altogether backward, inert or demoralized strata, the revolutionary party represents the brain of the class. The problem of conquer-

ing the power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with soviets—or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets.

popular masses and the progressive class, between the proletariat and its vanguard, between the soviets and the party, between insurrection and conspiracy. But if it is true that an insurrection cannot be evoked at will, and that nevertheless in order to win it must be organized in advance, then the revolutionary leaders are presented with a task of correct diagnosis. They must feel out the growing insurrection in good season and supplement it with a conspiracy. The interference of the midwife in labor pains—however this image may have been abused—remains the clearest illustration of this conscious intrusion into an elementary process. Herzen once accused his friend Bakunin of invariably in all his revolutionary enterprises taking the second month of pregnancy for the ninth. Herzen himself was rather inclined to deny even in the ninth that pregnancy existed. In February the question of determining the date of birth hardly arose at all, since the insurrection flared up unexpectedly without centralized leadership. But exactly for this reason the power did not go to those who had accomplished the insurrection, but to those who had applied the brakes. It was quite otherwise with the second insurrection. This was consciously prepared by the Bolshevik party. The problem of correctly seizing the moment to give the signal for the attack was thus laid upon the Bolshevik staff.

When Is the Time Ripe for the Action

Moment here is not to be taken too literally as meaning a definite day and hour. Physical births also present a considerable period of uncertainty—their limits interesting not only to the art of the midwife, but also to the casuists of the surrogate court. Between the moment when an attempt to summon

development of the nation. A revolution becomes possible, however, only in case the society contains a new class capable of taking the lead in solving the problems presented by history. The process of preparing a revolution consists of making the objective problems involved in the contradictions of industry and of classes find their way into the consciousness of living human masses, change this consciousness and create new correlations of human forces.

The ruling classes, as a result of their practically manifested incapacity to get the country out of its blind alley, lose faith in themselves; the old parties fall to pieces; a bitter struggle of groups and cliques prevails; hopes are placed in miracles or miracle workers. All this constitutes one of the political premises of a revolution, a very important although a passive one.

A bitter hostility to the existing order and a readiness to venture upon the most heroic efforts and sacrifices in order to bring the country out upon an upward road—this is the new political consciousness of the revolutionary class, and constitutes the most important active premise of a revolution.

These two fundamental camps, however—the big property holders and the proletariat—do not exhaust the population of a country. Between them lie broad layers of the petty bourgeoisie, showing all the colors of the economic and political rainbow. The discontent of these intermediate layers, their disappointment with the policy of the ruling class, their impatience and indignation, their readiness to support a bold revolutionary initiative on the part of the proletariat, constitutes the third political premise of a revolution. It is partly passive—in that it neutralizes the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie—but partly also active, for it impels the lower strata directly into the struggle side by side with the workers.

Falsity of Menshevik Conceptions

But the falsity of this Menshevik conception appears also from a national point of view. From the standpoint of economic abstraction, it is indeed possible to affirm that capitalism in Russia has not exhausted its possibilities. But economic processes do not take place in the ether, but in a concrete historical medium. Capitalism is not an abstraction, but a living system of class relations requiring above all things a state power. That the monarchy, under whose protection Russian capitalism developed, had exhausted its possibilities is not denied even by the Mensheviks. The February revolution tried to build up an intermediate state regime. We have followed its history: in the course of eight months it exhausted itself completely. What sort of state order could in these conditions guarantee the further development of Russian capitalism?

"The bourgeois republic, defended only by socialists of moderate tendencies, finding no longer any support in the masses . . . could not maintain itself. Its whole essence had evaporated. There remained only an external shell." This accurate definition belongs to Miliukov. The fate of this evaporated system was necessarily, according to his words, the same as that of the Czarist monarchy: "Both prepared the ground for a revolution, and on the day of the revolution neither could find a single defender."

Kornilov or Lenin -- No Other Road

As early as July and August Miliukov characterized the situation by presenting a choice between two names: Kornilov or Lenin? But Kornilov had now made his experiment and it had ended in a miserable failure. For the regime of Kerensky there was certainly no place left. With all the varieties of mood, says Sukhanov, "the one thing upon which all united was hate for the Kerensky regime." Just as the Czarist monarchy had toward the end become impossible in the eyes of the nobility or grand dukes, so the government of Kerensky became odious even to the direct inspirers of his regime, the "grand dukes" of the compromiser upper crust. In this universal dissatisfaction, this sharp political nerve-tension of all classes, we have one of the symptoms of a ripe revolutionary situation. In the same way every muscle, nerve and fiber of an organism is intolerably tense just before an abcess bursts. The resolution of the July congress of the Bolsheviks, while warning the workers against premature encounters, had at the same time pointed out that the battle must be joined "whenever the general national crisis and the deep mass enthusiasm have created conditions favorable to the going over of the poor people of the city and country to the side of the workers." That moment arrived in September and October.

The insurrection was thenceforth able to believe in its success, for it

could rely upon a genuine majority of the people. This, of course, is not to be understood in a formal sense. If a referendum could have been taken on the question of the insurrection, it would have given extremely contradictory and uncertain results. And a readiness to support the revolution is far from identical with an ability clearly to formulate the necessity for it. Moreover, the answer would have depended to a vast degree upon the manner in which the question was presented, the institutions which conducted the referendum—or, to put it more simply, the class which held the power.

The Limits of Democratic Methods

There is a limit to the application of democratic methods. You can inquire of all the passengers as to what type of car they like to ride in, but it is impossible to question them as to whether to apply the brakes when the train is at full speed and accident threatens. If the saving operation is carried out skillfully however, and in time, the approval of the passengers is guaranteed in advance.

Parliamentary consultations of the people are carried out at a single moment, whereas during a revolution the different layers of the population arrive at the same conclusion one after another and with inevitable, though sometimes very slight intervals. At the moment when the advanced detachment is burning with revolutionary impatience, the backward layers have only begun to move. In Petrograd and Moscow all the mass organizations were under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. In the Tambov province, which has over three million population—that is, a little less than both capitals put together—a Bolshevik faction first appeared in the Soviet only a short time before the October revolution.

The syllogisms of the objective development are far from coinciding—day by day—with the syllogisms of the thought process of the masses. And when a great practical decision becomes unpostponable, in the course of events, that is the very moment when a referendum is impossible. The difference in level and mood of the different layers of the people is overcome in action. The advance layers bring after them the wavering and isolate the opposing. The majority is not counted up, but won over. Insurrection comes into being at exactly that moment when direct action alone offers a way out of the contradictions.

Although lacking the power to draw by themselves the necessary political inferences from their war against the landlords, the peasants had by the very fact of the agrarian insurrection already adhered to the insurrection of the cities, had evoked it and were demanding it. They expressed their will not with the white ballot, but with the red cock—a more serious referendum. Within those limits in which the support of the peasantry was necessary for the establishment of a soviet dictatorship, the support was already in hand. "The dictatorship"—as Lenin answered the doubters—"would give land to the peasants and all power to the peasant committees in the localities. How can you in your right mind doubt that the peasants would support that dictatorship?" In order that the soldiers, peasants and oppressed nationalities, floundering in the snowstorm of an elective ballot should recognize the Bolsheviks in action, it was necessary that the Bolsheviks seize the power.

Lenin on Dynamics of the Majority

But what correlation of forces was necessary in order that the proletariat should seize the power? "To have at the decisive moment, at the decisive point, an overwhelming superiority of force," wrote Lenin later, interpreting the October revolution. ". . . this law of military success is also the law of political success, especially in that seething and bitter war of classes which is called revolution. The soviets, or generally speaking the biggest centers of trade and industry . . . decide to a considerable degree the political fate of the people—that is, of course, on condition that the centers are supported by sufficient local rural forces, although this support need not be immediate." It was in this dynamic sense that Lenin spoke of the majority of the people, and that was the sole real meaning of the concept of majority.

The enemy democrats comforted themselves with the thought that the people following the Bolsheviks were mere raw material, mere historic clay. The potters were still to be these same democrats acting in cooperation with the educated bourgeoisie. "Can't these people see," asked a Menshevik paper, "that the Petrograd proletariat and garrison were never before so isolated from all other social strata?" The misfortune of the proletariat

(Continued on Page 5)



Leon Trotsky in exile on the island of Prinkipo.

ing the power can be solved only by a definite combination of party with soviets—or with other mass organizations more or less equivalent to soviets.

The Importance of The Soviets

When headed by a revolutionary party the soviet consciously and in good season strives towards a conquest of power. Accommodating itself to changes in the political situation and the mood of the masses, it gets ready the military basis of the insurrection, unites the shock troops upon a single scheme of action, works out a plan for the offensive and for the final assault. And this means bringing organized conspiracy into mass insurrection.

The Bolsheviks were compelled more than once, and long before the October revolution, to refute accusations of conspiratism and Blanquism directed against them by their enemies. Moreover, nobody waged a more implacable struggle against the system of pure conspiratism than Lenin. The opportunists of the international social democracy more than once defended the old Social Revolutionary tactic of individual terror directed against the agents of Czarism, when this tactic was ruthlessly criticized by the Bolsheviks with their insistence upon mass insurrection as opposed to the individual adventurism of the intelligentsia. But in refuting all varieties of Blanquism and anarchism, Lenin did not for a moment bow down to any "sacred" spontaneity of the masses. He thought out before anybody else, and more deeply, the correlation between the objective and subjective factors in a revolution, between the spontaneous movement and the policy of the party, between the

an insurrection must inevitably prove premature and lead to a revolutionary miscarriage, and the moment when a favorable situation must be considered, hopelessly missed, there exists a certain period—it may be measured in weeks, and sometimes in a few months—in the course of which an insurrection may be carried out with more or less chance of success. To discriminate this comparatively short period and then choose the definite moment—now in the more accurate sense of the very day and hour—for the last blow, constitutes the most responsible task of the revolutionary leaders. It can with full justice be called the key problem, for it unites the policy of revolution with the technique of insurrection—and it is needless to add that insurrection, like war, is a continuation of politics with other instruments.

Intuition and experience are necessary for revolutionary leadership, just as for all other kinds of creative activity. But much more than that is needed. The art of the magician can also successfully rely upon intuition and experience. Political magic is adequate, however, only for epochs and periods in which routine predominates. An epoch of mighty historic upheavals has no use for witch-doctors. Here experience, even illumined by intuition, is not enough. Here you must have a synthetic doctrine comprehending the interactions of the chief historic forces. Here you must have a materialistic method permitting you to discover, behind the moving shadows of program and slogan, the actual movement of social bodies.

The fundamental premise of a revolution is that the existing social structure has become incapable of solving the urgent problems of development of the nation. A revolution becomes possible, however, only in case the society contains a new class capable of taking the lead in solving the problems presented by history. The process of preparing a revolution consists of making the objective problems involved in the contradictions of industry and of classes find their way into the consciousness of living human masses, change this consciousness and create new correlations of human forces.

Conditions Coincide for Victory in Russia

Notwithstanding the number of great social and political crises, a coincidence of all the conditions necessary to a victorious and stable proletarian revolution has so far occurred but once in history: in

above it a far-sighted, firm and confident leadership. This brings us to the last premise—by no means the last in importance—of the conquest of power: the revolutionary party as a tightly welded and tempered vanguard of the class.

Thanks to a favorable combination of historic conditions, both domestic and international, the Russian proletariat was headed by a party of extraordinary political clarity and unexampled revolutionary temper. Only this permitted that small and young class to carry out a historic task of unprecedented proportions. It is indeed the general testimony of history—the Paris Commune, the German and Austrian revolutions of 1918, the soviet revolutions in Hungary and Bavaria, the Italian revolution of 1919, the German crisis of 1923, the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, the Spanish revolution of 1931—that up to now the weakest link in the chain of necessary conditions has been the party. The hardest thing of all is for the working class to create a revolutionary organization capable of rising to the height of its historic task. In the older and more civilized countries powerful forces worked toward the weakening and demoralization of the revolutionary vanguard. An important constituent part of this work is the struggle of the social democrats against "Blanquism" by which name they designate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

Conditions Coincide for Victory in Russia

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November 7th, 1917

Victor Serge's Account of the Seizure of Power

THE AUTHOR

Victor Serge (Victor Kibalchitsch) was born in Brussels December 30, 1890. His parents were exiled Russian revolutionists. He was active in the movement at the age of fifteen as an anarchist. He was arrested in France in connection with the Bonnet case and was condemned to five years, which he served because he refused to denounce his comrades.

Freed in 1917 he went to Spain. As a printer in Barcelona he participated in an abortive insurrection. When the news of the October Revolution came he tried to reach Russia. He was arrested and interned in the Sarthe concentration camp in France. He was exchanged together with some Russians for officers of the French military mission in Russia. He travelled in the company of Rousakov, whose daughter Liuba, he later married.

He joined the Third International and was given the direction of the French language bureau, and later of the "International Correspondence." He took part in the revolutionary struggle in Russia (during the defense of Petrograd from the Yudenich offensive), and as a journalist, in the Austrian and German revolutions.

But he also took part in the faction struggles inside the party. In the latter part of 1927 he was expelled from the party and spent six weeks in prison.

Deprived henceforth of political activity, he lived by doing hack work (translations, etc.) which he was still able to procure, and devoted himself to his own literary and historical works: *The Year 1 of the Russian Revolution, Men in Prison, Birth of Our Power, Literature and Revolution, The Conquered City*, etc.

At the same time he tried to get permission to leave Russia. He received no answer, or at best equivocal answers for years, and finally a blank refusal. His friends in France made efforts in the same direction (letters to soviet authorities, visits to the ambassadors; only in the last few weeks (1933) did they have recourse to the press as a last measure) with no more success. The Committee which has taken up his cause includes such artists and writers as Paul Signac, Leon Werth, Georges Duhamel, Firmin Gémier, Victor Margueritte, Magdeleine Paz, Luc Durtain, Henry Poulaille, Charles Villard, etc. It has offered to stand all the expenses of repatriating Serge and his family.

On March 8, 1932, Serge was arrested and imprisoned once more. At the end of June he was exiled to Orenburg by executive order—renewable at will, and the same measure to be cancelled at will—from the G.P.U.

He is still in exile. The article printed here is a chapter translated from his best work: *"The Year One of the Russian Revolution."*

On the Eve of Battle

The conflict between the two powers—the Provisional Government headed by Kerenski, and the Soviet—entered a sharper phase in Petersburg after October 16, when the Military Revolutionary Committee was formed. The Committee was headed by Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoiski, and Chudnovski. The Petersburg garrison had come over to the Bolsheviks. The government, citing the danger of a German offensive, tried to send the revolutionary regiments off to the front. The M.R.C. was equipped with liaison, information, and armaments departments. It began by appointing commissaries in every unit of the troops. The bourgeoisie was alarmed—but the appointment of commissaries at the armories put a stop to that. The delegates of the M.R.C. were welcomed by the troops who knew the Committee was opposed to the order sending them to the front. The M.R.C. simply refused to countersign the order. A refusal they were careful enough to explain as giving the Committee time to examine the question. . . . The M.R.C. assumed general power over the troops, and ended by ordering them not to pay any attention to the regular general staff. From then on the insurrection was, so to speak, latent. Two powers measured each other and two military authorities, the one insurrectional, deliberately cancelled each other's orders.

The Second All Russian Congress of Soviets was to meet in Petersburg on October 15. The Mensheviks managed to postpone the meeting until the 25th (Nov. 7, New Style), thus obtaining ten days grace for the bourgeois provisional government. No one doubted but that the congress, where the Bolsheviks were certain of a majority, would vote for the seizure of power. "You are setting the date of the revolution," said the Mensheviks to the Bolsheviks. In order that the foregone decision of the congress might be something more than a platonic expression of opinion it was necessary to support it by force of arms. As to the date for the insurrection two points of view were manifest; Trotsky wanted to tie up with the congress, believing that an independent insurrection of the party would have less chance of carrying along the masses; Lenin thought it "criminal" to temporize until the congress, fearing that the Provisional Government would forestall the insurrection by a vigorous offensive. Events failed to justify his fear, which was nonetheless legitimate. The enemy proved to be completely demoralized. In our opinion two perfectly correct conceptions, based on different considerations came into conflict on this point. The one strategic, based on the necessity for tying up the action of the party with an immediate demand intelligible to the widest masses ("All power to the Soviets"), certainly a condition for success; the other based on a general line, to eliminate every illusion of the possibility of proletarian power before the insurrection. Once this possibility is admitted in theory, why not admit the possibility of power without insurrection? That road could lead far. Since 1906 Lenin had attacked

the tendency to "Gloss over or forget the insurrection in considering the organization of revolutionary power. . . ." His realistic position might be expressed thus: Conquer first. Lenin wished the insurrection to forestall the congress; faced with a fait accompli the congress could not but sanction it. He urged his point of view in a personal conference with the organizers of the insurrection. He was passionately concerned with the details of the preparation, and would not consent to defer the offensive at any price. Nevski and Podvoiski tried vainly to convince him that a few extra days of preparation would only increase the chances of victory. "The enemy will also profit by delay," he replied obstinately. Antonov-Ovseenko has left a striking account of an interview with Lenin, which occurred a few days before the battle, in a house in the workers' quarter of Vyborg. Lenin, hunted by Kerenski's police, Lenin, who in case of capture would probably have been killed by a "stray" bullet, came in in disguise. "We found ourselves in the presence of a little old graybeard wearing a pince nez, wearing it well enough, rather debonaire in fact; a musician, a teacher, or a librarian one would have thought. He took off his wig and revealed his usual humorous expression; 'What news?' He was full of assurance. He inquired the possibility of calling the fleet to Petersburg. In reply to the objection that this would leave the coast unprotected he said curtly: 'The sailors must know that the revolution is in greater danger in Petersburg than on the Baltic.'"

Situated in the center of the city on the little island in the Neva River, the fortress of Peter and Paul was a source of worry to the M.R.C. Its guns commanded the Winter Palace; there were 100,000 rifles in its armory. Its garrison appeared to be faithful to the Provisional Government. Trotsky proposed to capture this citadel from the interior—by a meeting. He succeeded (with Lashevitch). October 22 was the day of the Petersburg Soviet; it was the day of the plebiscite, so to speak, of the insurrection. It often happens that events of great importance rise from apparently unimportant immediate causes; for the latter is in reality nothing but the last link in a whole chain of causes. The Central Executive, including the treasury of the Soviet, was still in the hands of the pacifist socialists. The Soviet needed a newspaper. It was decided to hold a number of large meetings on the 22nd to raise funds for that purpose. The bourgeois press, frightened by the mobilization, announced that it was an uprising. Kerenski gave out fine sounding statements, but they were nothing but sound. "All Russia is with us; we have nothing to fear." And he threatened "the elements, the groups, the parties who dare attack the liberty of the Russian people, who risk opening the front to Germany, who will end by completely liquidating the revolution." A regular Galifret! But his threats were vain; he was too late. The 22nd saw a formidable mobilization of the masses. Every hall was filled. At the Peoples House (Nar-

odni Dom) thousands filled the auditorium, the galleries, the corridors; in the great hall clusters of human beings hung shakily to the steel framework of the building. . . . John Reed was there; his notes on this meeting, where Trotsky roused the crowd, deserve repetition: "The people around me appeared to be in ecstasy. It seemed that they were about to burst forth spontaneously in a religious hymn. Trotsky read a resolution to the general effect that they were ready to fight for the workers and peasants to the last drop of their blood. . . . Who is in favor of the resolution? The innumerable crowd raised its hand as a single man. I saw the burning

eyes of men, women, adolescents, workers, soldiers, mujiks. . . . Trotsky went on. The hands remained raised. Trotsky said, 'Let this vote be your oath. You swear to give all your strength, not to hesitate before any sacrifice, to support the Soviet which undertakes to win the revolution and give you land, bread, and peace.' The hands remained raised. The crowd approved; they took the oath. . . . And the same scene was repeated all over Petersburg. The last preparations were made everywhere; everywhere they swore the last oath; thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of men. It was the insurrection."

Kronstadt and the Fleet

On the morning of the 25th the revolutionary forces of Kronstadt received orders to prepare to defend the Soviet Congress (for the offensive was launched under the formal cover of defense). Let us pause for a moment on the preparations at Kronstadt, of which one of the participants (I. Flerovski) has left an excellent account. The rational element, the element of coordination, the perfect organization of the insurrection as a military operation according to the rules of war, there appears most clearly; and the contrast with the spontaneous, badly organized movements so numerous in the history of the proletariat is striking. "Preparations for the march on Petrograd were carried on during the night. . . . The Navy Club was jammed with soldiers, sailors, and workers, all under arms, all ready for action. . . . The revolutionary general staff followed the plan of operations exactly, designated the various units and sections, made inventory of supplies and ammunition, assigned the different leaders. The night passed in feverish work. The following boats were ordered to support the operation: the torpedo boat minelayer *Amour*, the old cruiser *Dawn of Liberty* (formerly *Alexander III*), the monitor *Vautour*. The *Amour* and *Vautour* were to disembark troops in Petrograd. The cruiser was to take up a station at the entrance of the maritime canal, commanding the coastal railroad with its cannon. A feverish but silent activity went on in the streets. Army and Navy detachments marched toward the port. Only the serious, concentrated faces of the first ranks were to be seen by the light of torches. Neither laughter nor talk; only the martial tread of marching men, sharp commands,

and groaning passage of trucks interrupted the silence. In the port the boats were hastily boarded. The detachments drawn up on the docks waited patiently for their turn to embark. Is it possible, I thought in spite of myself, that these can be the last moments before the Great Revolution? Everything went off with such simplicity and order that one could believe that nothing more was at stake than some everyday military maneuver. How little this resembled the revolutionary scenes that one remembers from history. . . . 'This revolution,' my companion said, 'is going off well.'"

This revolution went off in swell proletarian style—with organization. That is why it conquered in Petrograd, so easily and completely. Let us borrow another significant scene from these memories. On board one of the boats headed for the insurrection; the delegate of the revolutionary general staff enters the officers mess. "Here the atmosphere is different. They are worried, careworn, puzzled. As I enter and salute the officers rise. They listen to my short explanation while standing. I give the order: 'We are going to overthrow the Provisional Government by force. Power will pass to the Soviets. We do not count on your sympathy; we don't need it. But we urge you to remain at your posts, filling your duties punctually and obeying our orders. We shall spare you superfluous trials. That is all.'—'We understand, the captain replies. The officers file out to their posts; the captain mounts the bridge.'"

A numerous fleet came to the aid of the proletariat and the garrison. The cruisers *Aurora*, *Oleg*, *Novik*, *Zabika*, *Samson*, two torpedo boats and several other vessels steamed up the Neva.

The Capture of the Winter Palace

Three comrades, Podvoiski, Antonov-Ovseenko, Lashevitch, had been entrusted with organizing the capture of the Winter Palace. Schudnovski, a Bolshevik from the earliest days, who was soon to die in the Ukraine, worked with them. The former imperial residence is situated in the center of the city on the banks of the Neva. It faces Peter and Paul fortress which lies across the river at a distance of five hundred yards. To the south the palace looks out on a vast paved square which contains the Column of Alexander I. Across this square in a semi-circle are the former army and foreign affairs buildings. In 1879 the revolver shots of the student Alexander II fled, doubled over, pale with fright, echoed among these buildings. In 1871 the explosion of a dynamite charge set by the carpenter Stephen Kalitourine under the imperial apartments, blasted through the square. Here on January 22, 1905, troops opened fire on the crowd of the hymn sung by workers come to petition their "Little Father Tsar." There were fifty deaths and more than a thousand wounded—the autocracy met fatally of all, by its own bullets.

On the morning of the 25th of October Bolshevik regiments acting in concert with the Red Guard, began to encircle the Palace, now the seat of Kerenski's ministry. The attack was planned for nine o'clock in the evening, although Lenin, ever impatient, urged them to attack sooner. While a wall of steel gradually surrounded the Palace, the Congress of Soviets met at Smolny,

a former school for daughters of the nobility. Still hunted by the police a few hours before he was to become the leader of the first workers' state, still in disguise, Lenin strode up and down a small room in the building. Of each new arrival he asked, "The Palace? Not yet taken?" His anger against temporizers mounted hourly. He threatened Podvoiski, "We must shoot him, we must shoot him." The soldiers grouped around bonfires in the streets near the palace were equally impatient. "The Bolsheviks are turning diplomat too," they muttered. Once more Lenin's view, in a minor detail, was that of the masses. Podvoiski, sure of victory, deferred the attack. Agitated demoralized the already doomed enemy. Every drop of revolutionary blood, now easily spared, was precious.

The first summons to surrender was sent in to the ministers at six o'clock; at eight o'clock another ultimatum; Bolshevik orators harangued the defenders. A crack battalion came over to the Bolsheviks; welcomed by a tremendous hurrah as they crossed the square. The women's battalion surrendered a few moments later. The terrified ministers, left alone in the vast palace without lights, guarded by a handful of military cadets, still hesitated to surrender. Kerenski had run out on them, promising to return at the head of a detachment of faithful troops. They expected to be torn to pieces by an infuriated mob. The cannon of the *Aurora*—firing blank cartridges—finally demoralized the defenders. The at-



A reproduction of the mural made by Diego Rivera for the International Workers School.

tack met only feeble resistance. Grenades exploded on the great marble staircases, there was hand to hand fighting in the corridors. In the shadows of a great anti-chamber a single file of cadets crossed bayonets before a pannelled door. It was the last rampart of the last bourgeois government of Russia. Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoiski, and Tchudnovski pushed past the motionless bayonets. "I am with you," one of the youths whispered. Inside was the Provisional Government; thirteen pitiful, shaking ministers, thirteen fear-strained faces hidden in the shadow. As they went out of the Palace surrounded by Red Guards, a cry for their death went up. The soldiers

and sailors had slight desire to see a massacre. The Red Guard kept them close. "Don't soil the victory of the proletariat with excesses." Kerenski's ministers were sent off to Peter and Paul Fortress, the former Bastille through which so many Russian heroes had passed. There they joined the last ministers of the Tsar. That was all. In the neighboring sections of the city traffic had not even been interrupted. On the wharfs sight-seers looked on quietly. A detail of organization: in order that momentary successes of the enemy might not interfere with their work the military leaders of the insurrection had prepared two reserve headquarters.

The Congress of the Soviets

While the reds surround the Winter Palace the Petrograd Soviet meets. Lenin comes out of hiding. Lenin and Trotsky announce the seizure of power. The Soviets are going to offer a democratic peace to all belligerent powers; secret treaties will be published. Lenin's first words emphasize the importance of the bond between the peasants and the workers, which is yet unsealed:

"In Russia the immense majority of the peasantry has said: 'Enough of this game with the capitalists, we shall march with the workers.' A single decree abolishing the landowners' estates will gain us the confidence of the peasantry. They will understand that their salvation is with the workers. We shall set up workers control of industry. . . ."

The All Russian Congress of Soviets does not open until evening in the great white ball room at Smolny, illuminated by enormous chandeliers. Five hundred and sixty-two delegates are present; three hundred and eighty-two Bolsheviks, thirty-one non-party sympathizers with the Bolsheviks, seventy Left Social Revolutionaries, thirty-six center right Social Revolutionaries, three nationalist Social Revolutionaries, fifteen United International-

ist Social Democrats, twenty-one Menshevik partisans of national defense, seven Social Democrats from various national organizations, five anarchists. The room is crowded and feverish. The Menshevik Dan opens the congress in the name of the former All Russian Executive; cannon thunder on the Neva as the officers are elected. The resistance of the Winter Palace drags on. Kamenev, "dressed in his best and in a holiday mood," replace Dan as president. He proposes a three point agenda: "Organization of Power; War and Peace; The Constituent Assembly." The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries take the floor first. For the former Martov, their most gifted and intelligent leader, whose physical sickness seems, in spite of his great personal courage, to be sickness of the idea he serves, "Martov, planted as usual with his hand on his hip, pale, trembling and queerly twisted, shaking his ruffled hair, urges a peaceful solution of the conflict." A little later! Mistslavski takes the floor for the Left Social Revolutionaries. His party mistrusted the Provisional Government and was favorable to the seizure of power by the Soviets, but had refused to join in the insurrection. He speaks in nuances. All power to the Soviets, certainly! All the more so since they have already seized power. But

all military operations must be immediately stopped. How can anybody think in the middle of a cannonade? To which Trotsky replies, "Who is embarrassed by the sound of cannon? To the contrary, we shall work all the better."

The cannon glare in the windows. A sailor from the cruiser *Aurora* appears in the hall to reply to the Mensheviks and the right Social Revolutionaries who are denouncing "this crime against Country and Revolution." "A bronzed figure he was," Mistslavski relates, "his gestures were curt, his words cut through the air like a knife. Stocky and strong, he mounted the platform, his hairy chest showing beneath the high collared shirt that curved gracefully about his shaggy head. The hall crackled with excitement. . . . The Winter Palace is finished," he said, "the *Aurora* is firing at point blank range." "Oh," groans the Menshevik Abramovitch, on his feet, distracted and wringing his hands, "Oh!" The man from the *Aurora* responds to this cry with a graceful gesture of magnanimity and consoles him in a loud whisper that trembles with suppressed laughter, "They are shooting blank cartridges. No harm must come to the ministers and the woman's battalion." A turmoil ensues. The national devisorist Mensheviks and the right Social Revolutionaries, sixty delegates altogether, go out. "To die with the Provisional Government." They don't get far; they straggling cortege found the streets barred by the Red Guard and they dispersed. Late in the night the Left Social Revolutionaries decided to follow the Bolsheviks and remain in the Congress.

Lenin did not mount the rostrum until the following day when the decrees on land, peace, and workers' control of production were voted. His appearance was the signal for a tremendous acclamation. He waited calmly for it to end, looking out over the victorious crowd. Then he said quite simply, without any gesture, his two hands resting on the pulpit, his shoulders slightly inclined forward toward the crowd: "Now we shall construct the socialist society."

Peace Parade Bluff in Facts & Figures

(Continued from Page 1)

do McNutt, national chairman of the American Youth Congress, representing more than 2,000,000 organized youth, called upon the youth of America to "prepare for war by marching for peace."

If the A. Y. C. wants to avoid such misleading appearance we would suggest that it curb the pub-

lic statements of its overzealous national chairman who deals out their "2,000,000 organized youth" with such a free hand.

We have received another letter, a press release from the Knitgoods Joint Council:

"For immediate release. The following letter was sent by the Joint Council of Knitgoods Unions to the People's March for Peace Committee protesting the unauthorized use of the names of their affiliated locals, 155 and 2085 United Textile Workers of America, as endorsers of the People's March for Peace Committee:

"Mr. S. R. Solomonick, Trade Union Organizer
"People's March for Peace Committee
"Dear Sir:

"We are in receipt of your communication with reference to the People's March for Peace Parade to be held next Saturday, October 26, and note that two of our affiliated locals, 155 and 2085, United Textile Workers, are listed as endorsers of your organization.

"While our organization is opposed to war and is at all times ready to take action in support of peace, we cannot permit the names of our affiliated locals to be used as endorsers of an organization about which we know nothing and of a parade in the arrangement of which we have not even been asked to participate.

"We want to protest this unauthorized use of the names of our locals. We believe that such methods of obtaining endorsers set against attempts of sincere labor organizations to organize movements for peace. . . .

Yours truly,
Joint Council, Knitgoods Workers Union,
Morris Lispsky, President
Lewis Nelson, Manager.
How many other organizations which did not attend the gala affair last Saturday went to make up the difference between the 15,000 reported in the capitalist press and the 50,000 reported in the Daily

Worker we cannot say. We can only guess how fifteen became fifty thousand.

The parade came off under the appropriate slogan of Waldo McNutt: "Prepare for war by marching for peace." (How true, how true. The prodigal son of the American Youth Congress speaks truer than he knows.)

The Art of Insurrection

(Continued from Page 4)

and the garrison was that they were "isolated" from those classes from whom they intended to take the power!

But was it really possible to rely upon the sympathy and support of the dark masses in the provinces and at the front? "Their Bolshevism," wrote Sukhanov scornfully, "was nothing but hatred for the coalition and longing for land and peace." As though that were little! Hatred for the coalition meant a desire to take the power from the bourgeoisie. Longing for land and peace was the colossal program which the peasant and soldier intended to carry out under the leadership of the workers. The insignificance of the democrats, even the most leftward, resulted from this very distrust—the distrust of "educated" sceptics—in those dark masses who grasp a phenomenon wholesale not bothering about details and nuances. This intellectual, pseudo-aristocratic, squeamish attitude toward the people was foreign to Bolshevism, hostile to its very nature. The Bolsheviks were not ill-humored, literary friends of the masses, not pedants. They were not afraid of those backward strata now for the first time lifting themselves out of the dregs. The Bolsheviks took the people as preceding history had created them, and as they were called to achieve the revolution. The Bolsheviks saw it as their mission to stand at the head of that people. Those against the insurrection were "everybody"—except the Bolsheviks. But the Bolsheviks were the people.

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE
MASQUERADE BALL
at
GERMANIA HALL -- 144 E. 16th St.
DANCING :: ENTERTAINMENT :: PRIZES
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9th 1935
Admission 20 cents
At door: 25c with costume; 30c without costume.
Tickets obtainable at 55 East 11th Street

The Significance of the October Revolution for the Orient

By LO SEN

Few were the countries under imperialist domination which failed in the post-war years to react to the revolutionary stimulus which radiated from proletarian Russia. The war had strained the imperialist world until it broke at its "weakest link." This breach once made, the tide of revolt rose in the whole colonial and semi-colonial world. The

October Revolution led not only to convulsions in Europe but directly opened the path to national revolutionary struggle in Turkey, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Indochina, Korea and China.

It was in China that this ferment developed to its greatest dimensions. China was in many ways—and still is—the key to the national emancipation movements throughout the vast domains of imperialism. Upon the outcome of the



Arrests in the streets of Shanghai. The police belong to the International Settlement.

struggle there depended in large measure the correlation of class forces not only in the colonial world but between the struggling Soviet state and its enemies in capitalist Europe.

Reaction in Russia—Revolution in China

The revolutionary wave in Europe was already declining; the Soviet state, isolated and embattled, had been compelled to retreat to the New Economic Policy, when the wave of struggle began to rise high in China. The Chinese Revolution threatened imperialism with a new, and perhaps this time mortal blow. Victory for the revolution in China could have broken down the isolation of the Soviet state. Events instead harshly decided that the disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution should itself become one of the most ghastly consequences of proletarian Russia's isolation within a rim of hostile, capitalist states.

The bureaucratic stratum which had begun to solidify on the outer crust of the newly-formed Soviet state took Russia's national isolation as its starting point. To justify itself it erected the theory of socialism in one country, the well-spring of Stalinism. In this culture the germs of opportunism thrived and waxed strong. The Soviet bureaucracy turned to the East not to help apply there the lessons of the Bolshevik victory but to seek allies in the national bourgeoisies of the Eastern countries. Toward this end it draped the mantle of Lenin around the death's head of Menshevism and made it large enough to provide shelter for the national bourgeoisie of China. From this source flowed the policies which led to the ghastly tragedy which in 1927 plunged China into the maw of reaction.

It was China's tragedy to receive the lessons and experiences of the October Revolution refracted through the dirty lenses of Stalinism. For these "lessons" the Chinese masses were forced to pay a frightful price. Today an understanding of the real relationship between the October and China's revolutionary future has to be restored. A re-evaluation of the historical and theoretical lessons to be drawn from that relationship is imperative if the red day of revolution is ever again to dawn for China.

The Bond Binding both Revolutions

Between the Chinese and Russian revolutions there is an organic bond, welded by the past and linked to a common future. The fate of the two countries is joined, in the first place, by a contiguous frontier which crosses Asia for a distance of almost 6,000 miles. There is, moreover, no real dividing line, either in the geographical or in the ethnic sense. The two countries and the two groups of peoples do not clash at a barrier, but tend gradually to merge, the one into the other.

Great similarities exist in the social composition of the two countries. In both there are a large number of races and nationalities with specific characteristics and cultures. In both the agrarian population overwhelmingly predominates and the proletariat is a small but decisive minority. Like Tsarist Russia, China is a backward nation in which the beginnings of capitalism are entwined with feudal forms of exploitation which hold the peasantry as a whole in their grip. Whereas in Russia the autocracy acted as a break on the growth of productive forces and

Lenin's Bolshevism and Stalin's Menshevism-- Victory in Russia and Catastrophe in China

perpetuated the barbarism of the past, in China imperialism in a far more drastic manner paralyzed the country's social and economic growth. The backwardness in economy and social organization condemned the masses of both countries to conditions of helotry supported by the blackest of superstition, ignorance and the burden of tradition centuries old.

In Russia the comparatively small and youthful proletariat smashed the shackles of the old society and established its own class dictatorship. With state power in its hands it unleashed mighty creative energies which opened the way for the industrialization and modernization of the country. It elevated the cultural level of millions of people thus lifted from the dreary darkness to a new life illuminated by science and by education. China's victory still lies ahead, but in the experience of the Russian working class there are lessons of precious and vital significance without an understanding of which the Chinese proletariat will be unable, in its turn, to fulfill its historic mission.

Permanent Revolution—1905 Lesson

Both the events and the governing ideology of the Russian revolution at its various stages exercised a direct influence upon the development of the Chinese revolution. Russia's 1905 was one of the world factors which directly contributed to the explosion in China in 1911 which toppled the Dragon Throne of the Chings. From the 1905 experience Lenin and Trotsky had already arrived at the conclusion that the task of realizing the bourgeois democratic revolutions in the backward countries—and carrying them through to their end—devolved in the present epoch of world capitalism not upon the bourgeoisie but upon the proletariat allied with and leading the peasantry.

This tremendous concept, the very essence of Leninism and of the theory of the permanent revolution, possessed for China and for Russia, a decisive significance. By 1911 the productive forces of China had not reached the point where it was possible for this idea to find expression in the actual relationship of class forces. Indeed, the state of productive forces was such that neither the bourgeoisie, stifled by imperialism, nor the proletariat, scarcely yet born, were in a position to replace the Manchu Dynasty by any new, unified class rule. Power,

therefore, fell to the militarists whose warring satrapies became masks for the interplay of imperialist antagonisms in China itself.

But the 1911 revolution had nevertheless ushered in a new, transitional epoch involving not the rise of a new dynasty but the transformation of the economy and class structure of the country and of the state superimposed upon it. The dismal failure of two attempts, in 1916 and 1918, to restore the monarchy, showed that China had rounded a decisive mile post in her history.

Proletariat Emerges in China

In the war years great changes took place. The imperialist grip, tighter after 1911, relaxed. Productive forces leaped spectacularly forward. A modern Chinese proletariat came into being, seemingly overnight. But the whole historical development of the Chinese bourgeoisie condemned it, even in the period of its relative growth, to the position of a vassal dependent upon imperialism. This meant that the task of ultimately emancipating China would fall to the proletariat as part of the whole task of liberating Chinese society from the chains of its past and leading it to its new place in a new, socialist world. In 1917, in the struggle against Tsarism, the Russian pro-



The first and one of the few anti-Japanese demonstrations — at Shanghai on September 26, 1931.

letariat showed exactly how this could be done. The Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, translated daring theory into dazzling reality. October blazed the way for China and all the "backward" countries of the world.

The validity for China of the underlying strategic-theoretical concepts of the October Revolution was not immediately perceived. But the October itself, far more immediately and directly than in 1905, became a mighty stimulus to a new revolutionary upheaval in China. The

war, the growth of productive forces expressed in the creation of modern industry, had set all classes in motion in China and out of this movement a social, literary and cultural renaissance emerged as the herald of the second Chinese revolution. When the intellectuals and then the workers began to intervene in the march of events and to seek to mold them in their own interests as they saw them, it was under the direct impetus and influence of the October Revolution. Even the Chinese bourgeoisie, its hopes for the independent development of capitalist economy revived and fluttering, tried to give its own class aspirations a Communist coloration—as Lenin foresaw it would—and its most conscious representatives sought the prestige of Russia's support and put themselves at the head of the spontaneously growing movement of the workers and peasants.

Lenin's Teachings

Here the fundamental requirement of the Chinese proletariat was a party of its own, deeply impregnated with the experience and fundamental strategy of the October Revolution. Such were the parties for the Eastern countries envisaged by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920. At that Congress Lenin had given the strategic lead to the East, particularly to China where the development of class forces already provided the most fertile ground for the planting of the Bolshevik seed. Imperialist domination, he pointed out, stifled the forces of production and therefore the proletariat had to take the lead in the struggle against it—"but from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats." To the contrary, the Communists must prevent the bourgeoisie from securing control of the national movement. They must develop the class consciousness of the masses, lead them to the organization of soviets and with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries, to Communism. In this process the Communists would find it "useful" and even necessary to ally themselves to the national revolutionary movements, "not however amalgamating with them, preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it is still in its embryonic form." They must put the masses on guard against the attempt to cloak a bourgeois demo-



Execution of workers outside a Hankow factory by a Kuomintang officer.

cratic movement in a Communist garb.

But Menshevism Leads in China

These were the clear and unequivocal terms in which Lenin laid down for the East the essential lessons of the October Revolution. But by the time the workers of the East, particularly of China, were ready to absorb and apply these ideas, Lenin was gone. The thoroughly reactionary concept of socialism in one country had replaced Leninist internationalism. A bureaucracy which hoped for nothing better than a Chinese Kemal Pasha had replaced the leaders who looked not for nationalist but for class allies. A mechanical, non-dialectic theory of stages replaced the historical dynamics embodied in the theory of the permanent revolution. The Menshevik ideas, which might have wrecked the Russian revolution had it not been for Lenin were dragged out of the past by the same men who had defended those ideas against Lenin in 1917, the Stalins, the Bukharins, the Martinovs. This Menshevik baggage was labelled with Lenin's discarded slogan of the democratic dictatorship, decked out with devious, tortuous interpretations which outraged Lenin's very memory. Thus fortified, and backed by the prestige of the whole Russian proletariat, the Borodins and the Votinskys came to China to teach the Chinese workers that the "national" struggle for liberation preceded the class struggle of the working masses against their own exploiters.

This was the monstrous thing, that from the land of the October came men who taught that imperialism had the effect of welding into a common front of struggle against it all the classes of Chinese society except the old feudal militarists. From this to the "bloc of four classes," the stifling of the mass movement wherever it menaced bourgeois interests and therefore the "national united front," the recognition of and subordination to bourgeois leadership through the Kuomintang, from all this to the shattering catastrophes of Can-

ton, Shanghai, Wuhan, Changsha it was but a step—a step taken over the dead bodies of the flower of the Chinese proletariat and peasantry.

Executioners in Russia and Orient

When against this betrayal Leon Trotsky raised the voice of the Opposition, the voice of Marx, of Lenin, of the October, he and his adherents were driven from the party by the club of the apparatus, driven into prison, into graves or into exile. How bitter it is to think that while in China workers, peasants and intellectuals, victims of the Stalinist betrayal, went down under the lash of the terror wielded by Stalin's great and good allies yesterday, the Chiang Kai-Sheks, the Wang Ching-wei, the Feng Yuxiang; in Russia Stalin used the apparatus of the Soviet state to whip the Leninists who had tried to save the Chinese workers from the Cavaignacs and Gallifets into whose hands he, Stalin, had delivered them!

The course of the post-revolutionary period, the inevitable lurch to insane adventurism, from August, 1927, to the end of 1930, and the subsequent attempt to cloak an insurgent peasant movement with a proletarian garb, only led to new disasters, to new blind alleys. It did not lead to the Chinese October. Instead it has only fed the finest fighters of the revolution into the maw of Kuomintang reaction. It only facilitated the Kuomintang's betrayal to imperialism and its destruction of the very lifeblood of the Chinese people.

For an end to this tragedy, too long, too costly! Like everywhere else Stalinism in China has left only smoking ruins and the bodies of heroic dead in its wake. Its dead hand must be torn away from the throat of the world proletariat. In China as elsewhere we must build a new revolutionary party, the party of the Fourth International, a party which will know how to face the problems of the Chinese revolution with a real understanding of the significance, for China, of Russia's October.

Comrade Candide and Comrade Browder ... A Tragi-Comedy

Being the Story of an Honest Worker Who Fell into a Coma in the Twilight of the "Third Period"

(Continued from Page 3)

Daily. For example, there's the appeal to the patriotic traditions of the American people. At Cleveland, you quoted from the 'new fascist program for the S. P.,' presented by Joseph Sharts, which read: 'These great traditions cluster around the Stars and Stripes and make it worthy to be fought for, regardless of the capitalist connections in recent years. Not by the pacifist but by the patriotic approach lies our path to power and freedom.' And then you said: 'It would be difficult to improve on Mr. Sharts by quoting directly from Hitler.' (p. 78.) How can we imitate the fascists by such appeals to patriotism?

Browder: "That is the American approach to the problem of Bolshevizing the masses."

Candide: "The American approach! Why, that was the slogan of Budenz, one of those left social-fascists whom you called 'the most dangerous enemies of the workers' struggles today.'" (p. 76.)

Browder: "Not so loud, comrade. Budenz is in the next room."

Candide: "There are lots of other things in the Daily Worker I don't understand. The editorials call upon the Roosevelt government and the League of Nations to invoke sanctions against Fascist Italy. You taught us that the Roosevelt administration is 'the beginning of the introduction of fascism.' . . . The New Deal was in political essence and direction the same as Hitler's program." (p. 20-21.) How can we, a working class party, call upon one semi-fascist government to stop another Fascist state from conducting an imperialist war? Aren't we playing the game of the imperialists, instead of pursuing an independent working class policy?"

Browder: "We're utilizing the contradictions between the imperialist powers, just as the Soviet Union is doing in the League of Nations."

Candide: "I can understand why the Soviet state must try to utilize

these contradictions in diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist powers, but how can the Communist left parties ask the cooperation of their own ruling class to fight another? How does such class-collaboration look to the Italian workers?"

Browder: "Would you have us isolate ourselves from the organized workers by opposing sanctions, which is the only way to avert war and oppose Fascism? Why, only the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites are against sanctions. We've won over all the trade unions, almost all the Socialist parties to our policy."

Candide: "That's just the point. You said that both the A. F. of L. and the company unions were governmental agencies of the capitalist class, just as the Fascists and social-fascists were the twin political agencies of the capitalist class. (p. 29-30.) If the A. F. of L. is a semi-fascist agency of the Roosevelt regime, more dangerous than the company unions, then it naturally follows that its leaders would sanction the imperialist policy of the American government."

Browder: "You're living in the past, comrade. A new progressive movement has sprung up in the A. F. of L. headed by such people as John L. Lewis, Francis Gorman and Sidney Hillman, and that's why we're advising all our members to join it."

Candide: "Lewis heading a progressive movement? Why you coupled him with Green in 1934. And you're liquidating all the T.U.U.L. unions? Why I remember how my heart beat with pride as I listened to you describe the amazing progress made by the revolutionary trade unions of the T.U.U.L., 'by developing the whole mass movement of resistance to the NRA and the whole capitalist offensive, in the development of the strike movements,' (p. 36) while the Trotskyites and Musteltes sold out the workers in Minneapolis and Toledo. I remember that slogan you gave

us: 'to unite the independent unions with the revolutionary unions into a single Independent Federation of Labor.'" (p. 38)

At this point Candide broke into hysterics and fell to the floor in a dead faint. We are informed that he has remained unconscious and delirious ever since. In that unfortunate condition, we must regretfully leave him.

Chapter III

PLAUSIBLE as it seems, we cannot, of course, vouch for complete authenticity of the above story. We can, however, guarantee the authenticity of the quotations from Browder. They will be found in the "Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the 8th Convention, delivered by Earl Browder," published by the Worker's Library of New York, 1934. We recommend it for entertainment and meditation these sombre days.

Candide, the honest Stalinist worker, was completely bewildered by the contradictory lines of the Communist Party, and could find no explanation for them. Bewildered and confused by his leaders, who tell him one thing today and its opposite tomorrow, he relapsed into unconsciousness. Politically conscious workers, however, will want to know why the Communist Party has followed such completely contradictory policies in the past period.

To us, the reasons for the somersaults of the Stalinists are clear. It would be pointless to look for them in Browder's psychology or American conditions. These have nothing to do with the case. Browder, the leader of the C.P.U.S.A., is a political master-mind in only one sense: he reflects what goes on in the mind of his master, Stalin, who in turn translates into political terms the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy. We must, therefore, look abroad to the Soviet Union and the international scene to understand what has allied the Com-

intern in the past thirteen years, years of great opportunities and tremendous defeats for the revolutionary working class.

As we view the history of the Third International, it has passed through four phases.

1. The heroic period from the Bolshevik revolution in October, 1917 to the death of Lenin in 1924. In these years the Third International was built; its revolutionary program formulated in the first four Congresses; the task of winning over the working class of the world to revolutionary struggle under the banner of Marx and Lenin begun. However, the destruction of the flower of the Russian proletariat in the civil wars, then the economic collapse which necessitated the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 produced a widespread passivity in the exhausted Russian working class. Reflecting this passivity, the Soviet bureaucracy, whose control was centralized in Stalin's hands, developed and strengthened its grip upon the Communist party and the state apparatus during this period—and turned its face away from the international revolution.

The post-war tidal wave of revolution led by the Third International was broken by the retreat of the Communist leaders in Germany in the face of a revolutionary situation in October 1923 (this was under Stalin's orders), which was preceded by the defeat of the Bulgarian insurrection in 1923 and followed by the crushing of the Revolt in Estonia. The breaking of the revolutionary wave in Germany and elsewhere paved the way for the reorganization and strengthening of European capitalism with the aid of American capital.

2. The second period. The revolutionary ebb and the temporary stabilization of European capitalism gave further impetus to pessimism and passivity regarding the prospects of world revolution in the Soviet bureaucracy, which had usurped control of the Russian

Communist Party and the Comintern. Turning their backs upon the international scene, the leaders of the bureaucracy, Stalin, developed the theory of "socialism in one country" as a justification for their conservative and narrowly nationalistic viewpoint. According to this theory, a classless socialist society can be built up in one single country alone, the Soviet Union, even if the proletariat in the more advanced countries fail to conquer the beginning of the degeneration of the parties of revolution in their respective countries to auxiliary policy of the conservative foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this fatal theory flows all the blunders, defeats, and catastrophes which the working class has suffered since 1923.

During this second period right-opportunistic policies were substituted all along the line for revolutionary policies. Within the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy leaned upon the Nepmen and the Kulak for support in its struggle against the Bolshevik-Leninists; and opposed planned economy, industrialization, and collectivization demanded by the Left Opposition in favor of a course of concessions to Nepmen and Kulaks. In the sphere of foreign policy the Stalinists relied upon the reformist trade union bureaucracy of England through the Anglo-Russian Committee to lead the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union; upon Chiang Kai-shek and the Kou-Min-Tang in the Chinese revolution; and upon various unreliable peasant leaders throughout the world. The Communist parties were subordinated to these alliances with alien class elements. The balance-sheet included the betrayal of the English General Strike and the impotence of the British Communist Party; the tragic betrayal of the Chinese revolution; the weakening of the Communist parties and the revolutionary movement throughout the

world. The essence of this course was to preserve the status-quo, while socialism was being built in the Soviet Union.

3. The Third Period.

When this policy culminated in "the bloodless Kulak uprising of 1928," the Stalinists suddenly veered around and transformed all their policies into their opposites. Instead of opposition to planned economy came the first and second Five Year plans with their mad gallop toward industrialization, regardless of costs and consequences, together with the campaign for complete collectivization and liquidation of the kulak. These domestic policies were complemented by the social-fascist, dual red trade union, united front from below policies. It was in this so-called "third period" that Candide received his political education, or rather, miseducation. So different in its form from the second period, the third period continued the same objective: preservation of the status quo—even if the cost involved was to sacrifice the German revolution to maintain the status quo.

4. The Fourth Period.

The adventurous, ultra-leftist line of the third period was abruptly terminated by Hitler's conquest of power as a direct consequence of the fatal policies pursued by the Communist Party of Germany. Panic-stricken at the spectacle of the Fascist monster they had helped create, the Stalinists have thrown away all the theoretical baggage of the third period in the wild flight to the right, which is still under way. This is a return to the fundamental course of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the right opportunist course of 1923-1928, on a wider scale and with more profound consequences. Again, its objective is: the status quo.

Today the Stalinists are again seeking protection in the arms of the social democratic leaders and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, as well as imperialist nations such as France. The sole task of

the Stalinists outside the Soviet Union is to preserve the status quo by means of the Soviet diplomacy of Litvinov or the subsidiary means of the Communist parties. The last remnants of revolutionary working class policy has been abandoned in favor of popular fronts. The united fronts between the Socialist and Communist parties are united fronts of inaction, instead of struggle. The recent Seventh Congress of the Comintern set its seal of approval upon this course. The task of the Third International, which was organized by Lenin and Trotsky to conquer the world for socialism, has been reduced to the pitiful task of "defending the remnants of bourgeois democracy." Since the Stalin-Laval pact, the French Communist Party calls upon the French working class to support its own capitalist government in case of war against Fascist Germany, thus pitting one section of the working class against another, and betraying them both. This is a repetition on a grander scale of the social-patriotic betrayal of the Second International in 1914-1918.

Since 1923 the opportunist leadership of the Comintern had brought nothing but defeat after defeat upon the working class. Although the leaders of the various parties of the Third International still drape themselves in the banner of Lenin, they have violated every revolutionary principle he stood for. The Third International is no longer a revolutionary organization, no longer a progressive force in the labor movement.

The proletarian revolutionists of the world are gathering today under the new banner of the Fourth International. The struggle for the Fourth International is the struggle for the ideas of Marx and Lenin; for the overthrow of capitalism; for a workers' world. Rally to the support of the Workers Party, which has unfurled the banner of the Fourth International in the United States!

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

WHO WILL DISARM THE FASCISTS?

Nothing paralyzes the revolutionary activity of the advanced workers in any country so much as sabotage and treachery from within its own ranks. French social democracy and Stalinism are both engaged in creating and fostering the most harmful illusions in the ranks of the French proletariat. The success of their treachery can lead only to the victory of fascism. On a par with the social patriotic support of French militarism and imperialism, under the guise of "defense of the Soviet Union," by the support of the Franco-Soviet military alliance, is the sowing of the illusion by the "Popular Front" that the capitalist government can be made to disarm the fascist bands hired by finance capital. As a *quid pro quo* for their support of a "democratic" government, the Stalinists have been demanding that the government agree to disarm the fascists. Laval now "yields" to this so-called pressure from the "left" (as the capitalist press puts it) and announces that the Mobile Guards or special police are to be reinforced and given the immediate task of disarming the Croix de Feu and other private armies. No doubt the cretins who trust in the imperialist government which is ceaselessly preparing for war, to preserve peace, will hail this "decision" of Laval as a victory. In reality the workers should be aroused to the fraud that will be perpetrated by Laval to assist the fascists and strike a blow at the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. For under his fake promise, Laval will proceed to take strong measures against the armed workers, against the incipient workers' militia organized to defend the proletariat from fascist attack. The Laval government corresponds in its functions with that of Giolitto-Bonomi in Italy and Brüning-Schleicher-von Papen in Germany. It is the transition form between democracy and fascism. In this transition the fascist bands are created by finance capital and aided and strengthened by the support of the police and the army. With the direct connivance of leaders in the "democratic" government, of course.

THE POLICY OF LAVAL

Laval was placed in power by the financial oligarchy in complete control of the Bank of France. This capstone of French imperialism ousted Flaudin when he refused to obey the dictates of the bankers—the Rothschild interests, the de Wendels, etc.—in the matter of devaluation. Laval was placed in power because he was the willing tool of the big bankers in the carrying out

of an economic policy which—by decree—unloads the entire crisis on the backs of the workers, the small functionaries and the exploited peasants. The same de Wendel who heads the armaments trust and heavy industry (Comité des Forges), who directly finances de la Roche, the world-be Hitler of France, entrusted the reins of the bourgeois government to Laval. Will any worker take seriously the word of Laval that he will act to disarm the bands created and supported by the same master whose orders are law to Laval—and are in actuality translated into laws by decree?

But perhaps it is not Laval who will really disarm the fascists, but a better friend of the workers, Herriot for example. Or better still one who advocates the People's Front like Daladier. The Stalinists, for the sake of Soviet diplomacy, perverted the united front with the French Socialists into a cross form of class collaboration for the preservation of bourgeois democracy. The united front became the social-patriotic People's Front with the inclusion of the directly bourgeois Radical Socialist Party of Herriot and Daladier. We are witnessing the ripening of the fruit of this People's Front. The Stalinists and Socialists make all possible concessions to the petty bourgeois Radicals, including a complete reliance on parliamentarism. The Radical Socialists, in turn, give support to the direct representatives of big business, to Laval. Herriot prevented a split in the Radical Socialist congress that has just been concluded over the question of supporting the government by decree of Laval. Daladier conducted an apparent fight for the People's Front against such support but was "persuaded" to yield to the patriotic Herriot. Daladier does not want to split his party. Thus the entire course of the Stalinists is clearly revealed as playing into the hands of the imperialists. The further end of the chain of class collaboration in which the working class links are forged by the Socialist and Stalinist betrayers, rests firmly in the grip of the de Wendels.

The workers must learn that this is the inevitable result of a course of class collaboration, that they remain completely at the mercy of the big bankers. Only by pursuing a clear-cut revolutionary policy of the working class can the workers attain their own ends. Not the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, but the armed forces of the workers can disarm the fascists. The answer to Laval's fraud must be the more rapid arming of the workers and the building of the workers' militia.

By L. TROTSKY

We have a remarkable document in the letter of comrade Tarov, one of the Soviet Bolshevik-Leninists, a mechanic who of necessity finds himself today outside the Soviet Union. Early in 1923, Tarov was arrested as a "left Oppositionist"; he spent three years in exile, and sat four years in prison, in harsh solitary confinement, and then, once again, he spent several months in exile. What crimes did Tarov commit against the Revolution?

It appears that as early as 1923, he was of the opinion that the October revolution had created the possibilities for industrialization, immeasurably more rapid than was the case with capitalist countries. Together with other Tarovs he raised the alarm against the policy of staking everything upon the kulak which would lead to a crisis for the entire Soviet system. He demanded that efforts be focussed upon the peasant poor and the systematic switching of rural economy on to the rails of collectivization. Such were his chief crimes for the period of 1923-1926. He was more penetrating and far-sighted than the ruling upper crust. In any case, such were the crimes of the tendency for which Tarov bore the responsibility. In 1926, all the Tarovs demanded that the Soviet trade unions bring to an end, the political friendship with the General Council of British Trade Unions that was betraying the miners' strike, together with the General Strike; it was precisely for this service that Citrine, the head of the General Council, the former ally of Stalin and Tomsky, was knighted by His Royal Majesty during the Jubilee celebrations. Together with other Leninists, Tarov protested in 1926 against the Stalinist theory of a "democratic workers' and peasants' state"—a theory which impelled the Polish Communist party to support Pilsudski's coup. But even this did not exhaust the list of Tarov's crimes. As an internationalist, he was vitally interested in the fate of the Chinese revolution. He considered those Kremlin decisions criminal which compelled the young and heroic Communist party of China to enter into the Kowintang and to submit to its discipline; in addition to which, the Kowintang itself, a purely bourgeois party, was accepted into the Communist International, as a "sympathetic" organization. The time came when Stalin, Molotov and Bukharin, sent a telegram from Moscow, calling upon Chinese Communists to put down the agrarian movement of the peasants, so as not to "scare away" Chiang Kai Shek and his officers. Tarov, together with other disciples of Lenin, considered such a policy to be a betrayal of the revolution.

Leon Trotsky Analyses the Revelations of the Bolshevik Tarov

The Tarovs had several other similar crimes to their credit: From 1923 on, they demanded that work proceed on the drafting of the Five Year Plan; and when, in 1927, the draft of the first Five Year Plan was finally outlined, all the Tarovs argued that the annual increase in industry should be set not at 5-9 percent, as was done by the Political Bureau, but two or three times greater. True, this was all soon confirmed. But since the Tarovs by virtue of their foresight had exposed the backwardness of the ruling upper crust, they were therefore guilty of undermining the revolution (i.e. the prestige of the bureaucracy). The Tarovs paid a great deal of attention to the working class youth. In their opinion the youth had to be given an opportunity to do some independent thinking, to study, make mistakes, and learn to stand on its own feet. They protested against the fact that revolutionary leadership had been replaced by a regime of bulldozing corporals. They forecasted that this barrack-room strangulation of the youth must lead to demoralization and to the growth of outright hooligan and reactionary moods in its midst. These warnings were branded as an attempt to set the young generation against the old, as mutiny against the "Old Guard"—the very same "Old Guard" which has been culminated, smashed and committed to jails, or demoralized by Stalin with the aid of his Praetorians.

Such are Tarov's crimes. To this we must add that the Bolshevik-Leninists, including Tarov, never attempted to impose their ideas by force. They did not call for an uprising against the bureaucracy. For a period of almost ten years they sought and hoped to convince the party. They fought primarily for their right to bring their criticism and their proposals before the party. But the bureaucracy which had raised itself to autocratic rule upon the defeats of the world proletariat, counterposed to the Leninist Opposition not the force of argument, but the armed detachments of the G.P.U. Tarov happened to be among several thousand who were arrested during the Thermidorian annihilation of the Opposition in 1928. Thereafter he spent more than three years in exile, and about four years in jail. From his present brief story the reader is able to acquaint himself with the conditions that prevail in these jails: abuse, corporal punishment, the 14-day torture of a hunger strike, and in answer to it, forced feeding and new abuse. All this because the Bolshevik-Leninists

posed the problem of collectivization before Stalin did, because they issued a timely warning against the consequences of the perdition alliance with Chiang Kai Shek and the future Sir Walter Citrine. . . .

Tarov's Mistake

But then came a new thunderclap from the blue: Hitler came to power in Germany. The policy of the Communist International had cleared the road for him. When Hitler was hoisting himself into the saddle, his stirrup was held by none other than Stalin. All the floods of eloquence poured forth by the Seventh Congress will not wash away from the ennobled Leaders in the biots of this historic crime. All the more rabid became the hatred of the Stalinist clique for all those who had foreseen and forewarned in time. The captive Leninists had to pay with their ribs for the deadly policy which combined ignorance with perfidy: it is precisely this

need of swindlers ready for anything.

Thus, Tarov's attempt to return to the ranks of the official "party" met with complete failure. Tarov was left with no recourse other than to flee from the Soviet Union. His experience, for which he paid so dearly, is an invaluable lesson both for the Soviet and the world proletariat. The Open Letter issued by the organizations standing under the banner of the Fourth International finds a new and a clear confirmation in the Tarov case. The Open Letter states, "By means of persecutions, frauds, amalgams and bloody repressions the ruling clique seeks to nip in the bud every movement of Marxist thought. No where in the world is genuine Leninism so bestially hounded as in the U.S.S.R." These lines, superficially considered, appear exaggerated: Isn't Leninism being ruthlessly hounded in Italy and Germany? As a matter of fact there is no exaggeration in the Open Letter. In Fascist countries the Leninists are subjected to persecution along with

French Stalinists Give the Fascists A Lesson on the True Patriotic Spirit

Vaillant-Couturier, No. 1 French Stalinist publicist and blowhard, has discovered exactly what's wrong with the French Fascists. The Fascists, it seems, have been smart enough to oppose the policy of sanctions, to denounce it as a war policy, and thereby distinguish themselves before the masses from the Left parties which support sanctions, and therefore imperialism, war, to the very hilt.

"The idea," writes the vaillant Vaillant, "that the League of Nations can really prevent the war in Abyssinia exasperates the French Fascists. These unfortunates haven't the national sense to understand that if Mussolini is left free today to commit aggression against a member of the League of Nations on the pretext that it is weak, that would be to give full liberty to Hitler to set fire to Europe tomorrow. It is really sad to see Frenchmen blinded to such a point by party spirit, that they are ready to sacrifice the vital interests of the French people to the prestige of the black shirts of Mussolini." (L'Humanité, October 2.)

The French Stalinists are sad unto tears to think that these "unfortunate" Fascists just don't understand the "national" and "vital" interests of the "French people." Is there no bottom to the mire of betrayal in which these people now wallow? Another choice item from France to add to disgusting saga of Stalinist social-patriotism. The French Ministry of the Interior recently issued a ban on the display of foreign flags on public buildings except for some special occasion. L'Humanité jumps into the breach: "It seems that this has reference to the Socialist and Communist mayoralities and the red flag. This is hardly right."

"First of all because none of these mayoralities have played the red flag on their roofs other than morally. . . . Further, because the Communists and the Socialists were the first, on July 14, to associate the red flag to the tricolor."

"Finally, because it will be henceforth understood that the mayoralities will be able to put up outside their buildings, alongside the tricolor, the Soviet flag with its special insignia on such occasions, for example, as the anniversary of the pact of mutual assistance or May First, the legal holiday of the U.S.S.R." (L'Humanité, Oct. 2.)

combination that provides the essence of Stalinism.

Yet, Tarov, alarmed by the triumph of National Socialism, turned to the authorities in Moscow with the following proposal: he pledges to give up Oppositionist activity, in return for which, he, Tarov, is to be given the right to return to the ranks of the party, as a disciplined soldier, and there carry on the struggle against the Fascist danger. It is not difficult to explain the psychological causes for Tarov's step. There is no position more torturous for a revolutionist than to be bound hand and foot while the imperialist reaction is capturing one proletarian trench after another. But Tarov's political proposal was doubly unrealistic. In the first place, to support Stalin's struggle against Fascism unconditionally is, in the last analysis, to help Fascism—this has been irrefutably proved by the entire history of the last 12 years; in the second place, Tarov's proposal was not acceptable, and could not have been accepted by the bureaucracy. Even a single Leninist unselfishly and courageously fulfilling the tasks assigned him, in full view, without recanting publicly and without spitting upon the best traditions of Bolshevism would be a silent refutation of the legend entitled "Trotskyism as the vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution."

This assinine legend wobbles on its mythical underpinnings, and has to be propped up daily. Currently, Tarov's example, if he were successful, would inevitably arouse emulation. This could not be allowed. It is impermissible to allow bold men to return to the party who surrender only the public expression of their views—no, they must renounce their ideas, their right to think altogether. They must split upon views which have been confirmed by the entire course of events.

Signpost of Stalinist Corruption

Nothing so characterizes the Stalinist regime, its internal corruption and fraud, as its utter inability to assimilate a sincere revolutionist ready to serve obediently, but who refuses to lie. No! Stalin needs apostates, believing renegades, people who are shamelessly ready to call black white, who beat their hollow breasts, pathetically, while their minds are actually occupied with pie-cakes, automobiles and summer resorts. The party and the state apparatus is overrun with such swindlers, double-dealers, and corrupt cynics. They are unreliable but indispensable: bureaucratic abjection which has come into an irreconcilable contradiction with economic and cultural requirements of the workers' state is in acute

other opponents of the regime. Hitler, as is well known, vented his greatest malice upon his oppositionist brothers-in-arms in the party, the "left wing," which reminded him of his own yesterday. The Stalinist bureaucracy vents the same hostile cruelty upon the Bolshevik-Leninists, the genuine revolutionists, who embody the traditions of the party and of the October revolution.

The political conclusions to be drawn from the case of comrade Tarov are quite evident. It would be sheer insanity to think of "reforming" and "regenerating" the C.P.S.U. today. A bureaucratic machine which serves primarily the purpose of keeping the proletariat in a vise cannot possibly be made to serve the interests of the proletariat. Revolutionary terror, which during the heroic period of the revolution served as a weapon in the hands of the awakened masses against the oppressors, and as a direct safeguard of the rule of the proletariat, has been completely supplanted by the cold blooded and venomous terror of the bureaucracy which fights like a mad beast for its posts and sinecures, for its uncontrolled and autocratic rule—against the proletarian vanguard. This is precisely why Stalinism is doomed!

Engels on Stalin

On February 20, 1889, Engels wrote Kautsky a truly remarkable letter—published only recently—on the class relations during the epoch of the Great French Revolution. Among other things, it states the following: "as regards terror, so long as it had any meaning, it was in its essence a war measure. The class, or a certain section of it, which was alone able to guarantee victory to the revolution, not only remained in power thanks to the terror . . . but also assured itself elbow-room, the freedom of movement, the possibility to concentrate forces at the decisive points, i.e. at the frontiers." But once the frontiers had been safeguarded thanks to military victories, and after the destruction of the frenzied Commune which had sought to carry liberty to other peoples on bayonets, terror outlived itself as a weapon of the revolution. Robespierre, it is true, was at the height of his power; but says Engels, "henceforth terror became a means of self-preservation for him, and thus it was reduced to an absurdity" (Engels' emphasis). These lines are remarkable for their simplicity and profundity. There is no need here to expatiate upon the distinction between the present and the past epoch: it is quite well known. No (Continued on Page 8)

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

Question: Why is it not correct for the Communist Party of Great Britain to support sanctions against Italy since a defeat of Italy will hasten the overthrow of Fascism?

Answer: To advocate that sanctions, applied by His Majesty's government in Imperialist interests, be given the support of the British workers means to advocate support by the latter of an Imperialist policy, and correspondingly, the renunciation of any attempt to struggle for the overthrow of English capitalism. If this policy is proposed for the purpose, pretended at least, of hastening the overthrow of Italian imperialism, then the advocates of such a policy are maintaining that between the two imperialisms, Italian fascism and British "democracy," the latter is the lesser evil.

The Italian chauvinist can, with equal justice, reply: "Italian, and not British imperialism, is the lesser evil since the latter exploits several hundreds of millions of people; Mussolini, less than a hundred million. The material conditions of British colonialism, e.g. India, is worse than that of the Italian masses under fascism. Victory in Ethiopia, followed by complete Italian control over the Mediterranean, Suez, etc., will smash the British empire, giving the British colonials a chance to assert their independence, and the revolution will be hastened in Great Britain. For revolutionary reasons, therefore, it is necessary to support the policy of Mussolini."

The reasoning can be carried to its logical conclusion: If, as a result of imperialist war, capitalism will be overthrown in those countries which are defeated, then it is necessary that the workers support imperialist war, and in each country conduct it as vigorously as possible so that the opposing capitalism will be all the more speedily destroyed.

Since the arguments are equally strong in all countries, acceptance of them by the workers internationally means the end of their struggle for the overthrow of their respective capitalisms. Who then will remain to overthrow the capitalists of the defeated countries?

What is false in the entire argument is the contention, a version of the "spontaneity" theory, that a victory by one Imperialist power over another necessarily means a victorious proletarian revolution in the nations controlled by the latter. A military defeat and the exhaustion of a country's economy through war weakens the grip of the exploiters, but, unless parties, free from the poison of chauvinism, and capable of leading the workers to victory, exist, these objective conditions can only result in increased misery for the toilers. This is borne out by the whole history of post-war Europe. Czarist Russia had the Bolshevik party of Lenin, and therefore a successful proletarian revolution, but it was one of the "victorious" allies. In the "vanquished" as well as some of the "victorious" countries, the class struggle, lacking the proper revolutionary leadership, led to fascism, e.g. Germany, Hungary, Italy.

A military defeat for Italy may mean the end of the Mussolini regime but this is not necessarily synonymous with a workers' victory. Those who draw an equation sign between the two, in the absence of a revolutionary party in Italy, are assuming that Italian capitalism cannot find new forms and methods to enslave the toilers; that the latter cannot sink to lower levels than fascism has already brought them, so that the revolution will come about automatically. There is nothing to justify such a conclusion: The standard of living of the Italian masses is the lowest in Europe but is not yet even the lowest in the world.

Because there is no revolutionary party today in Italy, the most pernicious idea that could be advanced is the concept that the Italian revolution can be hastened by eradicating the revolutionary activity of the workers outside of Italy, i.e., in the nations applying sanctions. It is precisely because the conditions of fascism have virtually stamped out revolutionary ideology from the minds of the Italian workers, that it is only a revolutionary shock from outside that country which can, in the immediate future, at least, again point out the way to them. Just as Marxism does not evolve out of the class struggle itself but is brought to the working class, so must it be brought to the Italian workers. Today the main stream of such knowledge lies outside of Italy.

Supporting the imperialists who are applying sanctions, therefore, is one of the surest methods of making it next to impossible for the Italian workers to arrive at Marxism, and in the final analysis of setting the world revolution back for decades. The surest way of aiding the Italian revolution is the Leninist way: The enemy is at home; turn the Imperialist war into civil war.

Why the National Government of Great Britain Is Prepared to Embark on a War with Italy

(Reprinted from the British "New Leader," organ of the Independent Labor Party)

The British Government claims to be opposing Italy because of love of the League Covenant and of the rights of small nations. No worker can believe this. The British Government showed no love for the Covenant when Japan defied it, and there is no government in the world which has more outraged the rights of small nations. The real motive of the National Government is to defend the interests of British capitalism and imperialism.

More than once we have pointed out in these columns the strategic importance of Abyssinia for British imperialism. The importance of Abyssinia from the point of view of the immediate interests of British capitalism is not so well known.

British Empire in Africa
Since the World War the British Empire in East and Central Africa has become a co-ordinated and connected whole. The inclusion of the German colonies made an "all-red" route from North to South of Africa. The British Empire now stretches from Cairo to the Cape.

This British Empire in Africa is pierced only by the independent state of Abyssinia, which is like an island in British territory. British imperialists are obviously not going to allow another capitalist power to take possession of that island!

How Capitalism Has Grown
But it is not merely a matter of the unity of the British Empire in Africa. It is also a matter of its value for British capitalists. It is doubtful whether any part of the British Empire has yielded to British capitalism such an increase of profits as British Africa since the World War.

We give some striking figures in proof of this. Take, first, the increase in the total trade of Africa (of which, of course, British capitalists control the major part). The following table indicates the enormous expansion of Africa as a source of profit-making:—

It is often not realized how important Africa is in the production of many of the most precious articles. Our next table shows African production compared with world production of four most valuable articles:

Article	Production—World	African
Gold (million ozs.)	19.5	11.0
Diamonds (mill. kar.)	7.2	7.2
Nitrates (1,000 tons)	10.0	5.2
Chrom ore (1,000 tons)	570.0	335.0

Increase of Gold from Africa
There has been a tremendous increase in gold production, as the following table shows:
Gold Export 1929 1933
Tanganyika 10,536 ozs. 32,518 ozs.
S.W. Africa 570 ozs. 919 ozs.
1931 1933
Uganda 71 ozs. 1,216 ozs.
Sierra Leone 8,650 ozs. 15,604 ozs.
The total exports of Kenya and Uganda have expanded from the annual average value of £1.17 million between 1910-14 to £4.32 million in 1931.

Threat to British Owners of Cotton Fields
The importance of Abyssinia to British capitalists because it contains the headwaters of the Blue Nile, which irrigates the British-owned cotton fields of the Sudan, has often been pointed out. But the significance of this is not always realized. Seventy-six percent of the value of the exports from the Sudan is due to cotton, and 58 percent of the total crop is grown in the Gezira, which is fertilized by the Blue Nile.

Before 1926, when the dam of the Blue Nile was constructed, the Gezira depended on a scanty and seasonal rainfall, and was little better than a desert. Now every year more of it is being put under cultivation. British capitalists are not going to permit another capitalist power to control a water supply which, if cut off, would retransform the Gezira into a desert and, in effect, expropriate the British shareholders!

Two British companies are mainly interested in the Sudan—the Sudan Construction and Equipment Company, Ltd. (capital, 1934, £0.4 million) and the Sudan Plant Syn-

dicate (capital, 1925, £0.6 million; 1934, £2.3 million).

Big Increase of British Investments
British Africa has also increased greatly in value as an area for British investments. Here are examples of how the opportunities for British shareholders have increased. The following capital, according to the London Stock Exchange "Ten Years' Record," 1935, has been invested since 1925:

Investments Since 1925	In millions
Gold Coast Govt. Securities	£5.7
South African Govt. Securities	£42.0
N. Rhodesia Govt. Securities	£2.4
S. Rhodesia Govt. Securities	£4.2
Nyasaland Govt. Securities	£2.0
Tanganyika Govt. Securities	£5.5
Rhodesia Railway	£13.8
Nyasaland Railway	£0.8
African Trade Corporation	£3.5
Diamond Mines of S.W. Africa	£6.4
West Rand Consols	£3.3
Rand Selection	£2.4

These are twelve examples out of hundreds of shares dealt with on the London Stock Exchange. They total £32.0 millions! One other example: in four years £25 millions of British capital were invested in North Rhodesian mines.

Africans Become Wage-Slaves for British Capitalists
Since the World War tens of thousands of Africans have become the wage-slaves of British capitalist concerns. Here are the figures showing the increase in Kenya only:

1912	12,000
1920	90,000
1923	128,000
1927	185,000

Has Slavery in British Empire Been Abolished?
Why this expansion in Africa? One of the reasons is that the wages are extremely low—if one dare speak of them as wages. The price of labor in Kenya is ten shillings a week. This is why British capitalists invest money there. They can make greater profits. The low wages in the British Empire in Africa help to cause unemployment in Britain and to under-cut British working class standards.

The question is sometimes asked: Why have not the Abyssinian people

revolted against the system of slavery? It is because they see little difference between slavery in Abyssinia and wage-slavery and forced labor in the neighboring British colonies where Africans are supposed to be free.

The land is taken from the Africans, who are only allowed to possess it in reserved territories. The result is that they are forced to go and labor for British capitalists. The British Government also forces the Africans to labor for particular periods in the year on government schemes of work. The governor of Uganda stated in 1922 that "at present but a small proportion of the unskilled labor employed by governmental departments is voluntary."

The position of the Africans has been described as follows by an authoritative writer: "White colonization and white industry mean that the black man loses the freedom to move in his own country, is made to work for the white man either by undisguised forced labor or by the corvée or by taxation, which he can only pay by hiring himself out year after year. It means sweating in the field for the profit of the white, sweating in the mines where he is paid a tithe of what a white man earns for the same work. Above all, it means losing his lands; a peasant people torn from the land in which his spiritual life is rooted must perish." (White, "The Abyssinian Dispute," page 65.)

But Why Should British Workers Be Killed?

The facts given in this article show the importance of British capitalist interests in Africa and indicate why our British capitalist government is prepared to go to the extent even of war to defend those interests against the threat of Italian capitalist and Imperialist interests.

But why should the lives of the British workers be sacrificed for profits of British capitalists?

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The Significance of the Russian Revolution For the American Working Class

By A. J. MUSTE

The idea of winning American workers to Communism by showing them or talking to them about the progress of "socialist construction" in the Soviet Union always had its limitations. Of course, the Stalinist propaganda in this connection was always based on a fallacious theory, namely, that socialism could be built within the borders of the Soviet Union alone, if only war could be put off a few years by whatever means. Today "the final, irrevocable victory of socialism in the land of the Soviets" has been achieved according to the Seventh Comintern Congress. Any ideas or hopes based on such a theory, on an illusion, were bound to lead to confusion or disillusionment.

Achievements in the S. U.

Apart from this, it is true that there have been important technical and other achievements in the S. U. and we have every right to say that even the beginnings of a planned socialist economy under a workers' state can do more for the workers, in the face of the greatest obstacles, than capitalism. But even when based on this more sober and correct approach, the demonstration of the economic progress made in the S. U. was not calculated to impress and convince the general run of American workers. They could not visualize the low plane of the pre-war economy in Russia. They could see too plainly that the standard of living, technical development and labor productivity were still exceedingly low, compared to what they saw under their own eyes in the post-war U. S. under the most favorably situated capitalism in the world. They lacked the political development to analyze and understand what they saw.

There was a brief interval at the very close of the Hoover reign when very large numbers of American workers were impressed by the picture of no unemployment, etc. under the Five Year Plan in contrast with the misery, demoralization and vague alarm which pervaded the U. S. in those days, and said: "Pretty soon we'll have to do as they did in Russia." But even then the concept of Russia as the promised land was far more generally accepted among the intellectuals and even some of the agricultural population than among the workers; and the talk about doing as they had done in Russia often expressed a flight from reality rather than any determination to face it. Stalinist publicity seems now intent not so much on showing that things in Russia are superior to what obtains in the U. S. as upon showing that they are much the same in the Soviet Union as in the U. S.

Tell the Story of the Revolution

Yet the Russian revolution was and is of immense significance for American workers. The idea that it is a "Russian affair," "foreign," something that does not concern us, unless it be as an evil example, is of course false and dangerous. It is furthermore possible, I believe, to get large numbers of American workers to understand something of the significance of the Russian revolution, though it must always be remembered that the average worker is mainly concerned about things very near to home. It is after a new regime has been established in the U. S. also, not before, that his psychology and outlook be genuinely internationalist.

In the first place, the story of the revolutionary crisis itself, the misery and disorganization resulting from the war under the Czarist bureaucracy, the overthrow of the czar, the miserable failure of the bourgeois and non-revolutionary parties to stop the break-up of all economic life, to meet the needs of the masses, the gradual upsurge of the masses and their rise to power—all this merely as a dramatic spectacle is tremendously impressive. Workers who have been in strikes can live it from the inside. A popular version of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* would be a powerful means for mass propaganda.

Show the Connection with War

The development should be shown in connection with the war. War is the only "way out" that capitalism knows. Permitted to remain in power it will lead the masses every-

Explanation of Basic Elements of Revolution Will Spur Desire to Emulate It

where, in the U. S. too, to the abyss into which the Russian masses were thrust. Capitalism will stop short of nothing in order to retain its hold. The American workers are not immune, do not live in a universe apart, as they thought in the Coolidge-Hoover era. The depression has dispelled that illusion. There are only two ways to "stop war"—complete exhaustion, or the collapse of civilization, or the way the Russian workers chose, the road of revolution which puts an end to capitalism itself.

The idea that finally the workers have to take things into their own hands, that they can trust no one but themselves; the great idea of masses in motion, no longer inert, no longer meekly obeying orders, but standing up in their own right, marching, sweeping everything before them—all this makes a genuine appeal to American workers. On a small scale they have demonstrated in their own strikes that it can be done. Paint the picture of mass action, direct action, on the grand scale in the Russian revolution and they will understand.

Revolution No Tea Party

Show them, too, that the revolution is not a tea party. The masses have to arm themselves in order to escape slaughter at the hands of capitalist henchmen. It is not a question of electing one set of politicians to replace another. A clean break has to be made. The government has to be overthrown. The whole capitalist state and its machinery, police, courts, army must be destroyed. The workers must put their own state, their own revolutionary government, in its place. That is the lesson of the Russian revolution. American workers will come to see this too. There is that in their own tradition which will help them to see it.

The story of the Russian revolution, especially in connection with the contrasting policy pursued and results obtained in Germany and Austria, e.g. is the very best medium for teaching the workers what working class unity is and how it can be obtained. Impatience with

divisions and "wrangling," desire for unity, are deep-seated. But history shows us that all forms of "unity" between workers and other classes on another than working class basis, all forms of "unity" in the working class itself, on anything save a revolutionary program are undependable, a death-trap indeed for the workers. Precisely at the critical moment they break down. They produce not unity, but confusion and division. Genuine unity is achieved on the basis of a revolutionary program and under the leadership of the revolutionary party. There can be and there is no other way—the way of Lenin and Trotsky.

Only the First Battle

The impression conveyed by much of the Stalinist propaganda is that the war of the working class for emancipation basically came to an end with the Russian revolution. It "established" socialism. Henceforth virtually the sole duty of the working class of the world is to "defend the Soviet Union," protect it from external attack, and then pretty much as a matter of course socialism will gain universal sway. This is bad, un-Marxist theory; it is also bad psychology. The Russian revolution resulting in the establishment of the first workers' state in all history, is indeed of incalculable significance. But it was not the war of the workers against their oppressors which came to an end in 1917 on Russian soil. The first major battle of a direct revolutionary character was fought there and the first great victory recorded. But the war is on. Subsequently, the workers have suffered heavy defeats. No matter. The shining example of 1917 stands. The war is still on. Here on American soil also the battle must be fought. Preparing for that battle against American imperialism is the primary duty of the American working class which has also its fighting traditions, a fresh, vigorous class which has never yet suffered a major defeat, but which has also tests to face such as the past never presented. Put the matter thus and Amer-

Increasing Oppression -- Path of Bureaucracy

(Continued from Page 7)

less clear is the difference between the historic roles played by Robespierre and Stalin: the former assured the victory of the revolution over its internal and foreign enemies during the most critical period of its existence; but in Russia this work was accomplished under the leadership of Lenin. Stalin came to the forefront only after this period had come to a close. He is the living embodiment of a bureaucratic Thermidor. In his hands, terror was and remains primarily the instrument for crushing the party, the trade unions and the Soviets, and for establishing a personal dictatorship which lacks only . . . an imperial crown. Terror, which has fulfilled its revolutionary mission and has become transformed into a weapon of self-preservation for usurers, thus transforms itself into an "absurdity," to use Engels' expression. In the language of dialectics this means that it is doomed to inevitable collapse.

The Basis of the Terror

The senseless bestialities, which grew out of bureaucratic methods of collectivization, as well as the vile reprisals and violence against the best elements of the proletarian vanguard inevitably arouse exasperation, hatred and yearning for revenge. This atmosphere engenders moods of individual terrorism amongst the youth. The petty Ukrainian Bonaparte, S. Kossior, famous for his brazenness, said not long ago that Trotsky "calls in the press for the assassination of Soviet leaders," while Zinoviev and Kamenev, as proved—if you please by the Yenukidze case—participated directly in the preparation of the Kirov assassination. Since everybody who has access to the writings of Trotsky can easily verify whether or not Trotsky has called for "the assassination of Soviet leaders" (if one were to allow, in general, that there are adult people who have to verify canards of this sort), this itself casts sufficient light upon the other half of Kossior's lie which concerns Zinoviev and Kamenev. We do not know whether there are now in process of manufacture any fraudulent documents with the aid of "Latvian consuls" or "Wrangel officers." The Kossiors of the Bonapartist regime are still able to hound, strangle and shoot quite a number of impeccable revolutionists, but this will not change the essence of the matter: their terror

is an historical absurdity. It will be swept away together with its organizers.

Fallacy of Individual Attempts

Do we call for the assassination of the Soviet leaders? The bureaucrats who have defied themselves may be sincerely under the delusion that they are making history, but we on our part do not share this illusion. Stalin did not create the apparatus. The apparatus created Stalin—after its own image. The replacement of Kirov by Zhdanov changed absolutely nothing in the state of affairs. Unlike the situation that prevails with goods for mass consumption, the assortment of Kossiors is unlimited. They vary from one another a centimeter or so in height and a few centimeters in girth. That is all! In everything else they are as alike as their own enclaves of Stalin. The replacement of Stalin himself by one of the Kaganoviches would introduce almost as little novelty as did the replacement of Kirov by Zhdanov. But would a Kaganovich have sufficient "authority"? There is no cause for worry, all the Kossiors—the first, the fifteenth and the one thousand and first—would immediately provide the necessary authority for him by means of the bureaucratic conveyor, just as they created Stalin's "authority," i.e., "authority" for themselves, for their uncontrolled rule.

That is why individual terror appears so pathetic and puny in our eyes. No, we have not unlearned the A B C of Marxism. Not only the fate of the Soviet bureaucracy but the fate of the Soviet regime as a whole depends upon factors of a world historic magnitude. Only successes on the part of the international proletariat can restore self-confidence to the Soviet proletariat. The basic condition for revolutionary successes is the unification of the world proletarian vanguard around the banner of the Fourth International. The struggle for this banner must be waged in the U.S.S.R. as well; prudently but unyieldingly. The historical absurdity of an autocratic bureaucracy in a "classless" society cannot and will not endlessly endure. The proletariat that has achieved three revolutions will once again lift up its head. But won't the bureaucratic "absurdity" resist? The proletariat will find a large enough broom. And we shall assist them. September 6, 1935

The Figure of Trotsky

And it is through the medium of the life, the activities, the sayings of Lenin and Trotsky that the conceptions of revolutionary internationalism must in large measure be made real and living to American workers. A pamphlet of the most popular character on the life of Trotsky is one of our immediate needs for the broadest mass work. A popular book on the same subject is needed for those who have time and aptitude for more extensive reading. The conception that the figure of Trotsky, the chief organizer of the revolt in Petrograd during those "ten days that shook the world," organizer of the Red Army, first army in all history under the control of the workers; bearer of the banner of revolutionary internationalism, the banner of world-revolution, in the face of bitter and colossal persecution—the conception that this symbolic figure must be kept in the background is not sound. He belongs to the Russian Revolution, to the Soviet State though not to the Soviet bureaucracy under Stalinist domination. He belongs to China also, to Germany, to France to Latin America. He belongs to the working class and to the revolutionary party, the Workers Party, in the United States. Even Stalinist defamation will in the long run make clear rather than obscure that fact.

The American workers were deeply stirred by the Russian events of 1917, as those of us who were old enough at that time can well remember. The American workers are much nearer not only in point of time but with respect to the development of economy under which they live, and in point of their own political development—much nearer now to facing such a crisis as the Russia masses encountered eighteen years ago. As the capitalist crisis, including the war crisis, swiftly develops, so will the American workers rapidly develop a greater interest in the Russian revolution; come to know it as "their" revolution also, the first mighty victory in the world-revolution which will not be stopped until the working class has everywhere established its rule and humanity can advance to a new stage of civilization in comparison with which the highest that has so far been achieved will appear cheap and barbaric.

Green Trains Guns on Fighting Mpls. Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

of the United Textile Workers. This strike is of national significance. The struck Strutwear plant was endangering the national existence of the union. Running at top speed, in three shifts, the open-shop Strutwear plant was flooding the East with sweatshop-priced goods. Previous attempts to unionize the plant had met with no success, the weak forces of the Central Labor Union being impotent to aid the hosiery federation. The rise to power of Local 574 gave the hosiery federation its long-sought opportunity.

Despite the fact that only a handful at first answered the strike call, the hosiery union's appeal to Local 574 resulted in the shut-down of the plant in August and it has remained closed since, despite numerous attacks by the police on the picket lines. Vincent Dunne, leader of Local 574, received three broken ribs at the hands of police and a sentence of fifteen days in the workhouse for his picketing activities in behalf of the Strutwear strikers. The local press announces the formation of vigilante gangs to war on strike leaders and the employers are hysterically demanding that the police reopen the plant. But the hardy pickets of 574 intend to keep the plant shut until it signs up with the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

Other Services of 574

In addition to these strikes, Local 574 has aided numerous others, including the Arrowhead steel strike, the Minneapolis-St. Paul mechanical strike of last January, the Fargo drivers' strike and the building-trades strike. In the last two weeks hitherto unorganized workers in the candy industry and chicken pickers came to the headquarters of 574 for aid in organizing unions, and won immediate success.

The example of what the militant leadership of Local 574 has been able to do for the workers of Minneapolis has driven the local bureaucrats into a frenzy of hatred. All attempts of local talent to destroy Local 574 having failed, the national union-busters, Green, Woll and Co. have now been called in. The capitalist press and radio, which commented approvingly on former New York police commissioner Richard Enright's recent declaration here calling for violence against the "reds and other lawless elements," will undoubtedly support Bill Green's assault on the unions, as will the employers' open-shop organization, the Citizens Alliance. Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer, who recently went to Washington to appeal to Green to help him against the unions, declaring that "Progress

has been and is being endangered by industrial strife," undoubtedly assured Green of all possible support. The "employer-employee" committee for "industrial peace," set up by Mayor Latimer, composed of President Cunningham of the State Federation of Labor, two other conservative trade union officials, a "neutral" member who is head of a local bosses' industrial institute, and three open-shop bosses—a vice-president of the local Manufacturing Association, and the managers of the non-union Northern States Power Company and the General Mills—will undoubtedly also support Green.

Labor Cold to States' Appeal

But Green will have to look far and wide for support from the labor movement.

Only two weeks ago a delegated conference of fifteen local unions met in the machinists' headquarters and voted to send resolutions to Tobin, Green, the State Federation and the Central Labor Union, demanding reinstatement of Local 574 as essential to the welfare of all local unions.

Local 574 sits on a joint council with the unions of the filling-station attendants and the automobile mechanics. The organizer of the Central Labor Union comes to 574's hall to appeal for help on the picket lines. The "women's clubs" to whom Green's representative announces he will appeal, certainly will not include the most powerful of all, the Farmer-Labor Women's Federation which, immediately after the attack on the ornamental iron workers' picket lines, held a mass meeting and denounced Mayor Latimer as a murderer.

The "veterans' organizations" will not include the Farmer-Labor Veterans Association, which joined the women's federation in demanding the expulsion from the party of Mayor Latimer.

Nor will Green get much help from the Farmer-Labor Hennepin (Minneapolis) County central committee delegates, who cursed their elected representatives for using the police against the strikers.

Nor will Green get much help from the many Farmer-Laborite aldermen and state representatives who called for Latimer's expulsion from the party and his recall from office.

Green, Woll and Tobin are undoubtedly assured of one thing—they have picked out the toughest place in the country for their union-busting.

SUPPORT THE NEW MILITANT SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

Long Live the Russian Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of the social crisis!

The Russian workers inherited from Czarism a poorly developed industry. And even that was ruined and disorganized, first by the ravages of the disastrous war of the capitalist powers and then by the civil war and the intervention. The success of the Soviet workers, deprived of all aid from the capitalist world, in reconstruction of the shattered basis of pre-war Russian industry and then in expanding it on a scale and at a pace unprecedented in history, has proven for all time the immense superiority of the Soviet system over the capitalist system of private ownership. That which the Marxists always maintained has been irrefutably confirmed in practice under the most unfavorable conditions by the Soviet proletariat. The productive forces of mankind, fettered by capitalist property relations and disorganized by ever-deepening crises, will be again vastly expanded under the socialist world system. All possible doubts on this score are removed by the achievements of the Russian revolution in the field of industry regardless of eventual fate of the present Soviet state.

The true adherents of the Russian revolution do not blind themselves to its weaknesses which are fundamentally the result of its isolation and capitalist encirclement and inseparable from it. The nationalist degeneration, which has proceeded uninterruptedly since Lenin's death and which expresses the pressure of alien classes at home and abroad, is the greatest menace to the Soviet Union and the most formidable obstacle to the extension of the revolution to other lands. Stalinism, the bearer of this nationalist degeneration, is the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union and the international revolution. He who does not see this and say it frankly is no revolutionist. Our attitude has nothing in common with those dubious "Friends of the Soviet Union" who expose their friendship in servile and uncritical support of every act and every crime of the bureaucracy. Such people, who are at best sentimental philistines serving reactionary ends and at worst wretched careerists and hired flunkies of the opulent bureaucracy, are outside the revolution and, at the critical moment, will turn up on the sidelines or on the other side of the barricades. As for us, the Russian revolution is our own. We owe the Soviet Union our criticism which is inseparable from the real and unconditional support which genuine revolutionists have always given it. Our fight against Stalinism is a fight for the real defense of the Soviet Union and its extension throughout the world.

The October revolution and the Third International of Lenin are forever united in his-

tory as one and the same enterprise. The ideas of the Third International, forged by Lenin and his collaborators in the darkest days of the world war, came to fruition in the October revolution and made it possible. And by the same token the consolidation of the victory in Russia gave the impulse to the world movement which called the Third International into existence as a world organization. Revolutionary internationalism was the guiding idea which gave meaning to the struggle and determined its course throughout. The abandonment of this line by the nationalistic usurpers has worked exclusively to weaken and undermine the Soviet Union, to destroy the Third International and to demoralize the proletarian vanguard throughout the world. But for the revolutionary Marxists who remain true to themselves the betrayal of the usurpers is only a summons to conduct a new struggle for the old cause. The downfall of the Third International sounds the call for the creation of the Fourth.

The teaching and practice of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Third International, brilliantly exemplified in the greatest victory the working class has ever known, retain all their validity today. To be true to these teachings and apply them—therein lies the task of the proletarian vanguard and the assurance of its victory. To that task we dedicate ourselves again on the 18th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

In order to go forward we must return to Lenin. We must raise again the banner of revolutionary internationalism. We must revive the concept of the Russian revolution as the beginning of the international revolution and dependent on it. That is the way, and the only way, to defend the Soviet Union, to fight the impending war of the imperialists and to prepare the way for the world October. All these tasks and problems which dominate and determine the fate of the working class and of all humanity are bound together today in a single slogan: **THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!**

Toledo and Minneapolis

(Continued from Page 1)

News-Bee editors would have their Minneapolis conferees believe—or it is necessary to refer them to their own back-files on the General Milk Drivers, FWRA, Chevrolet and a dozen of other militant battles.

The first wave of labor struggle in Toledo is ended, the flood that started two years ago with the "Battle of Chestnut Hill." Labor here is utilizing the present lull in strike activity, similar to that throughout the country, to entrench itself in its new won positions and to lay the groundwork for more and greater battles to come. The organization of the Labor Political Congress, while in itself an ineffective agency for genuine working class political action, is an indication of the breaking away of Toledo workers from old-line capitalist party loyalties and a desire for class action.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

Announces Two Lectures On

Marxism and Modern Thought

Professor Sidney Hook

1. MARXISM AND MODERN SCIENCE

Friday, November 15th, at 8 P.M.

2. MARXISM AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY

Friday, November 22nd, at 8 P.M.

Church of All Nations

9 SECOND AVENUE (Near Houston St.) N. Y. C.

Individual lectures 25 cents.

International Workers School, 55 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANT

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JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

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Vol. 1 NOVEMBER 2, 1935 No. 45

A. J. MUSTE
JAMES P. CANNON
ARNE SWABECK
MAURICE SPECTOR

CELEBRATE EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 16th St.
THURSDAY, NOV. 7th,
8 P.M.

WE DID IT ONCE... WE'LL DO IT AGAIN... NOW FOR 1000 SUBS

OUR Russian Revolution anniversary edition last week was a milestone in the history of the NEW MILITANT: for the first time since its inception our paper has appeared in eight pages.

On December 1 we'll do the trick again with another enlarged issue!

We are certain that those of you who have followed the NEW MILITANT from week to week, who have watched its struggle to keep its head above water, who have noted how woefully limited four pages are, must have been delighted in the last issue and wished that it could continue regularly.

Judging by the enthusiasm with which the anniversary number was greeted in New York someone ventured the idea that if enthusiasm alone were enough the eight-pager would be an accomplished fact. Unfortunately enthusiasm is not sufficient, but it can be the beginning of a drive that will yield real results.

For our part, from the editorial office, for the first time in

years we felt that there was some real elbow room. It gave us an idea of the scope of events, the features, the educational, propaganda and polemical articles which might find their way into the NEW MILITANT with the additional space provided by four extra pages. It almost tempted us to brush the dust from the old plans so hopefully prepared when the eight-pager was first projected.

And although we cannot offer you another eight-page paper this week it was decided almost as soon as the November 7 edition came off the press to do the job again on December 1. December 1 marks one year of the Workers Party. We will celebrate it by another EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT.

The December 1 issue, unlike the previous one, will deal almost exclusively with the American scene. If our plans pan out we promise you a humdinger of a paper.

You will then be able to take the two eight-page issues and get a cross section of what the enlarged paper will look like. But the big job is still ahead.

It's a swell idea to rent a new suit for a day every few

months, but it's a much better one to own the suit outright.

That's precisely what we want to do. We want to sport the eight-pager every week and not merely every few months. And these must be your sentiments too.

After all our agitation and especially in view of the brilliant opportunities for the party there isn't any need for discussing how useful four additional pages would be in situations like Minneapolis, in the new progressive drift in the A. F. of L. in the unemployed movement and among Socialist and Stalinist workers.

It's no exaggeration to say that our paper can become the best ever in the history of the labor movement. With the talent and ability at our disposal the eight-pager can combine agitation for the uninitiated worker and education for the more advanced in such a way that will set a new high for labor journalism.

With the eight-page paper we can show the world that the working class doesn't need the gutter journalism of the People's Press recently born out of the cesspool of Stalinism.

The working class deserves the best and not the rottenest; it deserves the attitude not of masters to slaves but of comrades—it should get it.

The reasons are too numerous to mention and you can probably add more than we can think of.

Having perfect agreement, let's quit discussing and hoping. Let's get down to business and put the thing over.

What's needed is push, drive and energy. Everybody must do his part, do it quickly and enthusiastically.

By the W. P. convention, Christmas week, we want 1,000 subs!

We want donations, pledges and good American coin in any form it can be gotten!

And it can!

Let's get the will-to-the-eight-pager, the determination to see the task through and the work it takes to make it a fact. If we have all of these the goal is in sight and the EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT is here to stay.

To work!

NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 46

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Hundreds Turn Out for Shachtman Meetings

Chicago, Detroit and Northwest High Points on Tour

DETROIT: Close to a hundred workers gathered on comparatively short notice at the Wayne County Socialist Hall to hear Max Shachtman present the position of the Workers Party on the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The analysis of the position adopted by the Social Democrats and the Stalinists with regard to the British and League of Nations policy on sanctions, as contrasted to the revolutionary anti-war position of the Workers Party, was followed with keen interest by the workers present. The local branch of the Workers Party promises to experience a considerable growth in the immediate future, especially in view of the fact that it is well connected in the trade unions, above all with the leading forces in the automobile industry. Here as in every other locality visited by Shachtman during the tour, the local comrades are vociferous in their request for experienced organizers to take advantage of the excellent opportunities the party has for growth.

CHICAGO: More than 200 workers packed the large hall of the Capitol Building at the mass meeting organized by the local organization of the Workers Party to hear the position of the W.P. on the coming world war and the present conflict in Africa. Shachtman, now on a national coast-to-coast tour for the Workers Party, was the principal speaker, and he effectively ridiculed the social-patriotic position of the two official "labor" parties—S. P. and C. P.—on the working class attitude towards imperialist war. Despite repeated challenges by the chairman, Norman Saffir, for representatives of the C. P. or S. P. to take the floor in defense of their official position, nobody in the audience ventured to speak in their behalf. In his concluding remarks, Shachtman revealed the reactionary sectarian position of the United Workers Party which was defended by its principal spokesman, Mattick, who, characteristic of all ultra-Leftist sectarians, denounced the Workers Party and Leninism for their defense of the right of self-determination of Ethiopia.

DAVENPORT: All efforts to obtain a hall in this city for a mass meeting at which Max Shachtman, (Continued on Page 4)

Report Reveals Terror Rule of Wall Street Regime in Cuba

Eight of the leading trade union leaders of Cuba were seized last week by government agents in Havana, taken before the so-called "Emergency Tribunal," sentenced to six months each in the dreaded El Principe fortress-prison, and are daily being tortured, according to information received today by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Lasalle, General Secretary of the Havana Federation of Labor; Vilas, secretary of the National Federation of Labor, and six others were seized. Four delegates each from the Havana Federation and the other organization, which are not affiliated with each other, were conferring together on proposals for joint action when secret service men burst in and arrested them.

The Cuban National Committee for Amnesty for Social and Political Prisoners, a joint committee representing thirty-one political and labor organizations of the Cuban masses, including the Havana and National Federations, Joven Cuba, the Communist Party, the Rolbe-

Meeting on Mpls.

Sunday Nov. 10
A. J. Muste and Arne Swaback will expose the Red-baiting drive launched by William Green against Local 574 of Minneapolis, the most militant section of the American labor movement. The unholy alliance of Green with the Minneapolis bosses will be revealed in this meeting on Sunday evening, Nov. 10, 8 P.M. at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C.

C. P. Votes For McLevy

S. P. Faker Gets in with Aid of Republican and 'Solid' Citizens

By Connecticut Correspondent
NEW HAVEN, Conn., Nov. 5.—The Socialist mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport was returned to office today with a clear majority of 5,000 votes over all his opponents. Nearest to McLevy's 24,000 votes was Republican Wilson with 10,000. The Democrats suffered terrific losses as compared with the last election. The Socialists won in every ward.

The big issues of the campaign were honest, economical government and Communism. The latter issue became hot when the Communist Party after getting 500 names on a petition, enough to put candidates on the ballot, decided to withdraw in order to support Jasper (with mental reservations) Jasper, "the sales-tax Socialist." The withdrawal was not allowed, but the C. P. shouted all the louder in support of the Socialists. Earl Browder came to town and addressed an audience of 1,000, who were attracted by Republican and Democratic cries that McLevy was getting support straight from Moscow. Browder frowned on Comrade McLevy but pleaded the need for working class unity at any cost. This was the case all over the world, he said, including Bridgeport.

The high point of the campaign was a radio statement during a Socialist program on the eve of the election by a commissioner of the Park Board: "I am personally a national and state Republican. In voting for Jasper you are voting for honest home government."

French C. P. Gets First Payment

Radicals Elect Cachin In Gratitude For Services

By H. F. ROBERTS

On October 21, the day after the French senatorial elections, l'Humanite, organ of the C. P., appeared with a banner headline: "Victory of the People's Front." Under the masthead was the proud legend: "Director—Marcel Cachin, Senator from the Seine." Modestly, the new dignitary in a front page article admitted that "for the first time a Communist has penetrated into the French Senate."

The significance of this world-shaking event is described by Paul Vaillant-Couturier as "a parry to the threats of the Fascist leagues against bread, liberty and peace. The country remains firmly attached to the traditions willed to it by the glorious French revolution." (l'Humanite, Oct. 21.)

Social Patriot Comes Into His Own
France has proved itself true to its revolutionary traditions. It has elected Marcel Cachin, social-patriot of 1914 and of 1935, to the Senate! The day is saved. Our beloved leader, Joseph—pardon me—Marcel Cachin is the hero of the hour. His election, cries the Central Committee of the French Stalinist party, shaken with emotion, "is a symbol of the unswerving attachment to the Communist International, to the victory of the Front Populaire of peace, bread and liberty."

It is worthwhile stopping briefly to examine this "victory" of the Front Populaire. [The elections in (Continued on Page 2)]

700 at New York Meeting Back French Bolsheviks

In one of the biggest meetings held by the Workers Party in New York since its first days, more than 700 people jammed the Victoria Hall of Irving Plaza to hear James P. Cannon develop the program of the Fourth International on the turbulent events in France.

A true demonstration of international solidarity!

Not since the first days after Hitler's seizure of power has there been an American meeting which by its numbers, its spirit and its deeds rivaled this one of a week ago.

The enthusiastic reception accorded the work of the French Bolshevik-Leninists, who alone carry the banner of revolutionary internationalism, was converted into substantial solidarity.

\$150 was collected with great speed and great enthusiasm to help the work of our French comrades. A facsimile of the check dispatched appears above.

After a brief survey of the background of the situation in France, comrade Muste, acting as chairman, introduced, Cannon the speaker of the evening.

He opened his remarks with an analysis of the instability of world capitalism which seeks a solution either in socialism or reaction. France, he continued, held the key to the outcome of this struggle for Europe and ultimately for all the world.

The Laval government, Cannon explained, very closely resembled the type of governments which preceded Hitler in Germany. Balance themselves on the armed Fascist bands of the Croix de Feu, on the one hand, and on the so-called People's Front on the other, it is holding the working class at bay as the day for the final test arrives.

Continuing with an analysis of the composition of the People's

Minneapolis Progressives Rally For Defense of Drivers Local 574

MPLS. W. P. SHOWS TRUE ROLE OF F-L PARTY

Statement of the Minneapolis branch, Workers Party of the U. S., on the Farmer-Labor Party.

OUR PRE-ELECTION STATEMENT

In the last municipal election campaign, the Minneapolis branch of the Workers Party of the United States issued a campaign leaflet in which we urged all workers to support the Farmer-Labor candidates, in order to break the stranglehold of the Citizens Alliance on the local city government.

"While the Workers Party urges the defeat of Bainbridge by the election of Farmer-Labor candidates, it declares that the Farmer-Labor officials will not and cannot give the working class any real lasting benefits—these will have to be won by the workers themselves through their fighting organizations: the UNIONS, UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZATIONS and REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY."

"Workers of Minneapolis: Elect the Farmer-Laborites to office but WATCH THEIR EVERY MOVE. DO NOT TRUST THEM. They will serve the workers' movement only if the workers' organizations force them to do so."

So we said in our leaflet. Today we see less reason than ever to withdraw our declaration and our warning.

THREE MONTHS OF FARMER-LABOR RULE IN MINNEAPOLIS

The Farmer-Labor Party campaigned on pledges not to use the police in industrial disputes, and to fight for more liberal unemployment relief. What has been the record of the Farmer-Labor administration—acting through its elected mayor and aldermen—since it took over political power in Minneapolis?

1. Reactionary officials, including Swanson, were not ousted but were retained in office.

2. The relief administrator, Klorfau, was not ousted but was retained in office.

3. Such a gross mismanagement of strikes and of the police that satire itself stands disarmed. It is enough to recall Mayor Latimer's phony investigation to determine if the Flour City strike was "just." It is enough to quote the Minneapolis Journal: "Mayor Helps Reopen Plant—Latimer Directs Police Detail Guarding workers at Iron Works—The mayor with 50 policemen gave help to all employees (?) who desired to enter the plant..." Incidentally, Latimer or the Farmer-Labor Party has never to this day explained this strike-breaking act. The incidents at Strutwear and the murderous police charges at Flour City are alone enough to damn a party forever in the eyes of honest working men and women. But Latimer does not stop here. He whitewashes the police. And when the Citizens Alliance-dominated grand jury hells for (Continued on Page 4)

Issue Challenge to Nation's Militants to Hit Green Drive

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 2.—Blazing front-page headlines in the local press for three consecutive days have bannered the fact that William Green is mobilizing the whole machinery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to "open war on reds here." Green announces that Minneapolis is to be made "the center of a U. S. drive on communism."

Meyer Lewis, a Green agent, has been working under cover in this city for five weeks now, quietly gathering together the forces of reaction in an attempt to smash the militant local union movement. The Minneapolis Journal quotes the 4-point plan of the "labor leaders," as follows:

1. Contacting all employers who have been victims of communist aggression in labor disputes.

2. Conference with the heads of all unions in the city, including those under suspicion of communist direction, to learn their desires.

3. A general campaign among all unions of the city to educate the membership to the menace of communist leadership to the cause of labor.

4. An effort to have union members who have been encouraged to follow communist leadership to repudiate the radicals.

Lewis, Green's personal representative, elaborates on his master's despicable plan. "The American Federation of Labor, in beginning its national campaign to fight communism, will make Minneapolis its headquarters..." We propose to establish a worthwhile organization whose function will be to contact women's organizations, churches, veteran organizations, fraternal groups and civic bodies in order to combine the efforts of all these in one stupendous drive, which will concentrate on the one objective of eliminating those extremists outside the labor movement who are encouraging the promulgation of these undesirable radical principles.

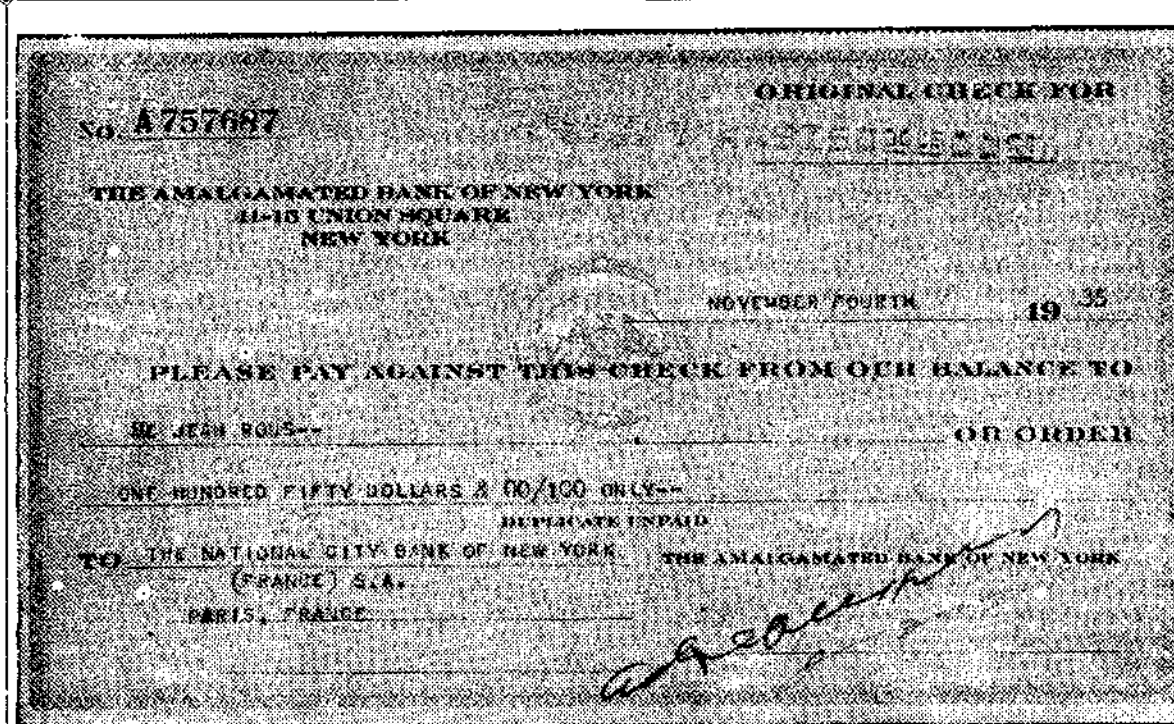
... It is of the utmost importance that the citizens of Minneapolis, regardless of class or creed, regardless of financial status and regardless of belief shall co-operate 100 percent to see that the troubled waters of the industrial situation be clarified, and that the uppermost thought of the A. F. of L., the Minnesota Federation of Labor and the entire citizenry be combined under one common banner to completely purge the city of communism, and set the industrial wheels of activity in motion along the right trail, that being a complete and underlying peace for business men."

This morning's Minneapolis Tribune announces that work of contacting business, civic and other organizations to secure their active aid in the war on Communism is well under way. "The anti-Red activity will be in full swing next week. The Federation will then have established headquarters in downtown Minneapolis and officials of several international labor unions, whom Mr. Green is to send to Minneapolis, will be on the job."

Citizens Alliance Glee!
To Green's splitting proposals, the bosses, the Citizens Alliance, the American Legion, the business men's lunch clubs, etc. are of course responding enthusiastically. So do various officials of the State Federation of Labor. So does Farmer-Labor Mayor Thomas ("Tear Gas") Latimer.

The Citizens Alliance-led officials of the Strutwear Knitting Company, where a strike of 1,200 hosiery workers has been in progress for two months, have issued a statement damning the "reds."

"Falling through persuasion and (Continued on Page 2)



Facsimile of check sent to our French comrades from collection at meeting.

Front, Cannon dwelled especially with the Communist Party, whose treacherous policies have made it the most reactionary force in the labor movement. The quotations he read from the Stalinist press of France left the audience gaping in amazement, so unbelievable has the degeneracy of the party of Lenin become.

From there the speaker went over to the crisis in the social democracy, the conditions that brought about the entrance of the Bolshevik-Leninists, their intransigent fight for revolutionary ideas and program. He concluded with an exposition of their program and an appeal for support.

Then came the discussion and the

intervention of the nuisance groups whose chief reason for existence is their putrid criticisms of the 4th International. One after another, L. E. Weisford, Field and Oehler cliques fulminated against "Trotsky the traitor." "Trotsky the capitulator," they whined that "everything was lost in France," they bitterly protested at Cannon's failure to make distinctions between them, etc., etc.; but they didn't get a rise out of the audience which greeted their remarks with derision and remained 100 percent for the W.P., the Fourth International and comrade Trotsky to the last moment of the meeting.

In his summary Cannon gave the crushing reply to these splitters,

pointing to their reactionary role in attacking the Bolshevik-Leninists of France precisely at the time they were under attack from the bureaucracy of the S. P., the Stalinists and the police—the role of strikebreakers. To their cries about the suppression of democracy in the W.P. he showed the audience the internal bulletins of the party filled with the opinions of the minority, which walked out of the organization despite the democracy proffered them by the party. The hearty applause from the audience showed its complete solidarity with the actions of the W.P.

The meeting ended with a lusty singing of the Internationale.

French C. P. Gets First Payment

(Continued from Page 1)

the Seine were for the purpose of filling ten vacancies in the Senate, to be selected by the vote of the electors, corresponding to the municipal councilors and other local officials and deputies. A majority was required for election. The electors totaled 1,246. The results gave eight seats to the ticket of the Front Populaire—but also elected Pierre Laval and his confere, Flanquette.

This came about in an exceedingly curious manner. Seven Front Populaire candidates received the requisite majority (624 or more votes). Only Cachin failed! What had happened? Leon Blum himself tells us on the front page of Populaire, organ of the S.P. (Oct. 21) that "about 100 delegates of the Front Populaire did not vote for Cachin on the first ballot."

People's Front Votes for Laval

Where did those votes go? No less than 90 of them, says Blum, went to Laval—who was also elected on the first ballot—polling 647 votes. The unbreakable front of the Front Populaire cracked to let Laval into the Senate as representative of the Seine!

Grinding its teeth at this humiliation, l'Humanite charges Doriot with responsibility. Doriot, it seems, betrayed the Front Populaire by preventing the St. Denis delegates from voting for his old friend Cachin. Populaire brightly suggests that not a few delegates, selected from all colors in the front, were bought over.

Give the Dog His Bone

At any rate, this defection caused alarms and excursions. Between the first and second ballots (additional ballots were required to fill the two seats still vacant) the victorious Radicals and Socialists agreed that "the Communists had loyally voted. It is an essential duty to vote for them." Give the dog his bone. He's earned it. Hasn't he forewarned Communist independence? And wouldn't the workers be following a real lead from an organization with such resources? By all means, give the dog his bone.

So to the second ballot. This time 619 were needed to win. A desperate yank pulled Cachin across, a winner with 620—only two votes ahead of Flanquette. A close shave for our Marcel!

Let us examine the ballot counts more carefully. In the first count the candidates for the Front Populaire lined up as follows:

Mounie, Radical Socialist... 801
Seltzer, S.F.L.O. 737
Fleuret, Rep. Socialist... 730
Stoeg, Radical Socialist... 696
Auray, French Socialist... 671
Bachelot, Pupist... 638
Morisset, S.F.L.O. 638

Cachin, C. P. 590
Clamamus, C.P. 579
Pignier, C.P. 577

On the Laval list, the premier himself came in, elected, with 647 votes. Flanquette polled 675 with the other candidates trailing. Thus the first seven on the Front Populaire list and Laval were elected.

"The Deserving Cachin"

Note that no less than 211 votes separated Cachin from the Radical Socialist at the top of the list. In the second ballot, which brought Cachin in only two votes ahead of Flanquette, his 620 votes were still 181 votes from the Mounie total. This gives some suggestion as to the position of the Stalinists in this bloc of classes, in which the Mounies, the Seltzers, the Fleurets, the Stoegs—"passionately devoted to the national defense"—are leading the French version of the Kuomintang—and in which Cachin who "knows no enemies in the French people" (l'Humanite, Oct. 6), is symbolically in its place at the tail end.

"Better discipline in the Front Populaire would have brought more decisive results," said l'Humanite on Oct. 22. "Our Communist Party could point to the sacrifices it has made in the Seine to give satisfaction to all the groups in the Front Populaire... but it shall not stop for useless recriminations." And this was under the heading "More Than Ever—Front Populaire!"

Class and party independence have been entirely surrendered by the French Stalinists—for a seat in the Senate. For a seat in the government tomorrow they—and their reformist bureaucratic blood brothers, Blum, Faure, Zyromski and Co.—will deliver up the workers to the Fascists, to the cannon of imperialist war.

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, will speak in Newark Sunday, Nov. 17, at 8 P.M. on "Which Party for the American Worker?" The meeting will take place at St. Regis Hall, 34 Park Place, opposite the Hudson Tubes Terminal.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 3-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

W.P. Main Butt of Attack at I. L. G. Progressives Meet

Lovestoneite Easy on Labor Fakers; No Mention of 574

Announcement of the early publication of an English-Jewish progressive paper and an attack on the Workers Party were the chief features of a general membership meeting held by the Progressive Needle Trades Center of New York last Saturday. This is the first meeting held since the center was formally organized early last June. The announced purpose of this meeting was to hear reports on the A. F. of L. convention by progressive official I.L.G.W.U. delegates.

The chair was occupied by Louis Levy, manager of Local 1 of the Cloakmakers and a "progressive" of sorts. In his local, 150 "left-wingers" who joined the local in 1933 are kept as semi-septs, paying dues but having no say on union affairs. He is that sort of a progressive. Reports were given by Reuben Zuckerman, chairman of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers (a well-known "progressive" organization) and by Nathan Margolis, assistant manager of Local 22 who is also playing with the Progressives this season.

The reports, which were in Jewish, were generally factual, dealing with matters already covered in our press. In addition, Zuckerman gave an interesting account of the personal characteristics, age, etc., of the delegates to the congress.

Following the reports came what was really the main event. The speech of Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 and leader of the Progressive Center. Zimmerman was well-primed for the occasion. The press had just carried

reports of the vicious red-baiting union-wrecking campaign started by William Green's representative, Meyer Lewis, against the militant section of the Minneapolis labor movement. Like all informed people, Zimmerman knew that this attack was directed against the leaders of a real progressive movement in Minneapolis and the northwest, many of whom are close to the Workers Party. Any progressive leader speaking to a meeting of progressives at such a time should have used the occasion to rally the progressive forces present in solidarity with the hard-pressed militants in Minneapolis.

Not so, Zimmerman. He had other fish to fry. With garbled quotations from the NEW INTERNATIONAL, Zimmerman launched into an attack not on Green, nor his representative, but on the Workers Party, charging that the W.P. had taken over the discarded "third period" policies of the Communist Party. The workers present were surprised. Why this attack on the Workers Party? Is the Workers Party a powerful force in local 22, and what forces it has have supported the Progressive Group? Was the attack then just an expression of solidarity with Green's union-wrecking campaign in Minneapolis? No, we do not, for a moment, believe that was the intention, though the speech did serve that purpose.

Rally Aid For 574

(Continued from Page 1)

persistent solicitation to induce any large number of our employees to join the Hosiery Workers union, the business agent of the Central Labor Union, Roy Weir, assisted by these imported outside organizers of the Hosiery Workers Union, solicited the active assistance of the communist leaders, the General Drivers Union, Local 574, its relief workers' auxiliary, and the leaders of the Workers Party of the United States. This group responded on August 16 by mobilizing a hostile mob which appeared at our plant and, by illegal mass and mob activities, forcibly prevented our employees from going to work and compelled us to close our plant. Again on Aug. 19 when we sought to reopen our plant and resume operations, a still larger and more violent mob recruited from these same organizations was again permitted to unlawfully assemble at our factory. We were again forced to close and have remained closed ever since."

The Strutwear statement closes with the usual threat to put a postage stamp on the factory and mail it out of town. "It would be doing an injustice to our customers to try to continue business in Minneapolis."

All Progressive Thought Threatened

Meyer Lewis has already divulged the wide scope of his plan, which, if successful, would once again place upon Minneapolis the stigma of being an open-shop town, as happened in 1924 when the last A. F. of L. "purge" occurred. "This work cannot be limited to a communist purge. When we get started it must be a fight also against those who are furnishing the ammunition and weapons to those trouble makers. . . . Minneapolis is only the starting place. . . . The campaign is to be nation-wide."

Here, in black and white, is a warning to all progressive thought in the American labor movement. This means that the mildest progressive will not be spared in this latest drive. If Bill Green has his way, no person who does not agree with the narrow and backward views of Green, Woll, and the Citizens Alliance will be free from persecution at the hands of these shameful and contemptible wretches.

Progressives Organize for Defense

On Wednesday night, a few hours after the first rocket was sent up by William Green, a conference of fifteen A. F. of L. locals, led by Local 574, met in the machinists' headquarters. The unions present included the Public Building Service Employees, the Laundry Workers, the Painters, the Station Attendants, the Lathers, the Machinists, the Building Laborers, the City and Sanitary Drivers, the Carpenters, the Upholsterers, and the General Drivers. This conference of progressives adopted a resolution smashing back at Green's statement, charging "It is a continuation of the subversive propaganda initiated by the Citizens Alliance and carried forward by Mayor La Follette through his star chamber conferences and his employer-employee board. The purpose of the vicious statement is to direct broad attack against the progressive unions which have carried the banner

of industrial unionism in Minneapolis. Frightened by the strong support mobilized by the industrial unionists, the bureaucrats of the craft unions, headed by Green, are casting all union principle to the winds and seeking to rouse a lynch spirit against the progressive unions under the guise of the red scare. Directed as they are against all progressive tendencies in the labor movement, these provocative statements can only serve to destroy rather than create industrial peace. All sane thinking persons should condemn these tactics as an unscrupulous attempt by a clique of self-seeking individuals to gain their own selfish ends at the expense of the democratic rights of all organized workers."

Lewis' only reply to these statements was to say "they were to be expected. The Minneapolis drive is not a flash in the pan; neither has it been hastily conceived, but, on the contrary, has been very carefully considered."

A Clarion Battle Cry to the Nation's Progressives

Now for the explanation of this whole malignant cancer which is trying to gain root in Minneapolis, in order later to squirm its branches and tentacles throughout the vitals of America. It is just a few weeks ago, at the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention, that the corrupt Green machine was repelled in its fight against all progressive ideas in the American trade union movement. The fight between honest and buggy unionism and industrial unionism is now not only out in the open, but practically settled in so far as there is not the slightest doubt but that the rank and file is overwhelmingly with the progressives. What was significant about the official vote was not that the industrial union resolution was defeated by 18,025 to 10,924, but that 90 percent of the delegates from city and state labor bodies voted in favor of the industrial form of organization.

Green, Woll and Co. see the handwriting on the wall. They see that their rotten policies that have undermined the trade union movement for many, many years are now no longer acceptable to trade unionists to whom these depression years have begun to teach the lessons that must be learned. Like a cornered rat, Green is desperately staging a last ditch battle in defense of his tottering throne. He and his bureaucratic entourage witness with wide-eyed dismay their grip upon the working-class begin to slip. With that grip also goes their princely salaries. The odds that are gathering about the factory chimneys of Minneapolis are the stench that arise from a corpse in the initial stages of decomposition: the corpse of class collaboration, impotent craft-unionism.

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE
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GERMANIA HALL - 144 E. 16th St.
DANCING :: ENTERTAINMENT :: PRIZES
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9th 1935
Admission 20 cents
At door: 25c with costume; 30c without costume.
Tickets obtainable at 55 East 11th Street

The real reason for this strange attack on the Workers Party at a progressive meeting can be found in the political needs of the Lovestone group. It is a needle trades addition to Lovestone's anti-Trotskyist articles. It has two purposes. One to show the Communist Party that the Lovestone group is one with them in their efforts to isolate the Workers Party from any participation in the mass movement. Two, to attempt to discredit the Workers Party in the eyes of the Socialist workers, as part of Lovestone's effort to act as marriage broker between the Stalinists and the S.P.

Easy on Dubinsky

At the meeting which founded the Progressive Center in June, Zimmerman also attacked the Workers Party, but on that occasion, in addition he had a few words of criticism for Sidney Hillman and other officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Today, even the latter was lacking. The "progressiveism" of the Needle Trades Center if we may judge by the speeches of Zimmerman, is being rapidly watered down to the point where it will be acceptable to Dubinsky.

At the conclusion of Zimmerman's speech, and as the audience was streaming from the hall, Sam Baron, of the B.S. & A.U., an S.P. "Militant" was given the floor. With the limited time at his disposal, and under the circumstances, Baron made as effective a report on the Minneapolis situation as possible, announcing his solidarity with those under attack. The speech of the Socialist, Sam Baron, was in striking contrast with that of the "Communist," Zimmerman.

About 500 workers attended the meeting, the first membership meeting of the Progressives. At no time during the meeting were the members given an opportunity to take the floor.

But even a corpse can give off a deadly poison. It is becoming crystal-clear that Green, and local editions of himself, are violently resolved to use any and all weapons, to utilize the worst sort of criminal and Black Hundred elements, in their almost-hopeless struggle to resuscitate themselves.

It is a tribute to the militants of Minneapolis—those militants who have led and are leading such magnificent working class battles against the forces of oppression—that Green should have spotlighted this city of all cities, should have directed his first fusillade against our comrades.

The Green challenge is accepted! The fight to the finish is on.

It is a fight of progress against reaction—of the oppressed against their oppressors—of all that seeks to drive humanity forward, against those who seek to drag it back. In this fight, we in Minneapolis expect to receive the complete backing of all that is good and healthy in the American labor movement. We stand with braced feet beyond the front-line trenches, waiting to receive on our shoulders the brunt of the opening attack. We fully anticipate that every single progressive in the entire country will support us with all strength in the battle that approaches, against all the vile weapons that William Green, the Citizens Alliance, the Farmer-Labor Mayor, the police and other scoundrels will bring into play. When the smoke has cleared away, when the battle is won, we will find that the American labor movement has made immense strides forward.

The bugles are calling! On to battle!

A F F A I R
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Good Music, Food, Drinks
Entertainment
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Admission 15c
Auspices: Branch 2, W. P.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL FORUM

Sponsored by the Philadelphia Local, Workers Party
431 Pine Street

Sunday, Nov. 17—JAMES RORTY, well known author and journalist: "The Intellectuals and Their Place in the Revolutionary Movement."

Sunday, Nov. 24—LUDWIG LORE, columnist for the Phila. Record: "New Alignments in Europe."

Sunday, Dec. 1—A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of the W. P.: "The A. F. of L. Convention in Atlantic City."

Sunday, Dec. 8—MAURICE SPENCER, former member Executive Committee Communist Interna-

ON THE FIRING LINE

W.P. Issues Paper in Akron

AKRON, O., Nov. 4.—In an intensified effort to give a correct program to the rubber workers in their current crisis because of hour lengthening and wage cutting by the companies, the Akron branch of the Workers Party has published its first issue of the GUM-MINER (local idiom for rubber worker), a four-page paper.

"What the United Rubber Workers of America Must Fight For," is the featured article. A clear revolutionary position on the war question is presented in another article. Cartoons and a "Dear Emily" column are used to enliven the issue.

Special attention is given to the fight of local 574 of Minneapolis against another "red drive" by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the unions are urged to support the local, in the final article. The paper is scheduled to appear every three weeks, 250 copies per issue.

Another Strikebreaking 'Labor' Mayor

(By a Worker Correspondent)

BEAUMONT, Texas.—Mayor P. E. Renfro, of this city, has proven an apt side-kick for Lathier, the "labor mayor" of Minneapolis. Tired of strike-breaking and terrorism, the labor unions of this town were instrumental in defeating the former city administration and electing Renfro and his colleagues, last spring. Before the election, the politicians, running on the labor ticket spoke with tears in their eyes of friendship for the working man.

Scabs protected by police constitute the redemption of Renfro's pledges. Members of the International Longshoremen's Association confidently expected that the Beaumont city administration would pursue a hands-off policy during the current strike. Instead, the subsidized Lone Star Dock Workers Association has been permitted to furnish scabs in unlimited quantities.

The union petitioned the city council to close the port during the period of the strike. But the members of that labor-elected body hid out in order not to take action. Mayor Renfro feebly excuses his sell-out by saying that the port is partly under the jurisdiction of the Federal government.

The backward rural sections of this state have been scourged for scab labor which has been shipped in by the carload. Frank Hammer, notorious ex-state ranger, has been hired by the hired by the companies to command their private force of thugs, stool-pigeons and strong arm boys. Widespread sympathy for the striking workers has prevented, thus far, the calling out of the National Guard.

Stalinists 'Vote Socialist' in Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Communist Party bookshop and offices here display large signs saying "Vote Socialist" and announcing

local Socialist Party radio broadcasts. Lacking sufficient signatures under the County Commissioner's rules, the Communist Party has failed to get on the ballot. Although Stalinist support was not solicited by the right wing controlled Socialist Party here, nor is there a pretense at a "United Labor Ticket," and it is not a matter of actually electing S. P. candidates against a reactionary clique, the Stalinists are giving unserved support to the S. P., making no criticism of them, presenting no independent position.

In former years when a small party lacked sufficient forces to be placed on the ballot, a vigorous sticker and "write-in" campaign was conducted. Today, the C. P., without any embarrassment gives unstinting support to the reformists.

Next year there will be a ticket representing the revolutionary position for workers of Philadelphia to support—the ticket of the Workers Party.

Sugar Workers Strike For Reconition

TRACY, Cal., Oct. 30.—Forced to strike because of continued firing of union members, the Sugar Workers Union is conducting a strike for union recognition.

The Holly Sugar Corporation is determined that no union shall exist in any of its several large plants. The strikers are more than determined that the right of the workers to organize for decent wages, for sanitation, for seniority and for safety devices shall be maintained.

The busy or "campaign" season is on, and as a number of the men are skilled, the company's hand is being forced. Some men have already been asked to come back by Holly Sugar Corporation.

Aid is being sought from the various unions in the locality. The San Joaquin Labor Council has promised support. Since the teamsters and the Tug-boat men bring in the sugar beets, they are being contacted in an effort to get them to declare Holly Sugar Corporation beets and sugar "hot cargo." It is essential to get the support of these two unions. However, difficulties stand in the way of securing this cooperation—reactionary bureaucrats in both the teamsters' and the tug-boat men's unions are stalling off representatives of the Sugar Workers Union.

Many of the men have never been in a trade union before but they are learning fast and having seen deputies herd the scabs, they can see who is on the side of labor and who is on the side of the industrialists. The fighting spirit is high. Picket lines are maintained 24 hours a day to get the scabs out and win the strike.

Bldg. Trades Fight Scabs in Calif.

STOCKTON, Cal., Oct. 31.—The attempt made by the Western Engineering Co. of Los Angeles to use scab labor on a building job for the Taylor Milling Company has been met by a picket line of the local Building Trades Council. Workers here remember the mill-

tant strike of the warehouse men earlier this year. It is interesting to note that this selfsame Taylor Milling Company was one of the struck companies which finally "saw the light" and signed up. Workers of Stockton also will remember that it was in this previous strike that Ray Morency, militant I.L.A. warehouse men's leader met his death from a gun in the hands of the boss's son.

The Building Trades Council and the San Joaquin Labor Council have both placed the Western Building Company and the Taylor Milling Company on the "We don't patronize" list.

However, what is needed is not merely passive resistance and platonic "promises of support" but militant action. First, only 15 or 20 scabs are working, a mass picket line could easily prevent the scabs from continuing. Second, the warehouse men working in the mill should walk off in sympathy. Already they have helped in picketing when not busy handling loads.

This paradoxical situation of Building Trades men striking the part of the mill that is being constructed, while warehouse men handle grain in another part must be ended, and a lesson in union solidarity taught to the gentlemen of the Taylor Milling Company as well as a real example of cooperation shown to the rest of Stockton labor.

NEW PAMPHLETS

We are now embarking on a new program of pamphlet publication to be issued and distributed by the NEW MILITANT business office. The first pamphlet to be published under this arrangement deals with the burning question of war, written by John West. It is already in the printers' hands and should be out within a couple of weeks.

In its forty-eight pages is crammed a thorough Marxian analysis of imperialist wars. It is entirely up-to-date, dealing with the issues involved in the war in Ethiopia and the present conflicting imperialist interests that threaten to expand this war into a general world conflagration. The role of the League of Nations, the role of social-patriotism and the agents of social-patriotism in the present war situation is thoroughly dealt with.

In this pamphlet by comrade West we have a veritable arsenal of unassailable Marxist arguments. In sum and substance it plants the banner of revolutionary Marxism right in the teeth of the imperialist war mongers.

This pamphlet will retail at 10 cents and party branches should send in their orders right away. Better yet, any orders paid in advance will speed the actual appearance of this pamphlet. The wholesale price is 7 cents per copy for 10 copies or more, with special arrangements for special sized orders; but credit will be given only to a limited extent.

It is important to remember, however, that the distribution of this pamphlet is considered a very important part of the party's campaign against war. It must therefore be given the widest possible circulation. Branches would do well by assigning to themselves a definite quota of pamphlets to distribute and set to work without delay.

Other pamphlets are on the schedule and will follow in short order. From comrade Trotsky we receive a promise of manuscript for a pamphlet on the Seventh Comintern Congress. A pamphlet on the A. F. of L. by Arne Swaback is also in preparation. Others will be announced subsequently.

CHICAGO MEETING "The Danger of a New World War"

Speaker: ALBERT GLOTZER
Member Natl. Committee, W.P.
TUESDAY, NOV. 12, 8 P.M.
1237 N. California Ave.
Ausp: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

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For further information apply to Main Office:
714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

One thousand new subscribers and a corresponding increase in bundle sales by the time of the second Workers Party convention on December 26. This is our next aim. It is modest enough, in fact we have been deliberate in setting such a modest aim in order to make sure that it will be reached.

Reaching this aim will also mean that the funds necessary to launch the eight-page weekly will be at hand. The eight-page weekly will be assured, and it will start out with a larger circulation. These two propositions are tied together in the general objective of a stronger and more effective press.

It is necessary to remember at all times that the press is our main instrument. But just now, with the war clouds thickening everywhere, there is a special occasion to devote extraordinary efforts to build up the press and lay the foundation for a stronger party.

Each party branch has been asked to accept a definite quota of new subscriptions to be obtained during the period set. But this does not preclude the assistance of others. On the contrary, we welcome every reader as an active participant in this job. Similarly, we still welcome outright contributions for the eight-page weekly and we shall render a report from time to time as we continue to advance toward its realization.

But the central point is now the drive to gain the one thousand new subscribers and a corresponding increase in bundle sales. Let all comrades go to work without delay.

We print below the quotas for the branches. Let's pull together—100 subs by Convention time.

City Quota
Akron, Ohio 20

Albert Lea, Minn.....	10
Allentown, Pa.....	30
Austin, Minn.....	10
Berkeley, Cal.....	10
Boston, Mass.....	25
Charleston, W. Va.....	5
Chicago, Ill.....	50
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25
Columbus, Ohio.....	10
Davenport, Iowa.....	10
Detroit, Mich.....	25
Dickson City, Pa.....	5
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10
Guilford, Miss.....	10
High Point, N. C.....	5
Kansas City, Mo.....	10
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5
Newark, N. J.....	20
New Castle, Pa.....	10
New Haven, Conn.....	10
New York City.....	400
Branch 1.....	90
Branch 2.....	40
Branch 3.....	75
Branch 4.....	30
Branch 5.....	20
Branch 6.....	15
Branch 7.....	15
Branch 8.....	10
General District work.....	100
Northampton, Pa.....	5
Paterson, N. J.....	10
Philadelphia, Pa.....	30
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25
Plentywood, Mont.....	10
St. Louis, Mo.....	10
Salt Lake City, Utah.....	10
San Francisco, Cal.....	20
Springfield, Ill.....	5
Toledo, Ohio.....	25
Utica, N. Y.....	5
Washington, D. C.....	10
Williston, N. Dakota.....	10
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10
Total.....	1,000

Japanese Military Seizes North China Province

(Continued from Page 1)

Nanking and as such might have drawn the fire of a desperate man who wanted somehow to express his opposition to Nanking's betrayal of the country. Information has been too scanty to say, but the shooting might equally as well have been part of the foul political intrigues always in progress inside the Kuomintang camp. None of us would have mourned Stalin's friend Wang, but the would-be assassin was a bum shot and Wang is recovering.

Sowing Up the North

Japan has meanwhile blotted out the last vestiges of even nominal Chinese authority in North China, has taken over the policing of Tientsin and Peiping, compelled the resignation of the mayors of those two cities and the liquidation of the Peiping Military Council, the organ of Chiang Kai-shek's authority in the North.

One key to understanding what is going on is the fact that the Japanese have decided to get rid of Chiang. He has grown stronger than they like any one general to be. The defeats he inflicted upon the Red Armies, his conquests of the western provinces, his acquisition of the rich opium revenues at their source in Szechwan and Kweichow placed Chiang and the government he dominates in a position of authority greater than they have ever had.

Moreover, Chiang, while selling out to the Japanese at every juncture, has always played a wild game, keeping himself out in the hinterland and dealing with the Japanese only through underlings, like Wang Ching-wei or Huang Pu. The Japanese have tired of this game. They want the Nanking government to sign over its recognition of Manchukuo and of Japan's dominant position in China, politically and economically, and they want it done directly and formally by the Central government.

Britain's Maneuver

It is into this situation, Japanese imperialism aggressive, Nanking submitting but truculently and with an ill-grace, that British imperialism has edged its hand. The sudden announcement came on Nov. 4 that China had devaluated her currency, ordered nationalization of the country's silver stocks and in effect pegged a new Chinese paper dollar to sterling. These steps, long heralded by the disastrous flow of silver from the country (due in part to China's inordinately heavy adverse trade balance, the price she pays for imperialist patronage, and in part to America's silver buying which only accelerated the flow of silver outward) were taken at the advice of Sir Frederick

Leith-Ross, a British Treasury official now attached to Nanking as a financial adviser.

That Nanking took this step apparently without previously consulting Japan, is alone sufficient to show that a certain amount of definite British backing had been promised. Talk was current of a \$50,000,000 (U.S. currency) loan which was denied but which remains in the air. The War Office and Foreign Office in Tokyo were openly furious over this development and the Japanese banks in Shanghai will probably try to sabotage the effort at nationalization by refusing to surrender their silver stocks. Meanwhile the Japanese press has started fulminating at both Britain and Nanking. The currency reform is called a "return of the pro-European or pro-American clique" (T. V. Soong and Co.) and dire threats of military action have been resumed.

Seeking New Markets

What these developments mean is simply this: Chiang Kai-shek, aware that the Japanese mean to smash him whether he crawls to them or not, has decided to give as much to the Japanese as he has to, but at the same time to seek other imperialist aid to bolster his position against the Japanese. He started doing this as early as last June when he sent W. W. Yen on a tour of European capitals and had Alfred Sze make a definite appeal for help in Washington. The latter appeal went unheeded because Roosevelt considered his silver-purchasing program of more immediate importance. But in London steps were taken which resulted in the sending of Frederick Leith-Ross to China and ever since then talk of a British loan has been in the air.

Another important current must be watched: press reports, mostly Japanese-inspired, to be sure, say Nanking is looking once more to Moscow for an entente. These reports are probably not true at the moment—but it is not impossible that they may become true if Nanking actually tries trailing for a while behind British imperialism instead of Japan. If the policies of Baldwin and Laval can "collide" with Moscow's "peace policy" why not those of Chiang Kai-shek? For the time being, however, Nanking will surrender to Japan with one hand, hold on to Britain with the other. The result, as always, will be paid for by the Chinese masses, for whom devaluation, with its consequent rise in prices and financial chaos (where already there was anarchy) means the utmost hardships increased a hundredfold.

WHAT ARE SANCTIONS?

"Collective Effort for Peace" or Imperialist Battle for Empire?

By ARNE SWABECK

Fifty-two nations, including the Soviet Union, have voted to enforce sanctions, under the League of Nations covenant, against Fascist Italy. Liberals, pacifists and labor organizations, with but few exceptions throughout the world, support sanctions. A similar position is taken by the Second and the Third Internationals. In union, both of these Internationals have become aggressive supporters of sanctions ever since this ingenious device was invented by the capitalist statesmen at Geneva.

The fateful days of 1914 had for their rallying cry the "defense of the fatherland." Is history now repeating itself? Are not issues of similarly fateful consequences to the future of the whole of humanity joined up in this rallying cry of 1935—the cry of sanctions?

What will sanctions mean when actually enforced? Are they to be purely financial and economic or are they to be military? Is it true that the sanctions to be invoked by the League of Nations represent the collective efforts of these nations to punish an aggressor and to stop war, or do they mean the extension of the war in Ethiopia on a far more colossal scale. This is the first and most essential question that confronts the working class.

For an answer it is necessary to examine at least the most outstanding factors involved.

The Causes of War

It has been said—and correctly so—that war is the continuation of politics by military means. Imperialist wars arise from the constant struggle between the powers for increased markets in world economy. All imperialist powers today feel the consequences of the economic crisis. The vast expansion of their productive forces presses them onward inexorably and irresistibly in the struggle for new markets and new colonial fields where they can tap the sources of raw materials, invest surplus capital and extract new and greater profits. On every continent they are openly advancing for new conquests. Owing to the severe defeats which the workers have suffered under Fascist onslaughts, the imperialist gamblers feel free to engage in a continuation of the conflict for increased economic returns by military means.

It is, of course, not the particular aggressor attitude of one or the other of these powers that produces war. This merely expresses a readiness to strike out for new territories. Fascist Italy has embarked on its course of expansion at the

expense of the last of the independent African states. But in a world already divided into colonies and spheres of influence such a course must inevitably become a struggle for redivision of markets, involving in the first instance those powers having the greatest possessions. And so, in this case, Fascist Italy came into direct conflict with the British Empire.

Britain and Italy

These two imperialist powers, Britain and Italy, are the major adversaries in the present war situation and in no case can the clash be considered a conflict of democracy versus dictatorship, as it is presented today. They are typical of a power pressing forward in the struggle for expansion and a power seeking to maintain its present possessions. On the one side is Fascist Italy, caught in its inability to stem the tide of its own internal economic and political contradictions, desperately seeking an outlet through the restoration of Caesar's empire. On the other side is the existing British Empire on which the sun never sets.

Britain had centuries to consolidate her position. Tapping vast resources all over the world, deriving countless profits from the sweat and blood of millions of subjected peoples, she enjoyed a privileged imperialist position and could not tolerate any rivals. Her diplomats scored easy victories—with the British navy standing by. Now she is hard pressed throughout the world; the diplomatic victories have become questionable; elements of decay are apparent and expressed even in the reactionary attitude of the bureaucratic leaders of her official labor movement in support of sanctions, not merely out of pacifist motivations, but in solidarity with the continued oppression of the millions of colonial peoples by the imperialist masters. 7,287,937 square miles containing a population of 446,191,000 is the extent of these possessions, dominion and colonial, that touch every continent. What is popularly called the imperial life line, begins at Gibraltar and extends through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden to the Indian Ocean. All along this line the British navy must remain supreme if the imperial possessions are to be retained unchallenged.

Not Ethiopia—the British Empire

The British rulers are not concerned with the independence of Ethiopia. Only too often have they proceeded with fire and sword to crush the independence of other native peoples. No, their sole concern

is the preservation of their own far flung colonial empire. That Ethiopia's independence could be sacrificed easily enough was shown by the action of the League of Nations Council last summer. By a unanimous vote of all of its members, including the Soviet Union, a resolution was adopted to dismember Ethiopia on the basis of the robber treaty of 1906 between Italy, Britain and France. But Mussolini truculently rejected this offer inasmuch as he wanted possession of Ethiopia for Fascist Italy alone.

Indirectly this spells danger to the British Empire through the prospects of uprisings by the millions of peoples it now holds in subjection. But much more directly, this threatens to cut the imperial life line. Fascist Italy is building fortifications in Eritrea, on the coast of the Red Sea, and it is aiming for naval and aerial supremacy in the Mediterranean. This is the most immediate issue around which the war clouds are thickening today and the main motivating force behind the swift action of Britain for sanctions against Geneva.

The Many-Sided Danger of War

Obviously the League of Nations has not in the least, and could not in the least, serve to remove, or even to diminish, the causes of imperialist war. Organized as an instrument to ensure the spoils of the victors in the last war, and to maintain their hegemony, its numerous disarmament conferences served as a screen behind which all the capitalist powers, without exception, managed to perfect their armaments. New issues of conflict between these victors were, of course, inevitable. Japan some time ago embarked on its conquest of Manchuria, to extend its domination over China, and is now a constant threat to the borders of the Soviet Union. Fascist Germany is rearming feverishly in preparation for the time when its cruel regime can no longer bridge the gap of its internal contradictions: it will endeavor to find an outlet by means of new conquests. The imperialists of the United States have proclaimed neutrality while engaging in ever more extensive naval maneuvers in the Pacific with an eye to a future establishment of a base in China, in order to raise the question of possession of India at the next historical stage.

On the battlefields of Ethiopia war has become a reality. The guns of the highly mechanized Fascist armies are spitting fire in the campaign to ravage and subjugate the

native population. The capitalist powers in the League of Nations proclaim their peaceful intentions while all of them are arming to the teeth; some of them in order to use the first opportunity to spring to like conquests and others in order to defend their present possessions to the end. There may yet be an intermission before the general conflagration; but in any event the war that has already started in Ethiopia is only a prelude to the much greater catastrophe now in preparation under the rallying cry of sanctions.

"Good-Intentioned" Treachery

Only on this background can the question of sanctions be properly understood. And yet in this situation the Stalinist party, through the Daily Worker, informs us that: "The next step must be punishment of the guilty—sanctions." It exhorts: "All opponents of war and Fascism should support this policy and demand that the League of Nations bar all trade with Italy and close the Suez Canal."

In the thieves' jargon of diplomacy, sanctions, in their ultimate implication, mean war. Mussolini said so. Stanley Baldwin repeats it, although much less boldly, and with many disguising hypocritical trimmings. Nevertheless the leaders of the British Labor Party demand sanctions. And Harry Pollitt, the leader of the British Stalinist party, in a recent address before a London district conference of the party, formulated his demands upon the British government as follows: "But we also demand the closing of the Suez Canal, and the carrying out of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because we believe that all these measures can prevent Mussolini going to war, and we must utilize the present contradictions in the capitalist world, and force economic and military sanctions if necessary."

We may grant that Pollitt has other intentions than Stanley Baldwin, but the way to hell is paved with good intentions. Pollitt together with the leaders of the British Labor Party may criticize the National government, each in his own way, but this can only be incidental to the decisive issue of sanctions. And let it be noted, it is the League of Nations, and with it the British government, that are in this case called upon to close the Suez Canal and to enforce sanctions, "economic and military." Consequently the government is to be supported on this decisive issue. Behind this rallying cry of sanctions the British worker is being led into united support of the Tory government—the real enemy of the workers. To this enemy is to be entrusted the guarantee of peace.

Democracy Versus Dictatorship?

While at this time particularly the League of Nations should be exposed for what it is and the mask of hypocrisy torn off from the face of the imperialists, old illusions in the League are being strengthened and a new confidence of the workers in the Tory government is being built up. A new national union is being created with the connivance of Labor Party and Stalinist leaders.

for was: "The N.E.C. program provides the issues upon which we shall fight—Against the Roosevelt armament campaign; against war and imperialist tricks that lead to war!"

If the line taken toward the N.E.C. resolution is going to be the consistent line of the "Militant" leaders, then they must in all consistency prepare a new report on the Bauer-Zyromski thesis. If the N.E.C. resolution deserves the headline it got, then Bauer-Zyromski deserves a headline: "Left Wing Calls for World Revolution" (which the Bauer-Zyromski thesis does call for, just as much as the N.E.C. calls for a labor boycott, in both cases the "progressive" slogan being inextricably linked up with the reactionary program). If the N.E.C. resolution deserves the characterizations it receives from the Socialist Call, then the Bauer-Zyromski thesis should receive a new report, beginning: "Launching a worldwide campaign against war."

"Sounding anew the Socialist call for mass resistance," etc., etc.

What Socialist Workers Should Do

But to those Socialist workers who wish to be consistently revolutionary, we say: The answer to Bauer-Zyromski is a good beginning. It must not be permitted to remain an abstraction. Zyromski himself for years maintained, in bare words, the idea of renunciation of the defense of the fatherland. Because he was permitted to bring the idea out for special occasions but never applied it to the day by day problems, it is now possible for Zyromski, having gone over to the social-patriots, to drag along with him many of his followers in the left wing. Remember the fate of Zyromski's followers. Take, rather, the opposite road of Zyromski's co-leader of the French left wing, Marcel Piaton. He did not permit the idea of revolutionary struggle against war to remain an abstraction; he applied it; and today he stands in the forefront of the Revolutionary Left

ers which, regardless of intentions, can lead only to war for the maintenance of the British imperial possessions.

Britain is today in the center of the war developments but it is not alone; nor is the position taken by the British Stalinists an exception. We are informed by the Daily Worker, for instance, that the C.P. of Czechoslovakia on October 7 cabled the League of Nations demanding "the immediate application of effective economic and military sanctions against Italy." Here is a voice from another "democratic" country which the Comintern has declared as its policy to defend against Fascism. But it is not the voice of the revolutionary workers. Can anyone conceive of Czechoslovakia, or Britain, or the United States, or any other capitalist democratic country, really going to war to defend the democratic rights of the people against Fascism? Need there be any doubt that the war they will wage will be for imperialist issues? And we might add, is it not more likely that when the war actually breaks out that serious efforts will be made by the capitalist rulers of these countries to transform them into Fascist states?

For the Stalinist parties the support of sanctions is not an accident; nor can it be regarded as just another mistake. It is a part of a whole system of policies which, once such a course is embarked upon, could lead to no other results. This system of policies proceeds consistently from reliance on pacts and treaties between the Soviet Union and the capitalist powers, instead of reliance on the proletarian revolution, to support of the League of Nations and to support of the capitalist governments in carrying out sanctions. In turn sanctions becomes the deceptive device for the mobilization of the masses for imperialist war.

Shall It Be 1914 Again?

What we have before us in this question is imperialist sanctions, for imperialist ends, and not working class action to prevent war. The two are not complementary, as the new-baked defenders of democracy would have us believe. These two are opposite poles. It is therefore necessary to emphasize that not only are issues, as fateful in their consequences to the future of the whole of humanity, joined up in this question of sanctions as was the case of the rallying cry of the "defense of the fatherland"; but also to add, that another historic betrayal is in preparation, and this time on a far more colossal scale. In 1914, national unity within the imperialist powers and the plunging of millions into the bloody battlefield was preceded by the treason of social democracy. Today the demand for sanctions can lead only to restoration of national unity behind the capitalist governments to plunge the masses into another and far more terrible conflagration—a repetition of the betrayal of 1914—this time, however, participated in by the social democrats and the Stalinists jointly.

Still it remains as true as ever that only working class action can prevent war. Liebknecht warned that the enemy is at home; and in this respect nothing has changed since. Therefore the duty of the revolutionists is clear. It is the irreconcilable struggle to overthrow capitalism as the only way to do away with imperialist war.

of the French Socialist Party, the group who are leading the way for the whole world proletariat in the struggle against war. Karl Liebknecht gave us the immortal slogan: "The main enemy is in our own country." The Socialist workers must apply that slogan even more close to home. The Socialist Party is infested with brazen chauvinists like Waldman and Oneal. It is confused and muddled by pacifists like Hoan, Thomas and Allen, whose dependence on capitalist instrumentalities and mythical methods for the struggle against war, block the way to the only road, the revolutionary struggle against war.

Socialist workers: "The main enemy is in your own party." The struggle against war is the struggle against every ideological aid to the war-makers: social-patriotism, pacifism, retreat from the struggle in the name of unity with social-patriots.

Read Lenin on war.

Note how sternly, ruthlessly, with what intellectual and moral integrity, he sharply differentiated the real opponents of war from the manifold varieties of sham opposition. See with what intransigence he fought off all attempts to gloss over differences on this fundamental question.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Newark branch of the Workers Party is running a theater party at the Civic Repertory theater on both Nov. 28, Thanksgiving day evening, and Nov. 30 matinee. The play is the Theater Union production of "Mother," based on the Gorki novel of that name.

Comrades wishing tickets can write to Lew Merritt, 545 Belmont Ave., Newark. Tickets sell for 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c and \$1.00.

"Militant" Socialists and the Bauer-Dan-Zyromski Thesis

(By the Editorial Board)

(Continued from last week)

The NEW MILITANT of October 5 published a critique of the war program of the Militant Socialists, as embodied in their general program presented at the "Socialist Call" Institute this Fall. Last week we analyzed the war resolution adopted October 12 by the N.E.C. of the S. P. Further discussion of the Militant Socialist program on war is required by the publication in the "Socialist Call" of October 12 of the chauvinist Bauer-Zyromski thesis and a short answer to it signed by the "Call" editorial board and by the Socialist Call reception of the N. E. C. resolution.

The proverbial man from Mars would be able to reconcile the October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski with the October 26 editorial and news story on the N. E. C. resolution, only on the assumption that the two issues had been written by entirely different groups. The correct explanation is, however, much more simple: two utterly irreconcilable tendencies still exist side by side within the camp of the Militant Socialists; the weight of tradition and the relationship of forces within the Socialist Party favor the tendency which found expression in the issue of October 26; if there are revolutionary Socialists who naively believed that the advances in theory recorded in the October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski were permanently secured, they have been thoroughly disillusioned by the fawning reception accorded on October 26 to the N.E.C. war resolution.

Significance of Answer to Bauer-Zyromski

But if the answer to Bauer-Zyromski represents no permanently assured advance, it undoubtedly marks a new stage in the development of our discussion with Left wing Socialists on the vital questions of war. Hitherto, our discussion has been in terms of opposing to the pacifistic and utterly unrealistic war program of the Militants, the system of ideas on war developed by Lenin. We enter now a new stage because the answer to Bauer-Zyromski accepts a number of the fundamental Leninist ideas on war never previously accepted by the Militants. If, within two

short weeks, they attempt to place side by side with these Leninist conceptions the totally different conceptions adopted by the N.E.C. of the S.P., we shall demonstrate to all Socialists who really seek the revolutionary road that the revolutionary struggle against war involves the repudiation of the N.E.C. resolution.

The October 12 answer to Bauer-Zyromski is particularly significant for the following ideas:

Develops Opposition to National Defense

1. As we pointed out in our criticism of the first "Militant" program, it was insufficient to merely say "against national defense"; this had to be implemented by explicit differentiation from the Bauer-Zyromski stripe of "left" chauvinists, by specific denunciation of the doctrine of defense of democracy against fascist countries, by refusal to support the American government in a military alliance with the Soviet Union. All this is now corrected in the answer to Bauer-Zyromski.

Repudiates All Capitalist Instruments

2. It provides the clearest statement ever made by Militant Socialists in repudiation of the League of Nations as necessarily a capitalist instrument. On this point it sharply criticizes the Bauer-Zyromski thesis: "Instead of rejecting the capitalist instruments whose imperialist character the thesis recognizes (League of Nations, democratic governments), the document urges their support . . . (and) completely fails to recognize the only alternative to these imperialist snares—reliance upon independent action of the working class."

For Real Internationalism

3. It sharply and clearly breaks with the Stalinist and social-chauvinist theory of "defending the Soviet Union" by pandering to the foreign diplomacy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. "Just as working class governments can be the only reliable allies of a working class revolution in Germany, so too only a working class government can be a reliable ally of the Soviet Union. Only a working class revolution in one or more capitalist countries can give real defense to the Soviet Union. But if the working class is

called upon to 'do its duty' every time the imperialist powers fall out, such a proletarian revolution is permanently impossible . . . to give up rich opportunities for revolution outside of Russia in order to 'defend the Soviet Union' will in the long run mean the defeat both of the Soviet Union and the world revolution."

Drops General Strike Myth, Adopts Leninist Struggle Against War

4. Most important of all is the new conception of how to fight against war. Our analysis of the original "Militant" program particularly criticized their acceptance of the myth of the general strike as a realistic method of struggle; we pointed out that this slogan is alien to Lenin's teachings on war; that it is not complementary to, but a substitute for the Leninist program of turning the imperialist war into civil war. While not explicitly repudiating the theory of the general strike against war, the answer to Bauer-Zyromski actually throws it overboard and moves toward a Leninist position on this fundamental question. It says:

"To utilize a war crisis for proletarian revolution, the working class must from the very beginning of the war go into a position of opposition, must organize the natural resentment that must develop against the ravages of the war, must prepare an offensive against the government through strikes and demonstrations, must foment revolt in the army." And it concludes:

"The capitalist cry to imperialist war must be answered by the working class war of emancipation. Only the working class can, by its own power, overthrow fascism and defend the Soviet Union. The Socialist parties of the world must call upon the working class to answer the threat of war and of fascism with the seizure of power for Socialism."

Many of the questions raised in our original critique of the "Militant" war program remain unanswered. Here, however, we wish to concentrate on one main point: Contrast the principles enunciated by the "Militants" in their answer to Bauer-Zyromski, with the principles of the N.E.C. resolution. What the "Militants" said of the Bauer-Zyromski thesis applies

equally to the N.E.C. resolution: "It is precisely because of this basic contradiction between revolutionary intentions (meaning phrases) and advocacy of reactionary practice that the thesis is dangerous unless it is subject to a thorough analysis." But thorough analysis is precisely what the "Militants" did not give the N.E.C. resolution. They whitewashed it instead.

Recall the main points of the N.E.C. resolution. Like the Bauer-Zyromski thesis it parades a "forthright" exposure of imperialist designs and calls for working class vigilance and activity, only to arrive at a reactionary program:

N.E.C. Supports Capitalist "Peace" Instruments

1. It commits the same crime as the Stalinists, the outright chauvinists, and the "left" chauvinists like Bauer-Zyromski, by calling upon the working class to put the struggle against war into the hands of the imperialists themselves, by calling upon the working class to depend on capitalist instruments for peace-making. The N.E.C. resolution does this by calling for the reform of the League of Nations, which is theoretically impossible under capitalism, and also by calling for neutrality legislation. We need not repeat here the critical analysis of this reactionary conception, which we published last week. We quote another paragraph from the N.E.C. resolution, which shows how identical with the chauvinist demand for governmental sanctions is the N.E.C. demand for American governmental action:

"Specifically, we ask the organized trade unions and the unorganized workers to unite in a nationwide effort to force through Congress, in the early days of the coming session, legislation which will assure American neutrality so far as official acts can do so. The present neutrality law should be revised and stiffened; more significantly, it should be extended to cover loans and credits, public or private, to any belligerent."

"Militant" leaders! What is the difference between this appeal to capitalist instruments and that of the European and Stalinist chauvinists?

2. The N.E.C. repeats its usual farrago of pacifist anti-war bunk . . . for a program of war resis-

tance in a war emergency, including refusal to be conscripted for military service" . . . "nothing can finally prevent the waste and slaughter of another conflict save the combination of courageous war resistance by American youth and a united strike against war by organized labor, technicians and professional workers generally."

"Militant" leaders! What has this bombast in common with the doctrines you have signed your name to in your answer to Bauer-Zyromski? "Refusal to be conscripted" would mean, if actually carried out, the slaughter and isolation in concentration camps of the small number who, ready to fight against war on the day it breaks out, should be sent into the army to foment the revolt which the answer to Bauer-Zyromski rightly calls for. The "united strike" against war is the vicious myth of the general strike which blinds workers to the hard, uphill struggle which begins, not with mythical and impossible political strikes against war but with the elementary task of carrying on economic strikes and anti-war propaganda until the ravages of war shall have created the necessary preconditions for raising this struggle to the level of preparation for civil war.

How did the Socialist Call greet this vicious combination of "anti-war" struggle by way of governmental instruments and pacifist "resistance"?

"Militants" Cover Up N.E.C.

It greeted it with a three-bank headline covering half its front page: "Socialists Urge Labor Boycott of Italian Goods." It greeted it with a news-story which characterized the document in these terms: "Launching a nationwide campaign against war and preparations for war." "Sounding anew the Socialist call for mass resistance and opposition to all war"—with not a word in the news-story about the N.E.C. proposals for reforming the League of Nations, seeking neutrality legislation, refusal of conscription and "united strike"! And to finish off, the "Socialist Call" carried an editorial, saying: "Congratulations to the national executive committee of the Socialist Party for a fine job at its quarterly meeting last week-end." Among the things it congratulated the N.E.C.

Mpls. W. P. on Role Of FarmerLaborParty

(Continued from Page 1)

200 more police, Latimer callously assents.

4. On July 24, Mayor Latimer convenes a secret conference of trade union reactionaries in his reception room, and calls for—what? For higher wages, for full support of the workers in their struggles? NO, he calls for industrial peace!

5. A 35 percent relief increase was taken from the unemployed by the Farmer-Labor administration. Riot squads were twice (Sept. 13, Sept. 27) used against unemployed demonstrations.

6. Latimer proposed 1,200 traffic police, to be taken from the relief rolls. Everyone knows that these 1,200 police would be used as strike-breakers.

Such, in brief, is the record of the Farmer-Labor administration in its first three months of rule—a criminal record of betrayals to its campaign pledges.

SOME SERIOUS QUESTIONS

Arrogant acts such as these FORCE every worker in Minneapolis—and in the state—to ask some serious questions about the whole idea of a Farmer-Labor party, and whether or not its actions will always be directly opposed to its avowed aims.

What, for instance, is the Farmer-Labor policy towards the trade unions? The truth is that the only F.-L. policy is—to get votes from trade unionists!

Whom does the F.-L. party support in the trade union movement? Does it support the progressives who have made real gains for the workers in the past two years? NO! In every instance, the F.-L. party bases itself upon the most reactionary right-wingers—the Cunninghams, the Boscoses, the Lawsons, and all the other Starkeys. This fact has an unmistakable significance for every thinking worker.

What would a real workers' party have done had it, instead of the Farmer-Labor party, been elected to office. A real workers' party would have ousted all reactionaries from appointive offices. A real workers' party would have shaken up the relief administration, put in progressives, retained the 35 percent in relief, and fought for further increases! A real workers' party would refuse to give police protection to union-hating employers, to all such social parasites. Instead, it would have used the police to shut down the plants and keep them shut down until such employers would concede the demands of the trade unions. A real workers' party would never tolerate such butchers as Forester, Ohman and Goergan on the police department. And if the business men objected? A real workers' party would still fearlessly proceed in the above manner, and if necessary, he forced out of office rather than betray the workers into the hands of their mortal enemies, the employers.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Yes, you working men and women of Minneapolis will say, "That is what we want, that is what we expected the Farmer-Labor party would give us when we elected it to office against the combined efforts of the boss parties. We admit we have been hideously betrayed—but what shall we do?"

On the basis of the betrayals suffered by you at the hands of the Farmer-Labor party, you must withdraw from that party and join the Workers Party of the United States—the only party today that,

Wall Street Terror in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

work for which they are unfitted. Anita Brenner, chairman of the Committee on Cuba of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will speak on the Cuban terror at a meeting of the N.P.L.D., November 13, at the headquarters of Local 48, I.L.G. W.U., 231 West 14th Street.

At the request of the National Committee for Amnesty, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense is rallying American labor organizations to the support of the Cuban working class organizations, which can now exist only illegally. Not a single political or trade union headquarters is permitted to open in Cuba.

The newly organized Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, of which Norman Thomas is chairman, in response to information forwarded to them by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, has sent letters of protest to President Mendieta of Cuba, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and American Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, and has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to convey to the Cuban Amnesty Committee, "our warmest fraternal greetings and sincere hope that success will soon come to our united efforts."

The Cuban Amnesty Committee has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to initiate a broad united front movement of American labor organizations to aid the Cuban workers.

both in theory and practice, shows that it can answer your needs and your demands. If you are not yet convinced of the necessity for this action, we say: Stay in the Farmer-Labor party and seriously and conscientiously work within its ranks to make it function for the workers. It is our studied opinion that such work is hopeless, is doomed to failure. All history mocks at the idea of a reformist party winning any permanent gains for the workers. But if you still feel the need of attempting such a fight, make the attempt. The Workers Party of the U. S. will aid you in every possible way.

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES of the Workers Party of the United States has this to say about the Farmer-Labor Party and all such reformist parties:

"In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeals to 'all classes' is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test."

Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chavivistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. The revolutionary party will grow by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve capitalism, and hence are inimical to the interests of the workers."

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

There are several other parties and individuals currying political favor among the workers in Minneapolis. For the most part, they play, and have played a sorry role. The absolutely unprincipled Communist Party (Stalinists) deserves contempt. Our party literature has already dealt fully and adequately with the fundamental errors and the history of this group. It is enough to remind serious workers that the Stalinists have led the workers in China, England, Germany, and Spain to defeats, not to victories. Today they are pursuing a fatal policy in France. In Minneapolis during the last election campaign, this group attacked everyone indiscriminately, including the

Hundreds at Tour Meetings

(Continued from Page 1)

editor of the New Internationalist, was scheduled to speak, were frustrated by the organized campaign of intimidation which the Chamber of Commerce and its satellites have organized against the Workers Party in Davenport. Significantly enough, neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party find any particular difficulty in securing public halls for their meetings. The Workers Party, on the contrary, due particularly to its revolutionary activity among the unemployed in the past, has been put on the reactionary blacklist. Plans were laid at a branch meeting attended by Shachtman for a campaign, to extend beyond Davenport if necessary, to force the local authorities and other reactionary forces to back down from their position and make it possible for the W.P. to enjoy the same facilities now freely at the disposal of other organizations.

ALBERT LEA, Minn.: A splendid meeting of almost 100 workers was

Farmer-Labor party. Today it has made a right-about-face and meekly seeks admission into the—Farmer-Labor party! Further than that, it would seek to give us a national Farmer-Labor party. Instead of one Latimer, it would give the workers in the United States a hundred such betrayers. Actually today the Stalinists stand on many points at the RIGHT of the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist parties.

The Socialist party, both here and on an international plane, carries out on a large scale all the fundamental errors of the Farmer-Labor party. It advocates class collaboration, betrays colonial revolts, supports imperialist war, suppresses revolutionary struggles of the workers, and conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement. Even more recently than the Farmer-Labor betrayal at the Flour City plant, the Socialist-led city government of Milwaukee has used the police to attack strikers and to arrest strike leaders.

It is a hopeless task to remove the unscrupulous bureaucracies controlling the Socialist and Communist parties in all countries. We call upon the present supporters of these parties to re-study the recent history of the world Stalinist and Socialist regimes in the light of the writings of Marx and Lenin, and to come over to the only revolutionary international group in this country, the Workers Party of the United States.

We say again, as we said in our pre-election statement:

Minneapolis workers, in joint and common action with the workers in the rest of the state and nation, must build their own revolutionary party. The Workers Party of the United States submits (in pamphlet form) the PROGRAM AND PRINCIPLES, AND WHICH PARTY FOR THE AMERICAN WORKERS) its program to all working men and women, and to the working class youth. We are confident that it fits the needs of the working class. It can be made a living thing and reach fulfillment only through militant struggle.

STUDY THE PROGRAM! JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Minneapolis branch, W. P., 631 Third Avenue South.

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held in this small community with comrade Max Shachtman speaking on the Italo-Ethiopian war and the threat of a world war. The audience, intensely interested throughout the lecture and the question period, met in the hall of the Independent Union of All Workers, and at the end contributed generously to the Workers Party fund. It is also gratifying to report that the County Committee of the Farmer-Labor party postponed its regular meeting downstairs to attend the Shachtman meeting in a body. The local W.P. is composed of the most militant and leading elements of the union in whose hall, generously donated for the occasion, the meeting was held. Southern Minnesota promises to become one of the W.P.'s strongest positions.

AUSTIN, Minn.: Under the chairmanship of one of the leaders of the famous strike against the Hormel packing plant, several dozen workers gathered in Firemen's Hall to hear Max Shachtman present the position of the Workers Party on the danger of a new world war. The party branch here is composed mainly of packing house workers and leading union militants, with every prospect of increasing its already substantial strength in the immediate future.

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Comintern Prepares Dissolution of Y. C. L.; To Change It into Innocuous Organization

By JOSEPH CARTER

The Young Communist International has decided to dissolve itself! Such is the meaning of the report of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. recently held in Moscow given by Gil Green, national secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States and member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The Daily Worker (Nov. 2, 1935) informs us:

"Asked what new developments in the life of the Young Communist League would result from the Sixth Congress, Comrade Green stated:

"In the first place, the Congress established a new policy which proposes the reconstruction of the present Y.C.L. into a non-party mass organization which while clearly supporting a socialist goal will not take a position on how socialism is to be concretely accomplished, thus opening the way for organic unity with the Young People's Socialist League in all countries."

Capitulation to Right Wing?

Reconstruction? Organizational! It means a fusion of the Y.C.L. and its innumerable youth clubs with the Y.P.S.L. and the countless liberal and semi-radical youth organizations which favor "a new social order" but are "vague" on how it can "be concretely accomplished." In a word, the conversion of the American Youth Congress into a membership organization—an "American Youth League!"

Politically, it signifies capitulation to the right centrist wing of social democracy, an explicit disavowal of the conception of a revolutionary youth movement established by the early congresses of the Comintern and Y.C.I. and an admission of failure and bankruptcy.

However, this "new policy"—as all organizational lines—results from basic political conceptions. In this case the politics underlying the new course were adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In all essentials the decisions of the congress are identical with the position of the right centrists of the Second International. Theodore Dan of the Russian Menshevik party, Otto Bauer of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, Jean Zyromski and Amedeo Dunois of the French Socialist Party. (Compare their theses on "Socialism and the War Danger"—Socialist Call, Oct. 12, 1935—with the decisions of the Seventh Congress. It is worth noting that the October issue of the "Communist," official organ of the American C.P., reprints these theses.)

Social Patriotic Organic Unity

Given this basic agreement between the social-patriots, is it not logical that the same congress should decide in favor of "organic unity"? And now, in order to hasten this process, the Y.C.I. proposes organic unity with the Young Socialist International; and prepares itself by "reconstruction": abandonment in theory what it long ago deserted in practice, the revolutionary road to socialism.

What will this new organization offer as the solution of imperialist war, of Fascism, of capitalism? Not the revolutionary struggle for socialism, but a medley of pacifist and social-patriotic claptrap!

This at a time when large sections of the Young Socialist International are taking the road of revolutionary Marxism! As they move to the left, away from reformism and social-patriotism, the Stalinists openly accept basic social democratic conceptions and offer organic unity on a program which omits the quintessential of Marxism: the road to socialism.

In France they have prepared the road for organic unity by directing the expulsion of the revolutionary Socialists of the Seine district who fought against social-patriotism. (Two leaders of the Y.C.I. were mission!)

sent to France with that as their

Young Socialists Move Left

In Belgium, among the Young Socialist Guard, they failed to make any impression. The leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Action group, which is very influential in the organization of young Socialists, has recently through its secretary, Walter Dauge, openly pledged solidarity with the expelled French youth in their struggle against social-patriotism.

In the United States the Young People's Socialist League, particularly on the question of war, is far to the left, that is, closer to revolutionary Marxism, than the Young Communist League. At the American Youth Congress held early this year in Detroit, the Y.P.S.L. together with the Spartacus Youth League fought against the Stalinist youth (Y.C.L. and N.S.L.) in favor of a resolution opposing the United States government in any war that it may undertake. (The Stalinists were against this resolution because of its meaning in case of a military alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union!)

Far more striking is the manifesto issued by the national office of the Y.P.S.L. for International Socialist Youth Week, October 1 to

Used as Bait to Lure Yipsels into Social-Patriotic Organic Unity

7 (Socialist Call, Sept. 21, 1935.)

The manifesto scores pacifism, the social-patriotism of the Communist International and, what is of special significance, the "social patriotism" wherever it exists in the Socialist movement." Though not a clear statement of revolutionary, it marks a great stride forward in that direction.

Manifesto of Yipsels

To quote the salient points: "Pacifists who hold out the prospect of peace through arbitration or disarmament confuse and weaken the fight of the working class against war. Only the struggle of the workers of each country against their own war-making capitalist class can delay the impending conflict. Only the conquest of power by the working masses, and the destruction of capitalism can bring permanent peace to the world."

"At this most critical time, when a brief period for the mobilization of the labor movement against all capitalist war yet remains, we witness the spectacle of the Communist International holding its seventh congress and adopting a position identical with that of the social-patriots of 1914. To support 'democratic' governments against fascist governments, to refuse to take part in the revolutionary struggle against those imperialists who happen to be allied with the Soviet Union, to speak of 'progressive' wars fought by the capitalist governments in this day of imperialism is to desert even the pretense of

being a revolutionary movement.

"We oppose all imperialist war. We agree with the St. Louis Declaration of the Socialist Party in 1917 that the only war that justifies the workers taking up arms is to free the working class from the chains of capitalism."

"Our task is to educate the entire membership of the League to understand the Socialist position on war and to train them to better carry on our anti-war activity. As part of such education and training must be a merciless criticism of pacifism and social-patriotism wherever it exists in the Socialist movement."

This is new language for the young Socialists. The Y.P.S.L. however, has never defined what it means by "conquest of power." A major task in the education of the young Socialists is precisely in the significance and form of the revolutionary road to socialism. On the question of war, it is essential that simultaneous with the clarifications of the general problems which it poses, the immediate practical issues be understood and coped with. These include the support of colonial and semi-colonial peoples in their war against imperialism (as in the case of Ethiopia today), the question of sanctions, "neutrality," and what constitutes a platform for the united front against war. In practice this will lead to a closer collaboration of the Y.P.S.L. and the S.Y.L.

The new course of the Young Communist League will not be welcomed by the militant young Social-

ists: except as another proof of Stalinist bankruptcy!

How will it be met by the members of the Y.C.L. who were never consulted prior to the adoption of the policy and are now presented with an accomplished fact—and asked "to discuss"? In so far as they have trained at all it has been the barracks training of soldiers receiving orders from above. Most of the young workers who enter the Y.C.L. to participate in the revolutionary labor movement reply to these orders by, after a few months stay, leaving the Y.C.L. Others remain "faithful" soldiers. Still others raise questions or dissent from the order and are expelled, usually for "Trotskyism."

However, the abrupt turn of the Young Communist International will undoubtedly awaken many of the young Stalinists out of their uncritical position. They will be compelled to re-evaluate the program they formerly accepted and be more receptive to revolutionary Marxism, the program of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

The growing desire among the youth for revolutionary unity which is being distorted by the Young Communist International must be utilized for the genuine revolutionary movement. The turn to the right of the Y.C.I. as well as the turn to the left of the Y.P.S.L. present the Spartacus Youth League with exceptionally favorable conditions for presenting its program of revolutionary Marxism as the basis for the regroupment and unity of the militant youth in the struggle against imperialist war, Fascism and capitalism and for working class emancipation.

A Stalinist Adventure in Gutter Journalism In the Footsteps of Hearst

The stench of the Chicago stockyards is notorious. Now an even more malodorous institution is issuing its products from there. We refer to the "People's Press," the tabloid journal that made its debut last week.

This "new jazzy tab," as it so glibly dubs itself, is the latest propaganda sheet emanating from the Stalinist camp. Its financial backing is reported to have come from sources and sympathizers. In any case, its editorial board headed by Frank Palmer of the Federated Press, long a Stalinist stooge, and including Carl Haessler, Harvey O'Connor, Arthur Kallet and James Waterman Wise is thoroughly Stalinized.

The People's Press is designed to be a national weekly for the masses. Its avowed editorial policy is "to out-Hearst Hearst." Having failed to win any masses anywhere by its caricature of proletarian policy during the adventurous course of the late unlamented third period, the Stalinists and their agents are now trying to seduce the masses by imitating the worst features of bourgeois journalism.

New Low for Gutter Journalism

The reasoning behind such a policy is clear. The Daily Worker has failed to gain mass support. Hearst, however, has built up tremendous mass circulations by pandering to the most backward prejudices and depraved tastes of the people. If we want to reach the masses and win them away from Hearst, we must compete with him on his own level, beat him at his own game. While "the people" consume columns of scandal, we, like Hearst, will feed them propaganda. A different kind, no doubt, but in the same manner.

The result is a rag which takes its place among the worst in gutter journalism. The first issue of the People's Press is littered with all the filth of the decadent bourgeois press from the scandal shops of the Broadway columnists to the slanderous slops of Hearst's Sunday supplements. Only people with strong stomachs or already depraved appetites will be able to digest it without revulsion.

Paranoiac Analysis

The topmost of four photographs on the front cover illustrates the lead story captioned: "Il Duce Diseased, Insane." Turning to page 3 for details, we learn that Mussolini contracted syphilis in his youth and twenty years later developed parais and delusions of grandeur. These paranoiac dreams drove him to imitate Caesar; to become dictator of Italy; and to attempt the conquest of Ethiopia. According to this theory of history, Il Duce is presumably bringing "syphilisation" to the Ethiopians.

Such a story can only make one impression upon the mind of an unenlightened person: namely, that the Ethiopian adventure is not the inevitable outcome of imperialist policy, but the wild dream of a madman. If Mussolini had never had syphilis (if indeed he has it), the course of Italian history would have been totally different. There

would have been no Fascist dictatorship and no Ethiopian war.

Even more. If Mussolini alone is responsible for the Ethiopian war, what need is there for organized mass action against him? The quickest and easiest way to stop the war and overthrow Fascism would be to assassinate Mussolini. Such are the fruits of political opportunism and adventurism.

That is by no means the lowest level to which the Mussolini story descends. A headline alongside a picture of Duce's little daughter asks if she also is "Tainted?..." Even the vilest tabloid would think twice before dragging a baby into so filthy a mess. But these pen-prostitutes are ready for anything.

Bathing Beauties, Scandals, Filth

The second photograph on the first page shows a mother with her third set of identical twins. May we suggest that these identical twins be called "Fascism" and "social-fascism" in honor of Stalin, who also, we have recently been informed, loves his mother.

The third set of photographs copies Hearst with his paramour, Marion Davies. On page 2, no less a personage than editor Palmer himself discusses the question: "Is W. R. Hearst coming back to the Missus?" Surely, a vital question to the jobless, poverty-stricken, disoriented people of the United States.

And so it goes throughout the pages of this sheet. A tribute to that sterling champion of "the people," Senator Norris, on his retirement; photos of Jimmy Walker and his consort, bathing beauties, movie stars, and even a 16-year-old girl who wishes to sell herself to a middle-aged man. Sandwiched in between are miscellaneous items on the depression, on the lack of relief, and inevitably an article by Anna Louise Strong from Moscow on how "The Reds Conquer the Arctic." Not a word, however, yet about the Eskimo soviets.

The Daily Worker Applauds

What does the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist party of the U. S. have to say about this rag? We quote verbatim and in its entirety its editorial greeting the appearance of its esteemed contemporary.

"POSSIBILITIES"

"Much comment has been caused by the appearance of the first issue of a weekly tabloid, the People's Press."

"There is great need for the kind of paper the group publishing it seems to be striving to produce. With Frank Palmer, Arthur Kallet, James Waterman Wise, Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor and other able staff members, they should be able to produce just what they want."

"We view this publication as a friendly paper. The announcement, however, that the People's Press is to be 'non-party and non-labor' leaves a question unanswered. Failure to state its position sharply for a Labor Party is a weakness, which we submit should be corrected."

"Meanwhile, giving a helping hand where we can, we welcome this newcomer into the publishing field."

The Daily Worker has one single criticism of the "People's Press." It does not come out for a Labor Party!

What should be said of the editors of so foul a paper? They are people without conscience, without shame, and without scruples, who have no respect for themselves and even less for the people for whom they publish their paper. What brazen contempt for the working men and women of this country does such a sheet exhibit! Instead of undertaking the task of enlightening the masses, who are today dependent upon the capitalist press for their sources of information, these cynical gentlemen feed them the same garbage as Hearst and MacFadden. They evidently look upon "the people" as unreasoning brutes who cannot be told the truth about the society they live in straightforwardly and simply, but must be dragged first and then given injections of propaganda on the sly.

Truly a Stinking Corpse

What about a party that gives such a sheet its blessing? We have said time and again: the Stalinist party is nothing but a stinking corpse, which spreads poison throughout the labor movement. The People's Press, the offspring of its new policy, is another evidence of Stalinist degeneration. The pestilential source of corruption must be removed from the ranks of the working class. Let every self-respecting worker and intellectual raise his voice in protest against this infamous sheet.

We do not share the contempt of the editors of the People's Press and their Stalinist supporters for the working men and women of the United States. We believe that they want to know the truth about the world they inhabit, can hear it, understand it, and assimilate it without benefit of the worst vices of bourgeois journalism. We further believe that they are healthy-minded enough to detect the odor of decay which issues from this package of filth and will throw it into the gutter where it belongs.

LOS ANGELES LECTURE

"The Soviet Union and the League of Nations"

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, Nov. 15, at 8 P.M.

Walker Auditorium

730 S. Grand Avenue

Admission at door 15c

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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Mpls. Labor Slams Union-Busting Campaign

S. Africa Comrades Fight War

Arrested for Active Support of Boycott against Italy

BULLETIN

Five members of the Lenin Club of South Africa, adherents of the Fourth International, have been arrested and are now facing trial. They spoke on the question of the Native Bills. The charges have not yet been enunciated. Since the meeting was orderly, it appears they may be tried for sedition.

CAPE TOWN, South Africa.—The Italo-Abyssinian conflict continues to be the most important issue facing the South African proletariat. Because of our situation we are directly affected by any conflict on the African continent. All our propaganda at present is therefore centered around this question.

Undoubtedly the South African workers and especially the native and colored workers are prepared in a militant fashion to demonstrate their solidarity with the Ethiopian people. Recently the Stevedores and Dock Workers Union of Cape Town passed a resolution to refuse to handle any goods destined for Italian East Africa. The Communist League immediately issued a special edition of the Workers Voice in support of the dock workers. A thousand of these were distributed free in the working class areas. Ours was the first organization to come out in support of the dockers' action.

The workers of Luderitz took similar action and refused to load any Italian vessel. The police immediately offered them the alternative of going back to work or arrest. The majority of the workers went back but a number preferred to go to prison. The Communist League sent the following telegram to the Luderitz workers:

"Communist League congratulates you on magnificent stand. Condemn police action."

We are preparing for an organized protest against the terrorist action of the police.

Sabotage Workers Action

In face of the militant mood of the workers, the stand taken by the so-called working class parties is indicative of the demoralizing influence which these parties have on the South African workers' movement. The South African Labor Party has not uttered one word on the matter. The Communist Party, like the Stalinists everywhere, is preparing to lead the workers on the road of social-patriotism. Recently the Stalinist controlled League Against War and Fascism, held a

Continued on Page 3

French C.P. Pleads with Laval to Jail the Fascists

Stalinists Outraged by Fascist Insistence on "Right of Insurrection"; See Salvation in "Purification of Police Force"

By H. F. ROBERTS

"Let no one try to intimidate us. At the present time it is insurrection which is legal."

"Insurrection is the most sacred duty!"

The voices speaking are those of French Fascists. In the mouths of revolutionary workers what meaning these words could have! But how do the French Stalinists react to these lines?

L'Humanite quotes them (Oct. 24) and adds:

"As incredible as it seems, this declaration has not been made a case for the courts."

Incredible as it seems! Here is another Fascist quotation:

"The best way of succeeding is through violence. We will mobilize the tractors and use them as tanks."

Does L'Humanite remark, perchance, that the only thing wrong with these words is that they come from a Fascist instead of from the leaders of the French proletariat?

No, friends, that would be outright counter-revolution. "Laval did not see in it (the Fascist declaration) a plot against the state. No prosecution took place."

Demand "Arrest" of Fascist!

The Stalinists want Laval to arrest de La Rocque. They want him to bring these naughty Fascists plotting against the state into the courts of the French bourgeoisie. And why not? Pick up another copy of L'Humanite. It is the issue of Oct. 23. Once again on the menace of a Fascist coup d'etat. What has Vaillant-Couturier to say?

"Once again our party, in the face of this plot against the safety of the state, conceived by M. Laval, declares itself ready to throw all its forces alongside of those, ALL THOSE (emphasis in original—H.F.R.) who are determined to repulse this plot and maintain order."

A little further on: "Mass action must obtain the liquidation of the Fascist League and the arrest of their leaders."

How?

"Vigilance. Coolness. Discipline. Union of all those who wish to defend the Republic!"

Such are the Stalinist slogans. Let the incredulous pick up any current issue of the leading Stalinist organ outside of Moscow and any day he can read the same kind of fool drivel.

Decree Laws—Against Workers

On Oct. 23 Laval issued a series of decree laws, already dealt with in a previous article in these columns, ostensibly aimed at the Fascist leagues. These decrees were aimed at and will be used against the workers. They were issued on

that particular date because Laval had to give Herriot something with which to come before the Radical Socialist party congress. This was (Continued on Page 2)

CONFIRMED!

Times Reporter Says News- men Get No News at All

Harold Denny, New York Times correspondent in Harar, Ethiopia, has indirectly confirmed the statement in the NEW MILITANT two weeks ago that all news from Ethiopia is censored, tampered with, inspired and even directly written by Mussolini's agents.

After speaking about a wholesale exodus of "disappointed" war correspondents and camera men from Ethiopia, Denny said: "one of the greatest and most expensive flops in journalistic and newsreel history," Denny states the reasons for their departure in the New York Times, Sunday, Nov. 10:

"The reason is the almost complete absence of reliable news within the country and the inability to get even near the scene of fighting."

"The causes of this situation are first, the congenital distrust of whites, partly due to the fear that the whites might eventually dominate the country like the rest of Africa and due to the shady character of many of those from the Near East who have come here in times past seeking fortunes. United with all this is the fear of spies and we all are suspect."

"Second . . . the great anxiety that foreigners might be killed."

"In Harar, which is the nearest place to the front we are now allowed to penetrate, the activities of correspondents and camera men are rigorously circumscribed. The latter are not even permitted to take the most innocent pictures—and Harar is 200 miles from the nearest fighting, if any."

"So . . .," Denny concludes, "treated very courteously by all classes except for an infrequent scowl or epithet or even a rare stone thrown at our auto—we sit waiting for the big story which may never happen and which we probably will not be permitted to see if it does."

Here we have it from a reliable correspondent by obvious implication that news from the Ethiopian side is either the brain-child of some impatient, ambitious reporter or cooked up in the headquarters of the Italian General Staff.

It seems in Ethiopia too, no news is good news.

Overflow Meeting Backs 574

Biggest 'Peacetime' Gathering Roars Complete Solidarity

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 8.—The overflow of the old-line, reactionary craft-union A. F. of L. bureaucrats against the progressive, militant leadership of the general drivers union, Local 574, was met this evening by a mass meeting in which the machinations of Meyer Lewis, personal representative of William Green were exposed. The mass meeting, held in Local 574's hall, was attended by almost four thousand workers—accommodated on two floors and outside of the hall by means of a loud speaker—and was addressed by numerous leaders in the labor labor movement.

Bill Brown Chairman

The chairman of the meeting, Bill Brown, president of the union, opened the meeting by declaring that Green-Lewis and Company had formed a "united front with the Citizens Alliance in order to break up everything 574 had gained for its members. Lewis says that Minneapolis is the worst spot in the United States. It is—for Citizens Alliance. But it is now the best place for the workers. Before 574 went on strike in 1934, Minneapolis was the worst place for the workers. 574 changed the picture. Now, whom do the workers go to when they are in trouble? Only one place, to 574. To whom do the Citizens Alliance go to when they are in trouble? Why to the corrupt and reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L."

Brown then introduced Ruben Latz, business agent of the Dry Cleaners Union. Lewis had announced the day before that this union had been purged of its Communist leadership. The next day, Lewis announced that the federal charter of the Dry Cleaners Union had been revoked.

Speech of Ruben Latz

"We have the honor to be purged," Latz began. "We told Lewis that his methods were not correct. He came to our executive committee and threatened to revoke our charter unless we severed all relations with 574. We said to him, 'We have no authority to do the things you demand. We represent the workers in our union, and we carry out their decisions. We will gladly permit you to appear before the members. They will decide, and we shall abide by their decisions.' But, no, Lewis would not appear before the workers. He threatened us in many ways, and said, 'I bring to you a mandate by virtue of the authority vested in me by the workers.'"

(Continued on Page 3)

Latest Facts on Mpls.

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 10.—Following are the important developments of the week:

Three representatives of International unions have arrived and joined forces with Lewis.

The Laundry Workers Local charter has been revoked; the Laundry Workers have issued an appeal to labor to back 574.

Lewis has appeared before a number of business men's clubs, and various open-shop groups seeking support for his campaign.

William Green issued a statement in Washington denying that the Minneapolis "red purge" was part of a national drive to rid the federation of "reds." "The drive possesses only local significance," he said.

The Minnesota Leader (state organ of the Farmer-Labor party) came out with a front-page article denouncing Lewis' tactics and linking Lewis with an attempt on the part of the two old capitalist parties to break up the third-party movement in Minnesota.

The Minneapolis Labor Review (organ of the Central Labor Union) completely ignored Lewis' presence in town, saying not one word about him or his campaign.

T. E. Cunningham, president of the State federation of labor, denied that he knew anything of the plans of Lewis, and that he himself would disapprove any attempt to oust progressive trade unionists fighting for industrial unionism.

Denial by six members of the Teamster's Joint Council (which unions in Minneapolis, held Friday night at Local 574's hall, pledged solidarity against the splitting tactics of Meyer Lewis, Green and Tobin.

A great overflow mass meeting of the members of the progressive unions in Minneapolis, held Friday night at Local 574's hall, pledged solidarity against the splitting tactics of Meyer Lewis, Green and Tobin.

V. Dunne Lashes Fakerdom Before Mpls. Mass Meeting

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 8.—As workers are divided into small, weak craft unions. The workers, sensing this fact, have entered into the A. F. of L. hoping that it would provide them with the industrial form of organization. They found that the craft structure of the A. F. of L. stood in the way. Ten to fifteen million workers stand ready to be organized—but they want industrial unions so they can strike back effectively at their exploiters.

Drive for Industrial Unionism

"Now some union leaders have felt this pressure coming from the workers—John L. Lewis, Dubinsky, etc. These men understand that the workers are determined to drive forward to real industrial unionism. Therefore they have brought the issue into the open because they are interested in maintaining their positions in the unions. This split has loomed up, like a death bell, the fate of Green, Hutchison, and other arch-reactionary craft-union fakers. They understand that their life in the organized labor movement is limited to months unless they can tear the unions apart, terrorize the workers, and strike fear into all of those who are making the drive for industrial unionism."

"At the last convention they decided that they would have to strike and strike fast. They decided to throw their whole resources into the battle. They decided, also, that they had to make a spectacular start—to begin with a bang. They had to write in letters of fire across the sky that it meant death to any worker who dared raise his voice against them."

(Continued on Page 3)

F.-L. Paper Trenches Bill Green

Laundry Workers Solid Despite Revocation of Charter

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 10.—Almost two weeks have passed since William Green's representative, Meyer Lewis, began to the accompaniment of newspaper headlines his Holy War against the progressives in the Minneapolis trade union movement. To date, Lewis can record a discouraging lack of progress in his efforts to "purge" the labor movement. Accompanied only by the applause of the Citizens Alliance and the boss press, the representative of Mr. Green announced late yesterday that his plans for advancing the campaign against "communist leadership in Minneapolis trade unions" would be taken up with leaders of the State Federation of Labor. He said he expected the A. F. of L. to send other representatives to Minneapolis to take part in the drive.

Reasons for Drive Clear

The main reasons behind this latest vile attempt to split up and cripple the local trade union movement are becoming increasingly clear to the members of Minneapolis trade unions. At 574's mass meeting, these reasons were driven home by speaker after speaker.

First, the Minneapolis labor movement hasn't lost a strike in two years, since Local 574 first came on the scene. This is the only large city in the country with such a clean and magnificent record of labor victories. The dramatic struggles waged in this section have captured the imagination of the masses of American workers, and they are demanding that their unions follow out the same militant class-struggle policies that have proved so successful here. This drive against militant leadership in unions is planned by the Greens to save their jobs.

Secondly, Minnesota is the only state that has broken politically with the two old boss parties and has built up an independent political party. The mass base for the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party lies in the trade union movement, and especially in the Minneapolis unions. It has been pointed out that William Green is a Republican wheel-horse working together with Daniel Tobin and other Democratic politicians on the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to make a drive on Minnesota on behalf of the old capitalist parties for the coming elections. They know that the best way to do this is to split the labor movement, to weaken it by driving from its ranks the most militant and devoted fighters.

Laundry Workers Stick to 574

On Thursday, Lewis revoked the charter of the Dry Cleaners Local No. 18005, after he and H. A. Bradley, president of the national council of petroleum workers had earlier given a clean bill of health to the Gasoline Station Operators Local No. 18902, which has just negotiated a contract with local employers.

Ruben Latz, business agent of the dry cleaners locals No. 18005 and No. 183 of the Cleaners and Dyers, stated that "we are not communists. The reason for this action is our friendship with 574." Norman Carle, chairman of the executive board of the Laundry Workers, issued a vigorous statement denouncing Lewis, saying:

"Lewis has demanded that we repudiate Local 574. This we flatly refused to do because 574 has been one of our most valuable friends and allies. We consider that they have contributed mightily to organized labor in Minneapolis, and that they are deserving of full support in their effort to win reinstatement in the A. F. of L. We believe that the attack by Meyer Lewis upon 574 is absolutely unjustified and clearly detrimental to the interest of Minneapolis workers. We therefore refuse to become a party to any such disruptive program. Our union was organized under the A. F. of L. and it is our desire to remain a part of that body, but we will not permit ourselves to be stripped of all union principles to do so."

According to Latz, the Laundry Workers Union will continue to (Continued on Page 4)

To the Soldiers and Youth of Italy!

MANIFESTO OF THE ITALIAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS

Many of you have fallen in Africa; many more will suffer the same fate. You were told this was no war but merely an expedition, an excursion, that would lead to land, glory, and prosperity. What lies!

Forty years ago they told your fathers the same lies. They repeated them during the Tripolitan war in 1911, and during the World War of 1915-1918, which cost Italy 600,000 men. After forty years of suffering, misery, privation, and martyrdom, the Italian ruling classes have nothing to offer you, our sons and brothers, but to send you to the equator to die of fever, sunstroke, and thirst; to send you against a people who have done you no harm; a people who are themselves struggling to wrest a living from their barren lands.

Don't answer as the Fascists have taught you, "Me no frogo" (I don't give a damn). Your masters and exploiters who have sent you to die in Africa don't give a damn for your lives; they are only worried about their profits. Is it really necessary to kill one another for the profit of these gentlemen back home who are flaunting the fortunes they have amassed at your expense, at our expense?

The band of demagogues, swindlers and murderers, who alone stand to gain by this war that is

killing you, say that Italy is too small for our people, that she must have a place in the sun. But we are not poor because our sun is poor, or because our land is poor. Take the largest empire in the world, England, of which you hear so much these days. What is the fate of the peasants of this empire? What is the fate of our brothers, the English workers? They are as exploited and poverty stricken as we. Just the other day the Welsh miners went on a hunger strike in the bottom of their mine, risking their lives for a little wage increase. The cause of our misery is this system of robbery and exploitation founded on profits, the capitalist system. Even "Il Duce," that unscrupulous old demagogue, capable of any deceit, is forced to proclaim that the cause of our poverty is the capitalist system. But what then?

Why do we have Fascism? The capitalist system is based upon robbery, upon exploitation of the workers, upon private property. It is to defend this system of robbery and exploitation that Mussolini lends his support to your exploiters, the manufacturers, the landowners, the bankers, those who are now sending you to die in Africa. You have been deceived with talk of collaboration and equality between those who work and those who live by the work of others. The Fascist

corporations are a lie. There is not and cannot be equality or collaboration between exploiters and exploited. The Fascist state is an exploiters' state. The Socialists and Communists, those whom Mussolini has killed, whom "Il Duce" has persecuted, imprisoned and tortured, fight for the workers' state.

Enough of Division Among the Workers. Let Us Unite, Unite Yourselves with All Peoples Who Suffer and Toil.

You have been given arms to kill Negroes who are as poor and miserable as we. Don't give up your arms! Judgment day has sounded for the real enemies of the Italian people. These enemies are not three thousand miles away in the middle of Africa, they are not the Ethiopian people; these enemies are at home, in Italy; they are the wealthy men, the big landowners, the bankers, the manufacturers, all those who live by our sweat, the Fascist leaders, Il Duce and his band of swindlers and crooks; all the profiteers of the royal and military circles. In Italy, not in Abyssinia, there is work to be done, a rotten system to be cleaned up!

Mussolini has told his bandit rivals that he isn't "collecting debts." And we? Are we to collect Ethiopian bullets for the Italian capitalists? We want a "place in the sun," but that place is not in Africa; it is in Italy that we must win it.

Instead of going to your death in the arid mountains of Africa we say: Look for your land at home, in Italy. Don't take the land from the poor Ethiopians—and may they keep it from being taken. Take the land from the nobles, counts and dukes and landowners of Italy; the land that you and your fathers worked so that these nobles could lead a merry life in the cities.

Before trying to liberate the Abyssinian slaves we must abolish our own slave system. Don't you know that the Ethiopian slaves, those that still exist, are far better off than you? The Ethiopian slave is kept and fed by his master. And we? We belong to our masters, who can just as well decide our fate. But when we are no longer any use to them in making profits they throw us out in the street; they throw us away like old clothes. They are sending you to people the Ethiopian deserts with corpses in order to get rid of you. That is "the place in the sun" you are offered.

No, we cannot bring civilization and liberty to others as long as we tolerate this barbarous slave system, the capitalist system and its watchdog Fascism, among ourselves.

Throw the de Bonos, Cianos, and the Grazianis, that whole bloody band into the sea; fraternize with the Abyssinian soldiers; return from Africa and don't give up your arms.

There is another, a far fairer and more glorious war to fight, the only just war, the war of the working people against their tyrants, against their exploiters, the war of liberation of the Italian people from capitalist tyranny and for the new society, the workers' state, the socialist society.

Soldiers and youth of Piedmont, of Lombardy, of Apulia, of the Isles, follow the example of the Abyssinian people, these people whom they call "savages." Yes, they have shown you they know how to fight "savagely" for their liberty, their land, their independence. Learn from these "savages"; fight for your liberty; turn your guns against your oppressors, fight for your land and your bread; liberate Italy by liberating yourselves from capitalism.

Enough of singing "Glovezza," this song of slavery and death. Learn "Bandiera Rossa," the song of your fathers, the song that makes your exploiters, your real enemies, the generals, the manufacturers and the big landowners tremble with fright.

With "Bandiera Rossa" you will conquer, you, working class Italy, will conquer.

In Italy you will seize the land. In Italy you will take the factories. Where your fathers and brothers died in 1920 through weakness, ignorance and through treacherous leaders, you will succeed.

Do you believe that you will not be able to govern alone? Form your committees of workers and peasants, your soldiers committees. A government of workers, peasants and soldiers committees will know better how to govern than a state composed of Fascist degenerates living on the working people and guarding the capitalist system.

Down with Fascism, the exploiters' state!

Down with Mussolini, traitor to socialism and to the Italian people; the lackey of the bankers; the oppressor of the workers and poor peasants!

Down with the monarchy and its camarilla!

Down with the Imperialist War in Africa; Long Live the Civil War in Italy! Long Live the Republic of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers! Councils of Italy!

—The Italian Bolsheviki-Leninists.

Comments

On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

The Liberty League's committee of corporation lawyers offers: "It and when any American citizen, however humble, is without means to defend his constitutional rights in a court of justice, one or more of these lawyers will, without compensation from any source, defend the right of the individual, and in this way carry out, in the most effective way, their oath to support maintain and defend the Constitution." . . . In sixteen states property qualifications and poll taxes restrict the political rights of the unemployed. . . . In fourteen states ancient pauper laws have been invoked denying the right to vote to persons on relief. . . . The New York Economic Council has gone on record as favoring "withholding from all persons receiving public unemployment relief the right of suffrage." . . . Professor Donald Laird of Cornell contributes to the current Review of Reviews an article sub-titled "Should the Ballot be Restricted to Citizens Able to Take Care of Themselves? One out of Four Cannot!"

PROSPERITY . . .

"We are coming back more soundly than ever because we planned it that way," says President Roosevelt at Charleston, S. C. . . . According to Government figures, industrial production today has attained 90 per cent of the 1929 level while only 82 per cent as many people are employed. Payrolls are 74 per cent of the 1929 level while prices have risen steeply. . . . "The banking situation generally is better than it has been for a long time," remarked Rudolph S. Hecht, president of the American Bankers Association after an hour's conference with Roosevelt. . . . St. Louis school children lost \$92,500 penny savings through the failure of local banks. . . . "There is no longer fear, and confidence in the future is due to the belief that times are getting better and better," says Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., head of General Motors. . . . The Alexander Hamilton Institute, America's chief "success school" is on the rocks. Its 1930 net profit was \$316,000; its 1933 net income \$4,018. . . .

PARABLE FOR PREACHERS . . .

A survey conducted by the Christian Century showed that of 5,600 Methodist ministers polled, 34 per cent voted Socialist. Alarmed, the Chicago Conference of Methodist Laymen, which includes many of the nation's leading business men, served notice on the preachers: Leave social and economic questions alone and preach the gospel or we who contribute the money will leave the church. . . . Last week the Conference mailed to all Methodist ministers "A Parable for Preachers." Excerpts: "A church called a certain man to be its minister. . . . Instead of preaching Christ he preached Old Age Insurance, Unemployment Relief, the Abolition of the Profit Motive and Reduction of Armaments. . . . and the hearts of the people were heavy for they longed for the old-fashioned gospel. . . . they sent a delegation and asked him to preach something they did not read about six days out of seven. . . . and the minister was angry and said 'I believe in Freedom of the Pulpit'. . . . The minister agreed with a local painter for two shekels a day to paint some buildings white. . . . Instead of painting the buildings white the painter painted them red. . . . The minister rebuked the painter. . . . he replied, 'I believe in the Freedom of the Painter, red is a better color than white'. . . . suddenly there shined upon the minister a light from heaven and he said, 'I do see my sin this day. Why should I rebuke this man for painting my buildings red which I commanded him to paint white, when I am called to preach Christ and Him crucified and I preach the Social Gospel?'"

ATHLETES . . .

Dr. Irving Rattner, head of the American Legion post at New York City College, urges a program "Awake America" to extirpate communism from American schools. He suggests clubs "named from famous Generals" which should lay special stress on athletics "for athletes are always good Americans." . . . Athlete Joe Ruddy, swimmer, polo star and director of the New York Civil Service Commission banked \$104,006 between 1931 and 1934. His salary in this period amounted to \$11,351. . . . Athlete "Smookey" Saunders, Louisville jockey, in a drunken stupor threw a Kentucky blood from his car and ran over her body repeatedly. . . . Athlete Jack Blackburn, trainer of Joe Louis, is being held in Chicago for the murder of Enoch Hansen. . . .

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays
and Holidays.

ON THE FIRING LINE

Shachtman Gets Rousing Reception In Minneapolis, Plentywood Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS

During comrade Shachtman's stop here, the Minneapolis branch held two of the most successful affairs the party has ever presented here. On Friday night, Nov. 1, comrade Shachtman spoke on the war question to an overflow crowd at the Pythian Hall. On Saturday a very successful party was held in honor of the touring comrades at the Minneapolis branch headquarters, with card playing, dancing, movies and refreshments. Over \$100 was raised to carry on the work of the Workers Party.

Plentywood, Montana

PLENTYWOOD, Mont.—The Producers News reports a large, enthusiastic and highly interested audience turned out to hear Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, in the Farmer-Labor Temple here.

With Charles Taylor, editor of the Producers News, official organ of the Farm Holiday Association of Montana, in the chair, Shachtman explained the causes and the forces making for imperialist war and the international conflicts arising out of the present colonial struggle in Ethiopia.

A Stalinist in the audience, who was so bold as to defend the social-patriotism of the Communist Party, was neatly demolished by the speaker.

The Producers News for Nov. 8 features a debate in its columns between a Stalinist, Harry Smith of Council Bluffs, Iowa, which takes the form of a letter to the paper and an answer by comrade Shachtman. In his letter Smith defends the Soviet Union's foreign

policy, its shipment of foodstuffs, etc. to Italy and a general apology for socialism in one country. Shachtman takes issue with his remarks from the revolutionary viewpoint, showing step by step the betrayal of Stalinism.

Salt Lake City

SALT LAKE CITY.—When comrade Shachtman spoke in Salt Lake City a year and a half ago, his meeting was broken up by Stalinists under the leadership of their organizer, Paul Crouch. His scheduled meeting on November 9 was broken up by a slight mountain blizzard which blocked the highways to Salt Lake, prevented a large crowd from appearing at the hall (despite the fine sale of tickets) and trapped the speaker at Preston, Idaho, a town not particularly hospitable toward revolutionists, as the mayor, far from offering Shachtman the key to the city, did not even offer to repair his windshield wiper. And at Salt Lake, the comrades wiped away the slow sweat of waiting for Shachtman and accepted the kind offer of a liberal club that he speak before them the following night, Sunday.

More than fifty students and workers listened raptly to Shachtman's vivid portrayal of the approaching war and the crass betrayal of the Second and Third Internationals—their support of sanctions and of "good" capitalists—fights against "bad" capitalists—their turning of the workers' guns upon each other instead of upon the capitalist governments.

The large collection that was taken proved the appreciation and interest of the crowd, even the Stalinists present contributing generously.

"What If a Foreign Army Invaded Our Country?" Stalinist Jingoists Ask

By SAM POLLOCK and ART PREIS

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 4. — "We can't be against government sanctions. What would we do if an invading army attacked our homes?" This was not the statement of the Liberty League, nor an appeal by "Stinker" Hearst against the Red and Yellow perils, nor even a quotation from the constitution of the National Civil Federation. It was the full-blown wisdom donated to the Northwest District Conference of the American League Against War and Fascism, November 2-3, by a leading Detroit member of the Communist Party.

Fearful lest his party comrades might not make the position of the C.P. on imperialist sanctions sufficiently clear, Francis Murphy, local secretary and organizer of the American League, stated, "The American League is not concerned with League of Nations sanctions. The U. S. is not a member of the League. Therefore, we are not concerned about the actions of the League of Nations." Reinforcements were brought from the rear to support Murphy, when Sam Spensler, New America organizer, emphatically stated, "The American League is against all wars."

These were the arguments used to "prove" that a resolution against imperialist sanctions, submitted by Sam Pollock, a W.P. member who represented the Lucas County Unemployed League, was "pacifist." The resolution, which was undoubtedly the most important submitted and the only one even discussed or disputed, was permitted only six minutes of debate (two speakers from each side, limited to three minutes apiece) by the mechanical control of the C. P. and its stooges. The resolution, which exposed the entire jingoistic Stalinist structure of the American League, is here quoted in its entirety:

"I. Resolved: That this con-

ference goes on record against any war engaged in by American imperialism; and be it further

"2. Resolved: That this conference does not recognize any idea that justifies support of one's imperialist country during war, because that country has an allegedly democratic form of government, against a country in which fascism or reaction are in power. Any such war would still be an imperialist war, a war of despoliation and conquest and would not be and could not be in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the peoples; and be it further

"3. Resolved: That this conference is against extending any support to any sanctions that the U. S. government may apply to Italy in the present controversy; such sanctions being only a prelude to a new imperialist war and a world-wide slaughter of the masses of the world; and be it further

"4. Resolved: That this conference support only working-class sanctions against Italy, in the form of strikes, refusal to handle Italian goods, etc., etc.

Lucas County Unemployed League."

The conference had its auspicious start Saturday, Nov. 2, at a luncheon meeting (\$1.00 per plate) at Ritz, Jim-Crow Commodore Perry Hotel, held in honor of Dr. Harry E. Ward, titular national head of the American League. This was followed in the evening by a "monster," "gigantic" "People's" rally against war at the huge Civic Auditorium (seating capacity 5,600). After titanic preparations, 300 of the masses were lured into the echoing desolation of the auditorium to hear Dr. Ward and such other fighters against war and fascism as Charles Hoover, vice-mayor of Toledo and an official of the Auto-Lite Co.

Resolutions were finally submitted to the evening session, which started late and from which a great share of the delegates were absent. Prior to the report of the resolutions committee, the C. P. majority bloc took the precautions to limit the debate to two delegates for either side of an issue with three minutes apiece. In its report, the resolutions committee "overlooked" the Unemployed League resolution against sanctions. When attention was called to this omission, the chairman hastily reported non-concurrence by the committee, but refused to give the reason for this position.

Trade Unionists Balk

When the recorded vote on the resolution was taken, of the 36 delegates present, 26 delegates, all of Stalinist or New America connections, voted as a bloc against it. Three delegates, including 2 bona-fide representatives of large trade union groups, endorsed the resolution. The remainder of the delegates, representing unions and other genuine mass groups, abstained from voting. Several of the abstainers later stated to Sam

Pollock, "What was the use of voting? he meeting was stacked."

Besides Sam Pollock, a militant trade unionist, representing a local of over 1,500 members, took the floor in support of the resolution, emphasizing in brief and straightforward terms, "Here the government is preparing 24 hours a day for a new war, with most of the money coming from relief funds in one form or another. This is the government which clubs us and jails us, and do you want us workers to support the sanctions of such a government?"

The only resolutions passed on the question of war were on a boycott of Italy and Germany and a protest to Japan. The whole question of sanctions was deliberately avoided.

While this farcical "conference" was dragging out its fruitless end, another meeting was being held a short distance away at the Toledo Workers School Hall, the regular Open Forum of the local W. P. Comrade Burke Cochran gave a splendid and eagerly attended talk on the 55th Convention of the A. F. of L. before a full audience of workers, the largest share of whom were active trade union progressives. There was no gag-rule at this meeting, for the floor was given over to an hour and a half of free and open discussion, with members of the auto union and other A. F. of L. groups and the M.E.S.A. participating.

100 Hear Cannon in Allentown Meeting

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Nov. 9.—A crowd of about 100 workers turned out to hear comrade James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT, present the Workers Party position on the war danger at the Silk Workers Hall last night. The meeting, one of many being conducted as part of the W.P.'s anti-war campaign, was held under the auspices of the Allentown branch.

Andrew J. Budimas, First Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, acted as chairman and introduced the speaker to the local workers. Comrade Cannon's subject was "War and the Workers."

In the course of his speech he demonstrated the inevitability of war under capitalism and imperialist rivalry and exposed the treacherous character of the pacifist "peace marches" dished up by the rabbis, the preachers, the social reformists and the so-called "Communists" as substitutes for the genuine struggle against war. He once more proclaimed the slogan of Lenin and Liebknecht: "The enemy is in our own country" as the guiding line for anti-war action on the part of the working class.

The speech was very well received by the audience. In the question and discussion period, several Stalinists (members of the so-called "Communist Party") took the floor in a pitiable attempt to defend the betrayal policy of the Communist International. Comrade Cannon made short shrift of the Stalinist blunkeys and publicly challenged them to an open debate, with equal time for both sides, before the workers of Allentown. The Stalinists swallowed hard, but to date they have not yet replied to the challenge.

A good number of NEW MILITANT and party pamphlets were sold at the door upon the conclusion of the meeting.

Nazi Strikebreakers Used in Bakery Strike

NEW YORK.—Use of Nazi agents to break the general strike of Cushman-Purity bakeries was charged today by Herman Gund, Secretary of Bakery Workers Union, Local 50, an industrial union affiliated to the Bakery International and the A. F. of L.

"The Cushman officials deliberately hired active Nazis as foremen in the 165th Street and Park Ave. plant, and in other plants which employed workers of German descent. Germans were given special privileges in order to enable them to take part in Nazi exercises and activities. As a result," declared Gund, "the majority of the strikebreakers in these plants are Germans under the leadership of these Nazi foremen."

"Some of these Nazis have openly stated to strikers that they are scabbing on the strike because the American Federation of Labor has declared a boycott of Nazi goods. Under the influence of the Nazi foremen, German workers were induced to drop out of the union and are now acting as scabs."

"This is a direct challenge to the American Federation of Labor. It is not merely a question of winning this particular strike. It is a question of smashing for good the use by the bosses of Fascist organizations against strikers."

Over 1,200 Cushman workers are out for the third week. An army of company "guards" have been harassing the strikers, their homes are visited and their wives and children terrorized by threats.

"Guards" visited one of the strike headquarters and manhandled strikers. Instead of arresting the thugs, the police arrested three workers.

In spite of terror, the strike is solid. Formerly an independent union, Bakery Local 50 secured a charter from the Bakery International which provides an industrial structure. All workers connected with Cushmans, including bakers, drivers and store salesmen, belong to the one union. Bakery Local 50 is also organizing other mass-production bakery factories. Trustification is well advanced in the industry, three firms—Cushman, Ward and Continental being giant trusts extending throughout the country.

Workers are asked to boycott Cushman stores.

Hold First Forum on N.W. Side, Chicago

CHICAGO, Nov. 13.—The Northwest Side branch of the Workers Party held its first open meeting of the season last night at its headquarters at 1237 California Avenue. In conjunction with the proposed anti-war campaign, this meeting was devoted to a discussion on the impending world war and the position and attitude of the different working class organizations. Comrade Albert Grotzer traced the threads which tied the imperialist powers and forced them into a new war and then discussed the methods of combating war.

In a discussion of the latest turn of the Stalinist International he explained to the audience how because of the false conceptions of the Stalinists with regard to building socialism in a single country the working class movement had suffered defeat after defeat in all of the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union itself; that now the Stalinists have adopted a completely social-patriotic attitude towards war, pledging themselves at their last Congress to support the bourgeoisie of the democratic countries against the Fascist countries.

The Northwest Side branch of the W. P. intends holding such meetings every two weeks. At this first meeting some fifty workers were present and the future meetings promise to be even larger.

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

We have made a beginning in our campaign for 1,000 new subscribers. But it is only a small beginning and there is a little less than a month and a half left to do the job. Speed is now essential.

By December 1 we will have another special eight-page issue. What can our branches and bundle agents do toward a special stimulation of the campaign? Special supplies of this issue should be ordered right away and careful plans made for distribution. A follow-up by subscriptions should net actual results.

The main point now is to get busy and build up a march larger circulation for the NEW MILITANT. As we have said before, 1,000 new subscribers by the time of the second party convention, Christmas week, will mark the first step toward accomplishing this aim. Moreover, it will net the funds necessary to start the regular eight-page weekly.

Below we give the quotas of new subscriptions assigned to the various branches together with the new subs turned in so far.

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio	20	—
Albert Lea, Minn.	10	—
Allentown, Pa.	30	—
Austin, Minn.	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.	10	—
Boston, Mass.	25	1
Charleston, W. Va.	5	—
Chicago, Ill.	50	5
Cleveland, Ohio	25	1
Columbus, Ohio	10	—
Davenport, Iowa	10	—
Detroit, Mich.	25	—
Dickson City, Pa.	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota	10	—
Guilford, Miss.	10	—
High Point, N. C.	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.	25	—
Minneapolis, Minn.	75	—
Mount Carmel, Pa.	5	—
Newark, N. J.	20	—
New Castle, Pa.	10	—
New Haven, Conn.	10	—
New York City	400	38
(Branch 1)	90	17)
(Branch 2)	40	3)
(Branch 3)	75	10)
(Branch 4)	30	—)
(Branch 5)	20	1)
(Branch 6)	15	1)
(Branch 7)	15	—)
(Branch 8)	10	1)
(District)	100	5)
Northampton, Pa.	5	—
Paterson, N. J.	10	—
Philadelphia, Pa.	30	1
Pittsburgh, Pa.	25	—
Plentywood, Mont.	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.	10	—
Salt Lake City	10	—
San Francisco, Cal.	20	—
Springfield, Ill.	5	—
Toledo, Ohio	25	—
Utica, N. Y.	5	—
Washington, D. C.	10	—
Williston, N. Dakota	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio	10	—
Total	1,000	46

A couple of friends in New York

French C.P. Begs Laval

(Continued from Page 1)

derisively pointed out by the Fascists themselves who received the decrees not with shudders of mortal fear but with jeers. Laval issued them, said Echo de Paris on Oct. 23 "to calm Herriot and the Radicals."

How about the Stalinists? "Decree laws against the Fascists? They have been taken," writes 'Humanite', "but they are already violated." They are insufficient and ineffective. "It is necessary to disarm and dissolve the Fascist leagues." ('Humanite', Oct. 25.) There's our anti-Fascist program! And oh yes, there's another fault that has to be rectified, says 'Humanite'.

"Purify the Police Force!"

"The decrees threaten to be ineffective. . . . these decrees are useless unless they are accompanied by a serious purification of the police." The police chiefs, it seems are Fascist, but the "great majority of the police are of republican tendencies." That is why the chiefs, it seems, are withholding some extra ammunition from the cops. L'Humanite won't stand for seeing the cops go short of bullets.

"It was only after the campaign conducted by 'Humanite' that Guehard (high police official) finally consented to give nine new cartridges to his guardians of the peace—in order to face Fascists armed to the teeth!"

The police must be better armed and above all—purified. For this purification, "demanded by the policemen themselves—is an essential condition for the security of the French people."

These are only some of the vile lengths to which the degeneration of Stalinism has led. Columns could be given over here to quotations, nothing but quotations from the columns of 'Humanite' which are enough to make any honest Communist want to spit upon everything he's ever been taught at the feet of the Great Leader, Stalin the Great, or Stalin the Little, alias Browder, Cachin or Pollitt.

City have each made a good contribution toward the campaign for the regular eight-page weekly. This is for the particular information of the comrades who may think that we do not want any further contributions for this purpose. We do. We need much more money before the eight-page weekly can be assured.

Those who have the funds to spare please take note.

Since our last report we have received the following contributions: A Friend, N. Y. C. . . . \$20.00
Boro Park Branch, N.Y.C. . . . 1.50
Boston Branch . . . 10.00
F. P., New York City . . . 10.00
East Side Branch, N.Y.C.50
Center Branch, N.Y.C.45
Anonymous, N.Y.C.25.00
Kensington Br., Philadelphia (received for greetings) . . . 3.50

Total 70.95
Previously reported . . . \$78.75
Grand Total \$149.70

OPEN FORUM
WHITHER FRANCE?
Fascism or Workers Revolution?
The French Hitlerites Are Ready!
Are the Workers Ready?
Speaker:
JOHN G. WRIGHT
Friday, Nov. 21, 8 P.M.
Great Central Palace
96 Clinton St., N.Y.C.
Auspices: Branch 2, W. P.

CONCERT
and
DANCE
given by
BRANCH 1
at 320 East 14th St.

HEAR—Misha Nash, violinist
Fresh from his triumphs abroad.
SEE—Spartacus Dance Group
in a series of modern, streamline gyrations.
HEAR—E. Engelson, pianist
outstanding artist of the Metropolitan area.
SEE—New Theatre Group
in a new "Ultra-Leftist" Repertoire.

Dancing until 2 A.M.
Refreshments of Course!
SATURDAY, NOV. 23rd

A F F A I R
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16
Good Music, Food, Drinks
Entertainment.
at 320 East 14th Street, N.Y.C.
Admission 15c
Auspices: Branch 2, W. P.

PARTY AT WORK

MISSISSIPPI

The Mississippi section of the party, after a period of severe persecution, is adding new members, and incidentally, making an advance subscription to the NEW MILITANT a first demand upon every applicant for membership. The campaign against "reds" is carried on with excessive rigor in this and other Southern states by the A. F. of L. trade union bureaucrats at the top and the lesser bureaucrats. In spite of this the militants are indispensable in carrying on effective organization work in strikes and the rank and file of the unions constantly turn to them for help.

NEWARK, N. J.

The rapid growth of the Newark branch of the W. P. and the Spartacus Youth League has permeated the entire membership with such tremendous enthusiasm and energy, that recruiting quotas are smashed right and left—a bright augury for the vitalization of the dormant Newark labor movement. Branch meetings and educational meetings are attended by 100 percent of the membership. Eighteen of the comrades are active in the splendid work of the Newark Unemployed League. Others are active in the trade unions (this is just starting), in educational and other activities. Among the new members that have joined the party in the last couple of weeks are three Negroes, a member of the longshoreman's union, a couple of automobile workers, a couple of painters and other industrial workers. Forums are to get under way soon and all signs indicate a very successful season. The new members are all intelligent, energetic and active, and for the most part are workers in basic industries.

The Spartacus youth have also had a rapid growth and are very active with classes, social, sports and other activities. A basketball team has been organized and so has a Junior Spartacus group consisting of youngsters between the ages of 12 and 15 and numbering 15 members already. Between 25 and 30 Spartacans are actively engaged in youth work and the Juniors too, have successful meetings. Both party and youth members gather together about three times a week after meetings or other activities for discussions and plans.

The Newark branch of the Workers Party is running a theater party at the Civic Repertory theater on both Nov. 23, Thanksgiving day evening, and Nov. 30 matinee. The play is the Theater Union production of "Mother," based on the Gorki novel of that name.

Comrades wishing tickets can write to Lew Merritt, 545 Belmont Ave., Newark. Tickets sell for 30c, 45c, 60c, 75c and \$1.00.

MINNEAPOLIS

On Thursday, Nov. 7, the Minneapolis branch held an open meeting to commemorate the 18th anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik revolution. Aside from the regular party comrades, numerous sympathizers attended and honored with us the memory and the great lessons of October.

The entertainment committee of the Minneapolis branch has scheduled three parties for the remainder of the year, all to take place at the branch headquarters, 631 Third Avenue South. The parties will be held on Saturday evenings—Nov. 23, Dec. 7, and Dec. 23. All friends and sympathizers are to consider this notice their cordial invitation to attend these affairs.

Cannon Speaks at Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—James P. Cannon addressed a mass meeting Sunday night, Nov. 10 under the auspices of the Philadelphia branch in the campaign of the Workers Party on the war question.

Comrade Cannon drove home the Leninist teaching on the workers' attitude toward capitalist war and tore to shreds the perfidious attitude of the Second and Third Internationals. He showed that the policy of supporting government sanctions and the fraud of "good" and "bad" capitalist governments is simply the preparation to deliver the masses helpless to another imperialist slaughter as in 1914.

The question and discussion period brought out numerous angles of the proletarian attitude toward war. The lecture was received with enthusiasm and helped to strengthen the influence of the Workers Party in Philadelphia.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL FORUM

Sponsored by the Philadelphia Local, Workers Party
431 Pine Street.
Sunday, Nov. 17—JAMES RORTY, well known author and journalist: "The Intellectuals and Their Place in the Revolutionary Movement."
Sunday, Dec. 1—A. J. MUSTE, National Secretary of the W. P.: "The A. F. of L. Convention in Atlantic City."

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

BATTLE OF THE CURRENCIES

Nothing illustrates so well the fact that capitalist production and consumption rest not on national but on world foundations than does the world-wide battle of currencies. The world is divided into well-defined areas politically and economically under the control of one or the other of the great capitalist powers. The signposts over these areas denoting such control are, respectively, the yen in the world manner as a token of world dominion. It is this battle of the currencies, each symptom of the gigantic struggle underneath for outright colonial control, that is being witnessed at the moment in China. Control of Chinese currency and Chinese foreign exchange would go a long way in aiding one or the other of the imperialists to control the larger share of Chinese foreign trade. One of the infamous twenty-one demands made on China by Japan was that the Japanese be given control over the chaotic Chinese currency, and that Japan be allowed to set up a gold backing for Chinese currency in the Bank of Japan at Tokyo. Leith-Ross, agent of British imperialism, is now engaged in the effort to tie the Chinese silver currency to the pound sterling. He would do this partly through the aid of an "international loan" to Chiang Kai-Shek. Japan has already signified her intransigent opposition to this scheme. The United States has played no small part in bringing about the present situation.

AMERICAN SILVER POLICY

The policy of increasing the price of silver pursued by the Roosevelt administration had, among other things, the aim of counteracting the gains made by Japan in Chinese trade due to depreciation of the yen. Japanese goods became cheaper for China as for the rest of the world, since Japanese prices did not rise much and other currencies could therefore secure more in goods in Japan. American gold policy—depreciating the dollar in terms of gold—did not affect the Far East as greatly because there silver rather than gold was the basis of currency and money. Hence Roosevelt hoped to secure a greater share of Chinese trade by depreciating the dollar in terms of silver. Since the silver would pour out of the Chinese hoards to secure the profit offered in terms of the American dollar it was hoped that the silver would be exchanged for American goods. This policy has been only partially successful in restoring American trade. Meantime silver has been smuggled out of China

at a tremendous rate despite the attempt to prevent this by means of an equalization export duty. The rise in prices of Chinese goods has now reached the point where inflation threatens. The result of American policy has been to lower the standard of living of the Chinese masses even beyond the starvation level already existing, something that does not concern in the least American capitalism in its mad search for profits.

Now the Chinese government has finally taken the step, under the advice and encouragement of English imperialism, of going off the silver standard. This step is in line with the policies of capitalist nations all over the world of establishing managed (manipulated) currencies to protect the interests of the home bourgeoisie. It is not taken, needless to say, to restore a stable currency that would be for the benefit of the Chinese masses. They do not enter into consideration at all. Besides being concerned over their share of trade, the British are also looking out for their vast investments that are threatened by the instability of Chinese money and the strong possibilities of inflation. China is now the battleground of the nations and the battle is for the moment confined to money. But the fight for control of Chinese money is only part of the conflict to seize and subjugate China as a colony. At any moment the diplomatic and economic conflict threatens to turn to other means, the use of bullets instead of coin. The intervention of America and England in the monetary sphere is only notice given to Japan that her seizure of Chinese territory will sooner or later have to meet the test of force on the international arena. The big powers, England in particular, are giving notice to Japan that not all their attention is devoted to the Ethiopian situation, that they are giving close attention to events in the Far East as well.

That the Japanese will nevertheless apply pressure on the corrupt Chinese government to prevent China becoming a sterling area goes without saying. The Japanese army will intervene, first by threats, then by further action to strangle China. How far they will go depends also on the international "balance of power," on the combinations among the imperialists. As one power moves to gain more control at the expense of the others, the latter combine against the immediate menace, only to fall apart again the moment a new situation arises. The basic law of capitalism at all times, but particularly in the period of decay, is the law of its instability.

V. Dunne Lashes Fakerdom

(Continued from Page 1)

head for any progressive idea. "But why did they choose Minneapolis as the place at which to strike the first blow? For two very good reasons. Minnesota is like an island that is looked upon by the workers of the rest of the country, struggling for their rights. Whatever you may think of the Farmer-Labor Party, you must recognize that it represents a new course—the workers here have struck off upon the path of independent political action through the Farmer-Labor Party. Bill Green, the old Republican wheeler, and other craft unionists, closely allied with the two old capitalist parties, resent this political expression of the workers. And so they come here hoping to smash the Farmer-Labor Party. At the same time they intend to strike a blow at the industrial unionists. Tobin and Green understand that if they can make a spectacular and smashing blow at 574, they can smash the industrial union movement as a severe blow. It is pure business logic with them. They didn't come to Minneapolis simply to get after reds, radicals, and communists; they wish to blaze a trail here that will terrorize the workers all over the country.

The "Purge" of 1924
In 1924, Paul Smith, personal representative of Green, purged the unions here of reds. Between that time and 1934, when 574 came into the picture, not a single strike was won in Minneapolis. The Citizens Alliance succeeded in making Minneapolis an open shop town. Woe to the people who back red drives. They are only the bureaucrats of the labor movement, and the capitalist enemies of the workers.
"All of the newspapers here have taken up the cry of communism. . . These are the methods and tools of the capitalists. But this is not simply a flash in the pan—it is going to be a long drawn out, a bitter fight. Lewis can't move a single step forward—he has fired his best shots. Publicity and newspaper articles do not take over unions. Maybe we'll see fellows double up, and bend their heads before the onslaughts of the bureaucracy as if their heads were upon hinges. On the other hand, a young, new militant leadership will be thrown up in the process

of the struggle.
"But let us be on our guard—watch out. Lewis plans deliberately to perpetrate some outrage. To frame somebody. That is the next card which they intend to play. We offer Meyer Lewis—they say he comes from Iowa—a passport back to where the tall corn grows. Let's send him back!"

South Africans Boycott Italy

(Continued from Page 1)

"United front" conference in the Cathedral Hall. Neither the Communist League or the Lenin Club received invitations, but several individual comrades were invited to be present. Among organizations present were the Young Men's Christian Association and several churches. The speakers from the platform included a Bishop and several leading Stalinists. All the speakers were full of praise for the League of Nations, and called upon the capitalist government of South Africa—which one of the Stalinists referred to as "our" government—to instruct its representatives at Geneva to vote for sanctions against Italy. The lengthy resolution which was placed before the conference was pacifist to the core. When one of our comrades attempted to speak in order to expose the reformist nature of the resolution and to move a counter-resolution calling for an organized boycott of Fascist Italy, he was refused a hearing. Through a sympathetic trade union delegate, we succeeded in placing our resolution before the conference, but the chairman, when putting it to the vote coupled it with the Stalinist resolution, notwithstanding the protest of the mover.

The content of our resolution was as follows:
"That this conference pledges itself to organize an international boycott of Fascist Italy and will do everything in its power to prevent the handling of Italian goods or the loading of Italian boats. To this end, it will carry on propaganda among working class organizations and especially among the workers engaged in transport."

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Class War of the '70s

By Leighton Rigby

Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles on the revolutionary heritage of the American workers by comrade Rigby.

The early days of the American labor movement after the Civil War, like the heroic period of the Chartists in England, was marked by militant battles against the bourgeoisie and revolutionary spirit among the workers. One reason lies in the fact that the ruling capitalist class, and their agents in the ranks of organized labor had not yet consolidated their positions of power and perfected their subtle and open defense against the aroused workers.

Let us consider for the moment what took place in America fifty years ago. To tell what happened is to review stirring clashes, including the bloodiest two weeks in American labor history, when the capitalists fell to wondering if they had really won permanent power when they erased the menace of the planters. It is for us who carry on to keep alive the memory of those fighting, rank-and-file pioneers who left not only traditions but useful lessons.

In 1873 capitalism was on the upswing in the U. S. The fact that the inevitable excess profits could be safely converted into capital goods did not, however, prevent the piling up of surpluses of consumptive goods and the cyclical crisis, which was "the panic of 1873." The workers, as usual, took it on the chin, but not without swinging

some very effective blows themselves.

The Molly Maguires

The first to strike back were the Molly Maguires, secret organizers of Pennsylvania coal miners. To appreciate the origin of the name, Molly Maguires, one must know that a society by that name, in Ireland, had accomplished much by way of preventing foreclosures and evictions. The members of the original Molly Maguires often disguised themselves as women when performing their missions. The purposes of the American group of 1874 matched those of its Irish pattern in many ways, but the feminine disguise was never worn.

Mining in the anthracite districts was greatly increased during the planters' revolution, in pace with the speeding up of industry generally. With the industrial breakthrough, the lot of the miners, already unbearable, became even worse. There was no miners' union, but the Molly Maguires fought fiercely.

Whole counties were covered by the Molly Maguires as they struck terror into the black hearts of their oppressors. Mine owners, bosses and police were beaten, and many were killed. Hell broke loose in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. It was class warfare! And it was not halted until James McParlan, the Judas of 1874 who turned out to be a defective, had won the confidence of the Molly Maguires and subsequently maneuvered the leaders into capitalist courts of "justice."

It is true that incidents of private grievances sifted into the plans of the Molly Maguires. But it is also true that their struggle was, above everything else, a manifestation of the revolutionary spirit of the American worker. Faced with starvation, the miners of Pennsylvania struck back.

Fierce Struggles of 1877

In the summer of 1877 a walkout of Baltimore and Ohio railroad workers heralded two weeks of fierce battles between thousands of workers in several industries and their sympathizers, on the one side, and police and both federal and state troops, on the other. Even the farmers entered the fight, furnishing food to the strikers and their families. The East was paralyzed as trains stood still, and the West was shaken by clashes between workers and vigilantes.

A dozen workers were mowed down by troops in Baltimore, and many others were killed in Buffalo and Reading. Nineteen were murdered and hundreds wounded by police in the day-long battle in Chicago. Pittsburgh was the scene of the most pronounced revolutionary spirit. There, the workers, armed mainly with bricks and clubs, fought advancing columns of soldiers as their comrades fell dead beside them. The station was burned at Pittsburgh, as were roundhouses and hundreds of boxcars.

The railroad strike was broken

at last by the military power of the state of Pennsylvania. Whole trainloads of troops piled between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, offering to shoot down or lop off the ears of any who attempted to impede their progress. In the end, the workers won nothing for themselves. But they helped the cause of organized labor, while showing clearly the power of working class solidarity if it be followed to the end.

What occurred in 1877 was brought about by the rank and file. Enthusiastically and almost automatically responding to the spirit of their comrades, the workers spread the strike from city to city. All that was needed for victory was co-ordinating and interpretive leadership, which failed to come from the officials of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The failure of the leaders to lead became tradition in the high command, not being broken by Gompers who, with Strasser, brought about the formation of the A. F. of L. in 1886. When the membership of the Federation became formidable, bankers and industrialists invited Gompers to lunch. The latter gladly "walked with kings," but he "lost the common touch."

And the "kings" have carried the flattery to the point where today Green and Co. not only betray their murmuring followers at every conference table, but they deliberately shout out their intention to whip the rank and file into silence. The only "common touch" they retain is the one that affects the workers' pocketbooks. Their fight against ignorance and Marxism are founded upon the proposition that there is none so blind as he who will not see.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M. Z. NEWARK—

Question: Is there any difference between supporting sanctions "only to the extent required by British imperialism" and sanctions "forced upon these imperialist governments who want them only as a threat, and carried out over the head of the capitalist state apparatus, by independent unfettered class actions (strikes, demonstrations, active boycotts, picketing, etc.)"? The Daily Worker (see Harry Gannes' column) of Oct. 16, 1935, makes this distinction.

Answer: Just as they distinguish between the nations of peace-loving, democratic and of war-seeking, fascist capitalisms; between fake and genuine labor parties; so do the Stalinists now attempt to cover their crimes, this time on the war question. There are, if you please, had sanctions, i.e., those which the imperialists wish to apply, and good sanctions, i.e., those which the Stalinists would "force" them to apply.

If British imperialism wants sanctions "only as a threat" against Italy, whereas the worthies of the Third International would "force" His Majesty to take more drastic action, then it is quite clear that the Stalinists, even though they motivate their course by claiming a desire to defend Ethiopia, are demanding an IMMEDIATE imperialist war at the same time that they credit British imperialism with wanting peace. Unfortunately for the Stalinist contention, however, British imperialism is already FORCED to strike an effective blow at the Italian bandits in order to prevent the latter from taking the rich Ethiopian empire and exploiting it for the benefit of Italy. Instead of English, finance-capital; in order to prevent Mussolini from reducing Great Britain to the place of a third rate power. If England confines itself, for the present, to economic sanctions, it is because she has everything to gain by delaying military operations. The deeper the Italian army penetrates Ethiopia, the more difficult does the situation become for Mussolini; it is even possible that the Ethiopians may score military victories. Time permits Great Britain to strengthen her armaments in the Mediterranean and some thing which the British Admiralty has neglected to do, develop a naval strategy for these waters. The delay which the British are utilizing, therefore, is as much a part of military and naval strategy as the correct allocation of battle-ships, so that the sanctions of Stanley Baldwin are quite as effective as any which Harry Gannes and Co. would, if they could, "force" on him. Downing Street, it appears is not quite as illogical in its methods of defending the interests of British imperialism as are the Stalinists.

Stupid as the latter's policy may be, however, they call on the workers to "force" it on the imperialists by strikes, etc. "over the head of the capitalist state apparatus." Stupidity is here multiplied by insanity. Will the British workers be called to strike against the handling of goods destined for Italy when such goods are not being shipped because of orders from the British government? Will the Stalinists call on the British workers to boycott goods which are not being sold, such sale being already forbidden? How is it possible, except on the pages of the Daily Worker, to support sanctions by calling political strikes against the government of military? Sanctions are of a military, as well as of an economic character. For the British workers to enforce military sanctions "over the head of the capitalist state apparatus," power must have first passed into the hands of the proletariat. How is it possible for the proletariat to have the state power and at the same time be "putting pressure" on the imperialists to apply sanctions? Only God, he he in heaven, or in the Kremlin can solve the insane riddles and contradictions which the scribes of the Daily Worker generate in justification of their betrayals.

The essence of the whole matter, of course, is that there is no difference between the sanctions of Stanley Baldwin and those which the Stalinists would "enforce." Stalin has subordinated the policies of the Communist parties to the Stalin-Laval pact, i.e., to the interests of French imperialism. The latter supports sanctions so the Stalinists internationally are doing the same.

that here they have honest people to deal with—people they do not know how to approach, how to talk with, how to deal with. They have dealt with gangsters too long. "But do not think this is going to be an easy battle. They will continue to fight the union, and they will fight bitterly to the finish. They are determined to crush 574—because they are showing the country how militant industrial unions can effectively protect the rights of the workers."

Overflow Crowd Cheers Speakers

(Continued from Page 1)

me to disassociate yourselves from local 574." We said, "We can never do that. Not until 574 came into the picture did our union amount to anything. They helped us in every possible way. They attended the negotiations with the employers, and helped us to get a settlement with the bosses for the first time in the history of the industry here. We would be traitors to 574, to ourselves, and to our workers, if we now turned against it. It is the only union that helped us at all times. We never got such help from the Central Labor Union. We are going to go along the line with 574 one hundred percent." 574 has shown the incompetency, the uselessness of the old-line reactionary leaders who stayed in their offices, smoking cigars, and doing nothing for their workers but collecting dues from them. These old-line leaders are afraid the workers will wake up and understand. That is why they are fighting 574 which is showing the workers the meaning of real, honest, sincere unionism."

Latz also announced that Rabbi Gordon, who had served as impartial chairman of the committee which had drawn up the settlement between the union and the employers had called him that evening and assured that the agreement still stood, and that he would have nothing to do with the union split.

Power Union

Next there was introduced Brother Kotarsky of the Northern States Pottery Union Local 160, A. F. of L. He said that the members of his union had been rendered speechless by the actions of Lewis. While he is not much of a speaker, he would read a letter drawn up by his union. "We take deep concern in this matter both from the standpoint of the union and from that of our obligations toward 574. It was due entirely to the struggle of 574 that our own union was able to form. On many occasions the officers and men of 574 have helped us, and we know from numerous reports in the C.L.U. that, in spite of their expulsion from the A. F. of L. they have helped other A. F. of L. unions. The industrial union fight will bring increasing gains to the workers."

Musicians

Ace Brewer, representative of the Musicians Union (of which Lewis claims to be a member) assured the meeting that the Musicians were 100 percent for 574.

Bergstrom, the president of local 1313, the ornamental iron workers union which has just come out of a victorious struggle against the most notorious open-shop bosses, spoke next. "The ironworkers," he said, "are 100 percent behind 574. 574 gave us the kind of help hard to get anywhere else. 574 never turned down the iron workers. We didn't know anywhere one could go and get a better reception. There was little or no organization among the drivers before 574 came on the scene. This was too much for the boss class. That also goes for the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. They don't want organization the moment a union really begins to function in the interests of the workers. They only look upon the unions as a collection agency for getting dues from the workers. That is why

they ousted 574 from the A. F. of L. The reputation of a union depends upon its action during a strike. Workers will always respond to a union like 574. That is why it is not going to be easy to tear 574 down. Leaders in industry and the top leaders in the ranks of labor, want to frighten the workers by calling the leaders of 574 reds. Well Abraham Lincoln said that the radicals of today are the conservatives of tomorrow. But it does show that all ideas when they are first introduced look radical. But tomorrow they will be accepted as the ordinary thing. Is it any wonder that the old-line leaders oppose any new ideas? The last A. F. of L. convention shows the trend of all over the country. It was the first convention which didn't work like a steam roller. A large proportion of the delegates voted for industrial organization—the only method by which the workers can be organized effectively. The failure of the A. F. of L. has failed to organize the workers. The employers have organized right along. The small success of the A. F. of L. is revealed in the small number of workers which it has organized. The A. F. of L. has not performed its work well in having so many unorganized workers outside its ranks. But only the workers can organize themselves. And when they set out to do this, they are branded as reds. What of it? We don't expect to please the opposition by what we are doing." Bergstrom declared his union 100 percent behind 574.

Earl Martin, business agent of the Iron workers Local 19, oldest union in Minneapolis, also praised 574, and declared that "before 574 came into the picture local building trades were hibernating and sucking their paws."

Resolution of Rank and File

Bill Brown read spontaneous resolutions, drawn up by the members of 574 and presented to the leaders declaring their complete support for the union and for its leaders. These resolutions came from the Yellow Cab men, a group which Tobin warned 574 not to try and organize because the Yellow Cab was "a national concern, and too powerful to organize," also from the Cameron Transfer, whose owner is one of the leaders of the Citizens Alliance; from the Pittsburg Coal Co. men, Gamble Robinson Company, and the Colonial Warehouse, where 574 recently won a strike.

Farmer-Labor Alderman

The radical Farmer-Labor alderman, H. G. Scott, declared that the Farmer-Labor group in the city council did not have the courage to come out openly for 574. "They try to shush everything. It is time they take a stand and get off the fence." He declared that he was always ready to be at the service of 574, and that 574 was the one bright spot in the industrial situation in Minneapolis. He watched that the whole nation was declaring 574. "There used to be a paper, the Minneapolis Labor Review, which was the official organ of the Minneapolis labor movement. But since The Organizer has been put out by 574, that has become the official organ."

Candy Workers

A mere youth, Paul Williams of the Candy Workers Union, was introduced. His union was the newest in town—only three weeks old. Three weeks ago the workers had been forced by bad conditions to go out on strike at the Powell Candy Company. They had no leadership, no knowledge, no resources. They didn't know what to do. So they came to 574. "It was the only place we knew where to go. They gave us leadership and advice. And in 24 hours they had an agreement with the Powell Candy Company. Now the entire industry has been signed up and is completely unionized. Well, I'm not a speaker, and I've told you how we stand on 574."

Farmer-Labor Legislator

Sam Bellman, Representative in the State House of Representatives, and a Farmer Laborite, spoke. "In my opinion 574 has been the mainspring and the motive that has brought the workers to the level where they now are. The 3rd Ward F. L. local last night endorsed the union. Its death will be the death blow to the liberal movement in Minneapolis. Only militant action will win. If the union is destroyed, Fascism will triumph in Minnesota and the liberal-workers' movement will fall by the wayside. I am willing to go down fighting with 574."

Speech of Miles Dunne

Miles Dunne was then introduced. His speech was as follows:

"Lewis announced over the radio that the men were leaving 574. The opposite is true. In the last two months the union has taken in more members than in any similar 60 day period. It has made better contracts than ever before—directly with the employers, this time, and not through any government board. 574 finds itself in a better position than ever before."

"In the winter of 1933 a group of people in the coal industry felt that wages were too low, that better conditions could be obtained, and that the workers were ripe for organization. In February of 1933 they were organized, and made their demands upon the employers. Those were refused and the men were forced on strike. It was a three-day strike; the elements were on the side of the union. It was bitter cold, and the demand for coal was extremely brisk. In three days the union won a victory and obtained a settlement. The union organizers did not rest upon their laurels. They went on and organized the general transport workers. There followed the May, June and July strikes. The struggle was a bitter one. The employers said they would never deal with 574. They allied the radio and the local press with paid advertisements in which they called for the removal of the 'Communist' leadership of 574 before they would deal with the union, and in which they claimed that 574 represented the edge of the revolution that was creeping into the United States. The workers never paid any attention to the radio and press statements of the employers, but fought right on to victory.

"Today 574 is one of the largest single local unions in the United States. A union is no good unless it produces results—unless it is

something more than a mere dues-collection agency. 574 has produced results. It brought the standards of living of its members from 35c an hour for a 12-hour day—in the market place wages were as low as 12c per hour—up to 55c per hour. An increase of 25 percent and more in living standards. In addition there is going to be another five-cent increase in wages in 1936. Moreover, the union has recently negotiated contracts with the coal and transfer industries of Minneapolis whereby the workers in those industries will be paid one and one-third overtime for all hours they work over eight per day. After the A. F. of L. has talked for decades about the eight hour day, have written about it in their journals—574 has brought it into reality."

"During the strikes in which it engaged, 574 came into conflict with many obstructive forces within the labor movement. One of them was Daniel Tobin who almost caused the loss of the strike. He refused to pay the union any strike benefits, and continued his warfare with the union until he expelled it. The nominal reason was that 574 didn't pay its per capita tax. But that was not the real reason. 574 wanted to, and still desires to remain in the A. F. of L. But before it could pay its per capita tax to the international it had to meet its pressing obligations to the orphans and widows of the martyrs of its great strike struggles. It had to pay the doctor and other expenses of the many victims in those struggles. It had to pay the necessary expenses of keeping together its organization—after it had been forced to rely almost entirely upon its own resources in its struggles by the refusal of Tobin to pay it strike benefits. The members knew that the per capita tax had not been paid. The matter was discussed many times in the membership meetings. And the members all agreed that 574 must meet first of all its most vital obligations rather than pay tribute to Tobin and cripple the organization, so that he could take more trips to Ireland and what not. But Tobin thought otherwise. With him, Tobin came first; so he revoked the charter of the union. Did that make any difference? Of course not—what was that charter? Why, it was a framed piece of paper, signed by Tobin, which said 574 had a right to exist. 574 turned that picture, face to the wall—and went right on existing. This made Tobin jealous. He wondered how he could get 574 to continue to pay him a per capita tax."

"Now it is an open secret why Meyer Lewis is here. Dan Tobin, the most reactionary person in the A. F. of L., without exception, has thrown in his lot with Green. He has said to the latter, 'I'll give you unconditional support. That is why Meyer Lewis is here attacking 574. What will the A. F. of L. reactionaries try to do? We can judge what they will try to do by what they have done. They will attempt to discredit the leadership of the union, to hook it up with gangsters and with vice rags. They will go into the Central Labor Union and try to get the C.L.U. to refuse to recognize any drivers union except 500."

"In Chicago and Cleveland, Tobin and his henchmen sent in mobsters and gangsters to mop up on their rival racketeer unions. These are the only methods they know how to use. They don't know, however,

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The Elections

THE day following the elections brought a sharp rise in the stock market. The rise was led by General Motors, Bethlehem Steel, U. S. Steel, N. Y. Central Railroad and Chrysler. The turnover was more than three million shares, the biggest since July, 1934, and in breadth of stocks dealt in etc. the session outdid anything since February, 1934.
In other words the U. S. finance-capitalists and big industrialists take the election to mean a swing to the right, pressure on the Roosevelt administration to give business a longer and deeper "breathing-spell," the probability that labor militancy will not interfere seriously with output and profits in the next period.
The facts cannot be said to cast serious doubts upon this estimate. The Republican Party on a platform of opposition to the New Deal and to social legislation, etc., demand for lower taxes and for letting business alone, made substantial though not phenomenal headway compared to the last election in the East. The N. Y. State Assembly is again Republican. Philadelphia elected a Republican mayor. Assuming that business continues to improve somewhat, there is no reason to think that last Tuesday's election results presage Roosevelt's defeat in 1936; but as already suggested, the pressure to let business alone will measurably increase.
The chances that Roosevelt will get the liberal and trade union vote next year have been if anything increased, since there are no convincing indications that any third-party—Labor, Farmer-Labor, Socialist, Communist—will gain a substantial national following. Liberals and the A. F. of L. will under the circumstances stick to Roosevelt rather than take the chance of seeing a reactionary Republican elected.
In places such as Reading and Bridgeport where the Socialist Party has had years to build a machine and is in any event essentially a left-wing New Deal party, and where there is a large working class population, the party rolled up a good vote. In New York City the Socialist vote was less than last year, the Communist somewhat greater, but the combined vote for both parties was 117,479 this year as against 136,522 last year—a drop of 19,043. There is no evi-

dence that Communist support of Socialist candidates resulted in general increase in the vote for such candidates. In the case of Samuel DeWitt running in the Bronx as a Socialist, with no opposing Communist candidate, the vote dropped below the last election, which may perhaps be accounted for in large part by sabotage of DeWitt's campaign by Old Guard Socialists.
The Daily Worker is having a tough time also in supporting its Labor Party ballyhoo by actual cases of local Labor Party gains in the election, though there are a few such instances. It may be argued that the traditional oscillation between the Republican and the Democratic party still dominates among the American masses and that a swing to the right, with the temporary upturn in business, affects all labor activities. Such factors must not be underestimated. We may ask, however, whether there is not also a realization, partly conscious and partly unconscious, among the advanced workers that Socialist parties, Communist parties turning Social Democratic and projected labor parties born out of the wedlock of the two, do not provide the working class with an instrument to fight capitalism.
The focal point of the class struggle in the U. S. in this period is in the movement for organization in the heavy industries, the battle for genuine industrial unionism in the A. F. of L. the building of the left wing in the unions, support of such struggles against red-baiting reactionary trade union bureaucrats as the one now being waged in Minneapolis.

■ ■ ■

Support the Southern Miners
WE SUPPORT heartily the proposal advanced by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, to call out the 400,000 members of the union in a one-day demonstration strike and to ask the entire A. F. of L. to join in, if the murder of striking miners in Alabama and Tennessee does not stop and those who have perpetrated recent killings are not promptly prosecuted. Such a demonstration would do more than an ocean of words to put "the fear of God" into bourgeois coal operators. It would, moreover, give labor a feeling of its own strength which would have a tremendous effect upon organizing work and upon coming strike struggles in steel, automobiles and other industries.
The NEW MILITANT some weeks ago, however, pointed out that Lewis' own course in the "settlement" of the soft coal strike was exposing his membership in the South to precisely the vicious attack which they now encounter. If Lewis, when 400,000 miners were out solidly had expressed the real desire of the men and demanded settlements in the Southern fields—nation-wide recognition of the right of miners to organize—before any return to work, there would be no murdering of miners down there now.
Let all trade unionists regard the fight of the Southern miners as their own! Pass resolutions protesting against the reign of terror by the coal and steel companies! Call for a nation-wide one-day strike demonstration in support of unionization of the Southern coal fields!

Mpls. Labor Slams Union Busting Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

represent the workers, to enforce the contracts with the employers, and to fight for reinstatement in the A. F. of L. The courageous and clear-cut position maintained by the laundry workers was a bombshell to the Lewis camp, and contributed greatly to the mighty growth of organized opposition against the union breakers which has sprung up in the past few days.
Citizens Alliance Delighted
Needless to say, Lewis has found his strongest support from the labor-hating employers' organization, the notorious Minneapolis Citizens Alliance. The significance of this fact has served to make local workers even more suspicious against Lewis' protestations of "working for the good of the entire labor movement."
In a statement issued two days ago, the Citizens Alliance "notes with hope and encouragement that the American Federation of Labor, through a personal representative of William A. Green, its president, has announced the determination, even at this late date, to purge the local labor movement of communism and communistic leadership." The Alliance proceeds to bemoan the fact that "it was the leaders of certain local A. F. of L. unions who brought into the picture the forces of the General Drivers Union Local No. 574 and the Workers Party of the United States to forcibly close the ornamental iron plants and the Struwear Knitting Company," and ends up by pledging to "cooperate to the fullest extent in cleaning up the intolerable conditions existing here."
Nothing need be added to expose the truly monstrous nature of the game that Green-Lewis-Tobin are playing in Minneapolis today. The labor fakery has been smothered under this praise from labor's deadliest enemy, the Citizens Alliance, the main body responsible for the bloody attacks against the living standards of the working class.
Lewis has so far centered his drive against Local 574 and those

teen progressive unions who have drawn together to fight for militant trade union policies and the reinstatement of 574 in the A. F. of L. The revocation of the Laundry Workers charter was an empty gesture, the charter having been previously suspended. He has been unable to make a dent in the iron ranks of the progressive unionists. Early this week Daniel Tobin's representative, Gillespie, came to town. Gillespie, the biggest faker that ever skidded off a Boston oyster dock, conferred with John Geary of St. Paul, an international official of the Teamsters Union, and then shook his head dolefully. He hurriedly left town, completely bewildered and very pessimistic over the chances of Lewis to succeed in his union-smashing efforts. The truth of the matter is that the opposition is becoming panic-stricken and doesn't know what to do. So far, every one of Lewis' shells has proved to be a dud. When he reads the following it will probably take the heart right out of him. All during the week a stream of unsolicited lists—long, wide and very short—have come in from the 574 shop stewards on the job. The lists were headed something like this:
"We don't believe our leaders are bad. We think they are good. We want them and we don't want any other leaders." Each list would be signed by every man on the job.
On Friday night the greatest "peace-time" meeting the Minneapolis labor movement has seen was held by the bloc of progressive unions in the headquarters of Local 574. The large third-floor auditorium was packed, the crowd overflowed to the second floor and spilled out in the streets, where a battery of loud speakers carried to them pledges of solidarity with 574 in the fight against the reactionaries. Among the speakers were V. R. Dunne, Bill Brown, Alderman J. C. Scott, Robin Latz, Ace Brewer, business agent of the Musicians; B. Katowski, of the Electrical Workers Local 160; Robert Bergstrom of the Ornamental Iron Workers 1313;

Earl Martin of the Structural Iron Workers; Representative Sam Bellman (F.L.); Pat Rogers of the Firemen and Oilers; Shorty DePew, Mick Dunne and Farrell Dobbs of the General Drivers; Joe Williams of the recently organized Candy Workers also spoke. This is the youngest union in town, having been born three weeks ago through the efforts of 574.
The meeting did not disband until after midnight, and was wildly enthusiastic throughout. When Miles Dunne gave the record of Local 574, each achievement was greeted with a storm of applause. And when Bill Brown, 574's president, asked for a rising vote of confidence, every worker for a block around jumped to his feet. A large collection was taken for the "Northwest Organizer." It was a thrilling demonstration that Green has taken on the toughest job of his career when he set out to lick the greatest labor movement Minneapolis has ever been able to build.
It is apparent that the fight is not in the bag for Green—not by a long way. The progressive unions haven't won yet, either, but with continued solidarity, this militant bloc of unions cannot be whipped.
The fight against Green and his allies in Minneapolis today is rightly considered to be of even greater significance than the great strike struggles of the Minneapolis drivers in 1934. A victory in Minneapolis will be a mighty blow to Green and all he stands for, and will bring forward in the struggle every progressive in the entire labor movement. 574 intends to carry on its uncompromising, unrelenting and bitter fight to drive Meyer Lewis out of town; it will resist every attempt to expel good, honest fighting union men from the labor organizations which they have helped to build up, and together with its brother progressive unions will seek to rally every force in the labor movement in an iron front of solidarity against those who are working to undermine and destroy labor's organization and to water down labor's fighting spirit!

NEW MILITANT

The Auto Union Amalgamation

By BURKE COCHRAN
TOLEDO, O., Nov. 5.—The fight for industrial unionism at the 55th convention of the A. F. of L. gave encouragement and hope to every trade union progressive for the establishment of a more aggressive and a more militant unionism in America in the future. But the decisions of the convention gave no immediate encouragement to unionism in the automobile industry. The industrial union struggle may give renewed courage to workers already inside the A. F. of L. by revealing to them the possibilities of cleansing the unions of the rotten and cowardly bureaucracy that today holds the leadership, but it is almost impossible to rouse the still unorganized workers with the promise of a better unionism in the future.

Workers Split Into Crafts
In Detroit, the shameful scene of the first constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers is still fresh in the memory of the automobile workers. It is enough for them to know that the A. F. of L. has chopped up the automobile industry into half a dozen different crafts with half a dozen different unions, one overlapping on the other one, claiming jurisdiction. Because of the timid and cowardly policies of Dillon and Green, the situation has only become more confusing, more involved. Everywhere there is an element of uncertainty, of hesitation. Every move of the automobile International in Detroit bears a temporary, provisional character, as if Dillon himself realized that the last word has not yet been said in automobile unionism.

At Atlantic City there was expressed a certain concern over the recent excursion into the field of unionism on the part of the Sage of Port Royal, Father Coughlin. Today, Dillon, just returning from Atlantic City, has even greater cause for concern. His office has just informed him that three independent unions: the Mechanics Educational Society, the Associated Automobile Workers of America (Greer Union) and the Industrial Automobile Workers Union (Coughlin Union) have been conducting negotiations for amalgamation. These three bodies have agreed on a program and are shortly to conduct a referendum vote among their respective memberships for ratification. The program of the new union is understood to be substantially the old program of the M.E.S.A., which is based upon the recognition of a class struggle in modern society and the necessity

Emergence of New Union and Fusion with A.F.L. May Have Far Reaching Effects for Auto Workers

for an aggressive, militant unionism.

Background of the M.E.S.A.
The Mechanics Educational Society of America is well known to all automobile workers in the Detroit area. It arose on the crest of the first strike wave at the inception of the NRA; tied up with mass picket lines all four Briggs plants in the Detroit area and held up prove an increasing sympathy for a duetion of the Ford model for over a month. Basing themselves upon the key men of the industry, the tool and dye makers, they led a series of daring and spectacular strikes which electrified the whole labor movement and provided the basis for the further organization of the automobile workers. The American Federation of Labor, quick to seize the opportunity, sent in organizers and granted federal charters with a liberal hand. After the first major betrayal of the automobile workers by Collins and Green on March 25 of last year, the M.E.S.A. proved too weak to act as an independent factor and suffered as heavily as the federal unions themselves. The M.E.S.A. soon realized that it could not survive in the industry if it was limited to tool and dye makers; it therefore broadened its jurisdiction to include all workers engaged in the metal industry at its second convention in Cleveland. Since then it has had a similar experience to that of the A. F. of L. unions. In the Detroit area the union membership sharply declined and the unions are stagnating. In Toledo and Cleveland comparatively strong locals have been built up and have recruited a considerable number of production workers.

Evaluation of the Associated
The Associated Automobile Workers of America has a novel history. It was first organized as a federal local of the A. F. of L. in the Hudson plant. There the workers, under the careful tutelage of Collins, were initiated into the mysteries of class collaboration. About a year ago the local succeeded from the A. F. of L. and formed the Associated Automobile Workers of America with a strong local in the Hudson plant and a base in several of the other Detroit plants. Under the guidance now of their president, Arthur E. Greer, they were carefully coached in the spirit of humility: grievances were to be adjusted by arbitration, etc. Greer finally

got hooked up with Byrd, of the Automobile Labor Board, and tried to take the whole A.A.W.A. in tow with the company union. The workers refused to follow. And since then they have been feeling their own way along, step by step, and are cautiously moving to a realization that the only unionism worthy of the name must be based upon a clear-cut fighting policy predicated on the fact that a class struggle exists in modern society.

The Coughlin Union
The evolution of the Industrial Automobile Workers Union takes on an added importance from the recent events in Akron and the company union steel convention in Canton, Ohio. This union originated during the great days of "union building" of Wolman and the Automobile Labor Board. The Dodge workers elected their representatives to the collective bargaining board of the Dodge plant, as per instructions of the Automobile Labor Board. After a month of this "collective bargaining" they found that they could register their complaints and had the power to air their grievances before the management, but beyond getting a light bulb replaced or a water bubbler repaired, their power did not extend. So having passed through all of the devious mazes and windings of the New Deal merry-go-round, they found themselves in the same place where they started from: only more experienced, more hardened, more suspicious of the glib promises of employers and government officials. Today they

"Labor Party" Poor 3rd In S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 6.—Redfern Mason, candidate for mayor on the Communist Party-controlled United Labor ticket, ran a poor third in yesterday's municipal election that re-elected Angelo Rossi, strikebreaking incumbent.
Mason, innocuous head of the Northern California Newspaper Guild and ex-music critic for Hearst's Examiner, polled 14,267 votes out of a total 185,566 cast. Others on the United Labor ticket received approximately the same number of votes, with the exception of George Anderson, candidate for municipal judge. Anderson, active in defending victims of the "red" drive that followed the general strike last year, was the only candidate opposing the incumbent, and counted 37,673 votes as compared to his opponent's 102,904 ballots.

The United Labor Campaign Committee, claiming to represent a "united front" of more than 70 working class and liberal organizations with a total membership of more than 50,000, nominated a ticket and drew up a platform. The list of candidates included Utopians, Epics, Liberals, and just plain Democrats and C. P. members. The platform enumerated 22 demands of a reformist nature, ranging from the elimination of one-man streetcars to the payment of the bonus by Congress.
The United Labor party plans to maintain itself as a permanent organization. The basic program, announced as permanent objectives of the party, contains three major points:
1. For 100 percent unionization of San Francisco.
2. For defense of democratic rights, and against vigilante terror.
3. For lower taxes.
Continuing its policy of the past campaign, the United Labor party makes no mention of the ultimate aim of the working class: the attainment of socialism.

program of militancy, class struggle, a fighting determination to win, and a trade unionism based upon such principles.

Green Policy Repulses Independents
Under ordinary circumstances, independent unions in their natural evolution would gravitate towards the A. F. of L.; and unless insuperable obstacles were placed in the way of their joining, would become a part of the official family. The A. F. of L., by its size, its prestige, tradition and treasury, is naturally the main attractive force in the trade union field. The fact that these independent unions at Dodge and Hudson are looking instead to an amalgamation independent of the A. F. of L. is striking proof that Collins, Dillon and Green have in the course of a year and a half run through all of their accumulated credit and will now have to take the path of some real, old fashioned organizing in the automobile field or lose all standing in the Detroit area.

The emergence of a powerful, aggressive, fighting union in the automobile industry (it is estimated the amalgamated union would number 40,000) can have a highly salutary effect upon the automobile workers. First, it will clear the field of all the different small independent unions and will eliminate a considerable amount of the confusion. Second, and this is the more important reason, the pressure upon the treacherous bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. from within and without will become enormous. With the proper perspective and strategy, the possibility will emerge of forming a powerful, fighting union through an amalgamation of the independent union and the A. F. of L. International on the basis of a convention, democratically called, democratically selecting its own officers and commanding jurisdiction over all employees working in or around all automobile and auto parts plants.

Rubber Union In 2 Hr. Strike

By JACK WILSON

AKRON, Ohio, Nov. 11.—A two-hour "strike" of all workers in the truck tire department at Goodyear protesting a wage cut gave further impetus to the organization drive of the United Rubber Workers of America this week.
A special meeting for the truck tire builders was held at the Goodyear local hall which resulted in additional members for the union a day after the "strike."
This was the third department in Goodyear which sat down at work while a delegation went to the management to demand a restoration of wage rates in the past few weeks.
Two well attended meetings for all Akron rubber workers were addressed by officials of the United Rubber workers union as each local prepared to resist any company attempts to follow Goodyear's policy as agreed.
Meanwhile the "Big Five" tire manufacturers made a temporary truce in the price war which means they'll reap more profits since they've reduced wages in some departments in the plants.
The Goodyear workers' "strikes" brought temporary withdrawal of the wage cuts but in each instance the company slyly reduced piece work rates individually in an effort to prevent wide-spread protest.
However, resentment continues to increase among the workers and the union obtains new members.
These developments indicate that the possibility of a strike in the rubber industry during this peak season gains weight since only through a well-planned strike can the United Rubber Workers resist the rubber barons' ruthless policies.

New Pamphlets

We are now embarking on a new program of pamphlet publication to be issued and distributed by the NEW MILITANT business office. The first pamphlet to be published under this arrangement deals with the burning question of war, written by John West. It is already in the printers' hands and should be out within a couple of weeks.
Into its forty-eight pages is crammed a thorough Marxian analysis of imperialist wars. It is entirely up-to-date, dealing with the issues involved in the war in Ethiopia and the present conflicting imperialist interests that threaten to expand this war into a general world conflagration. The role of the League of Nations, the role of social-patriotism and the agents of social-patriotism in the present war situation is thoroughly dealt with.
In this pamphlet by comrade West we have a veritable arsenal of unassailable Marxian arguments. In sum and substance it plants the banner of revolutionary Marxism right in the teeth of the imperialist war mongers.

This pamphlet will retail at 10 cents and party branches should send in their orders right away. Better yet, any orders paid in advance will speed the actual appearance of this pamphlet. The wholesale price is 7 cents per copy for 10 copies or more, with special arrangements for special sized orders; but credit will be given only to a limited extent.
It is important to remember, however, that the distribution of this pamphlet is considered a very important part of the party's campaign against war. It must therefore be given the widest possible circulation. Branches would do well by assigning to themselves a definite quota of pamphlets to distribute and set to work without delay.
Other pamphlets are on the schedule and will follow in short order. From comrade Trotsky we receive a promise of manuscript for a pamphlet on the Seventh Comintern Congress. A pamphlet on the A. F. of L., by Arno Swabeck is also in preparation. Others will be announced subsequently.

I. C. L. Resolution On Youth Bureau

On October 12, our comrade Held was expelled from the Stockholm Youth Bureau meeting in Oslo for refusal to obey the ultimatum demand of the majority of the Secretariat (S.A.P.; Mot Dag, Swedish Youth) that he dissociate himself from the criticism of the I.C.L. of

the Youth Bureau.
The I.S. points out that simultaneously with the expulsion of the internationalist revolutionary wing of the Socialist Youth of France by the bureaucracy of the S.F.I.O. acting on orders of Stalin and Laval, the S.A.P. through its representative on the Youth Bureau makes an alliance against the I.C.L. with organizations (such as the Mot Dag of Norway) which defend Stalin and the union sacree: the I. S. characterizes this as a policy of betrayal.

Following the split the I. S. declines all responsibility for the policy of the Stockholm Youth Bureau and calls upon all organizations to protest vehemently against the attitude of the secretariat of the Youth Bureau and to refuse all collaboration with the majority of the secretariat. The I. S. wishes to make the observation to the youth organizations that this treacherous policy of the S.A.P. in the Youth Bureau is the result of its hostility toward the creation of the Fourth International, and calls upon all organizations affiliated to the Youth Bureau to rally to the Open Letter to all working class organizations in the world for the Fourth International and to set to work for the creation of the youth sections of the Fourth International.

ATTENTION! PARTY MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS
An
AUCTION SALE
of new household articles and clothing will be conducted at the
Party Headquarters, 55 East 11th Street
Saturday November 23rd, at 2 P.M.
All the proceeds of this sale to be used for the purchase of additional addressing equipment, which the National Office must have, if it is to function efficiently.
Articles will not be sold above wholesale cost, thus all purchases are assured genuine bargains.
PARTY MEMBERS! Attend the auction. Bring your friends and sympathizers.
NOTE: All articles are brand new and have been donated to the party.

Thanksgiving Eve Shindig
at
Workers Party Headquarters
55 East 11th Street, New York City
Wednesday, November 26th, 1935
DANCING :: ENTERTAINMENT
Auspices: Branch 3.
ADMISSION 25 CENTS
At door with ticket, 20 cents.
Tickets obtainable at 55 East 11th Street, New York City

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL
Marxism and Modern Philosophy
Friday, November 22nd, at 8 P.M.
Professor Sidney Hook
Church of All Nations
9 SECOND AVENUE (Near Houston St.) N. Y. C.
Individual lectures 25 cents.
International Workers School, 55 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

Will the Socialist and Communist Parties Unite?
Why "organic unity"? Can this "unity" lead to a revolutionary party?
How does it affect the struggle against war and Fascism?
What is the attitude of the revolutionary Marxists?
Speaker:
MAURICE SPECTOR
Former Member Executive Committee of Comintern.
Sunday, November 17th, at 8 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street
Auspices: Workers Party of the U. S., New York District

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A MESSAGE TO NEW MILITANT READERS

November 7th saw the first eight-page NEW MILITANT. Next week, the first anniversary of the Workers Party, the second will appear. The proof will then be conclusive of the infinite value added to the only revolutionary paper by its enlarged size. Our members are convinced; they are prepared for the final push to send the regular eight-page NEW MILITANT over the top. The entire machinery of the party is being geared up to high-speed for the attainment of this goal in the shortest possible time. 1,000 subs by Christmas will do the trick. Every branch has its quota and every member his assignment. But our party is small; the members will do their part, but more is needed. We need the help of every sympathizer and supporter of the party to fulfill the goal—and make the eight-pager ours. We need your help. You can get subs from your friends, shopmates and union members. Make your Christmas gift to the Workers Party—send in every sub you can lay hands on. And we will reciprocate with THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Fascists Grow Bolder in France after Recent Clash

By H. F. R.

At Limoges on November 17 some 30 French Socialist workers were wounded when members of the Croix de Feu opened fire. "The shooting definitely establishes beyond any possible doubt," says the Daily Worker, "that the Croix de Feu is well-armed for a Fascist coup."

It also proved that the workers were facing the well-armed Fascists with nothing but their bare hands.

Cachin, says the Daily Worker, wants to oust Laval because the government "has not yet made any arrests among the Fascist gunmen."

What is Cachin doing to do about it? Edouard Herriot, Radical co-minister of Laval, is the present beau ideal of the Stalinists for premier—or at least foreign minister.

But this week "Comrade" Herriot bluntly declared that he was "fully in accord" with Laval, that he would countenance no attempt to overthrow Laval, and that he, Herriot, would not take part in any cabinet designed to succeed Laval's.

Dutifully Leon Blum declared before the delegation of Radical-Socialist-Stalinist deputies that any attempt to overthrow the Laval government would be a "dangerous experiment."

The thing to do, said Blum, was to get Laval to dissolve the Fascist leagues, dissolve Parliament and call new elections.

Will Sacrifice "People's Front" Government

One or two Paris reports indicated that the Stalinists, who mortally hate and fear Laval's tendencies to toy with Hitler, are growing fearful. The latest L'Humanite to hand indicates that even the slogan of a "Front Populaire Government" has been forsaken. It is now a simple "government of the left" which the Stalinists demand. And what would this government of the "left" be? A government, writes Jacques Duclos, "which would give life to the resolutions of Wagram." (L'Humanite, Nov. 12.) In other words, the resolutions of the Radical Socialist Party congress which ended on the keynote appeal for "impassioned devotion to national defense!"

Such a government, which will apply, says Duclos, "a left policy," i.e., dissolution of the Fascist leagues—and passionate national defense—"will meet no difficulties from the Communists."

No, hardly. Vaillant Couturier, who marched on November 11 with uniformed, be-medalled war veterans, rhapsodically reported in the columns of L'Humanite that as they marched by, the unanimous electric cry was: "Long live the republican army! Long live the Republic!"

"The Unknown Soldier has once more found his comrades"—is the headline over the Armistice Day spread in L'Humanite. Tragically, it is true. The Cachins who handed over millions to unknown graves in 1914-18 are today preparing to hand the new generation over to the same fate symbolized by the Arc de Triomphe in Paris with the slab of cold marble beneath it.

CUBAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS SIGN OPEN LETTER

The Bolsheviki-Leninist Party of Cuba, now under severe police repression by the Menditea, Wall Street government, has just sent its signature to the Open Letter for the Fourth International to the Workers Party of the U. S. is one of the signatories.

Egypt Rises In Revolt

British Imperialism Casts Off Hypocritical Mask in Severe Repression

Britain's great show of defending the national rights of the Ethiopian people is not making such a hit since Britain's own national problem burst forth last week in the Waifist (nationalist) riots in Egypt. At the very moment when Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, is oozing righteous sympathy for the poor Ethiopians, and calling for a vastly enlarged navy, for the purposes of defending Ethiopia no doubt, six Egyptians are killed and more than a hundred wounded in riots of resentment against a speech on the Egyptian question by Sir Samuel Hoare.

Egypt stands to Britain much as our own Philippines stand to the United States, with the exception that Egypt has already been twice granted an independent constitution, once in 1923 and once in 1930, and twice had that constitution revoked, while the Philippines are just starting their career of so-called independence.

The riots are significant in a larger sense as an indication of the colonial unrest stimulated by the Ethiopian war. Britain at first tried to pass the riots off as the work of Italian agents, just as bosses always try to pass off strikes as the work of outside agitators. This explanation is absurd on the face of it, for the riots and the Egyptian people generally are more than friendly to the Ethiopians in their struggle with Mussolini.

Today there are reports of wider unrest in Egypt, more demonstrations, a deepening movement. "High Egyptian officials," says the "Times," "express fear that more serious troubles are ahead." Nohas Pasha, president of the Wafd movement, said that a protest had been sent to the League and that the Wafd were "seeking the world's sympathy in our struggle."

Nohas Pasha may seek the aid of the world at large through the League of Nations, but the Egyptian nationalist movement can only become a force when the Egyptian workers and poor farmers are enlisted, and when the Egyptian workers appeal not to the world at large, the capitalist world and its Robber League, but to the international working class for support. It is just this possible awakening of the Egyptian workers that causes "high officials" to fear serious troubles ahead.

Roosevelt's "Pacifism"

American financial and industrial interests greedily eyeing the rich plum that the huge Far Eastern market means for them, have a worthy servant in Franklin D. Roosevelt, the extent of whose "pacifist" comment is matched only by the extent of his naval program—the largest in recent history.

The present construction program extends from 1933 to 1938. It involves an outlay of over \$650,000,000. There are 87 vessels now in process of construction—33 in eight private yards and 54 in eight navy yards. Present employment in naval construction is nearly 45,000 workers, 19,000 of whom work for private employers, the remainder for the government.

Lewis "Purge" Stopped Cold

574 Heads Confident Of Smashing Victory

Cannon, on the Scene, Reports Drivers Local Stronger than Ever and the Center of the Minneapolis Labor Movement

By JAMES P. CANNON

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 20.—One doesn't have to be here very long to learn that William Green picked the poorest spot in the country to begin his ill-fated campaign against radicalism and militancy in the A. F. of L. Meyer Lewis, the man selected by Green to do the job here, has made such a miserable showing that his early elimination from the scene is freely predicted on all sides. The stormy reception accorded him at the Central Labor Union the other night—his first appearance before a labor body after numerous speeches before employers' meetings, luncheons and teas—showed that he has ceased to inspire any fear even among the old-line labor leaders and has become a nuisance and a joke.

Meantime Local 574, the spearhead of progressivism and militancy, which met his red-baiting campaign with a savage counter-offensive, is still fighting, going stronger than ever and recruiting new members daily.

574 Demands Return of Charter

In a direct move to consolidate the struggle, the Central Labor Union has appointed a special committee, supplementary to its executive board and jointly with it, to negotiate with local 574. These negotiations are now in progress. In conference with the C.L.U. committee, and in a statement prepared today, the executive board of Local 574 reiterated its basic position that a fundamental settlement of the issue necessitates the restoration of its charter and the recognition of the jurisdictional rights obtaining prior to its revocation. Local 574, in its statement, showed from the record that it had not infringed on the jurisdiction of any other unions but, on the contrary, had cooperated with them in their struggles and helped to build them up. At the same time it asserted the firm determination to maintain the organization it has built at the cost of so much blood and sacrifice and to defend itself against attacks from any quarter, regardless of whether they come from the Citizens Alliance, Mayor Latimer's police, or misleaders sowing disruption in the labor movement.

Local 574 is well-equipped for the fight. Its leaders count on victory with a superb self-confidence. The magnificent organization which went through the great strikes of 1934 with such a shining record is not fighting with its back to the wall any more. The morale of its membership, tested and hardened in heroic battles, is on the heights. Job control is more secure than ever. The authority of the leadership is undisputed. The sympathy of the rank and file of organized labor is outspokenly on the side of local 574. Unless all signs fall progressive unionism will come out of the present conflict in Minneapolis with a smashing victory which will herald the collapse of the anti-Red campaign on a national scale.

Next week I will provide the readers of the NEW MILITANT with a first-hand account in some detail of the present situation of local 574 and the facts in the situation which justify every militant in the labor movement in looking to the outcome of the struggle here with enthusiasm and hope.

Jim-Crow Justice Keeps Angelo Herndon in Jail; Protest Now!

With hundreds of thousands of workers and sympathizers, white and black, anxiously awaiting news as to Angelo Herndon's fate, Judge Hugh M. Dorsey of Atlanta Superior Court on November 13 reserved decision in a suit brought by the International Labor Defense for a writ of habeas corpus. Through this suit, brought for the I.L.D. by Attorneys Seymour and Sutherland, the I.L.D. hopes to upset the sentence of 18 to 20 years on a chain gang.

Herndon, whose appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court was thrown out on the technical ground that it had not been properly prepared for in the lower courts, is today in Fulton Tower Jail in Atlanta. Should Judge Dorsey grant the writ, the prosecution would go over his head and appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court to order Herndon's rearrest. The fight will almost certainly go to the U. S. Supreme

EXPOSED!

Bradley, Lewis Aide Revealed as Swindler in Akron

By RICHARD FERGUSON

AKRON, O., Nov. 19.—Following hard on his activities with Meyer Lewis, representative of William Green, in attempting to purge the Minneapolis labor movement of all militant workers, H. A. Bradley, president of the national council of petroleum workers, is rapidly being exposed here as a corrupt swindler. Steps are being taken to oust him forever from the ranks of organized labor.

Although the exposure of Bradley has no connection with the Minneapolis affair, its importance is immediately evident. Without the trumped-up excuse of "driving out the reds," this time Bradley has been found guilty by Akron labor of busting up unions in other ways—by illegally suspending the charter of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Local 19206, by completely wrecking a union with which he was connected in the past, and by alleged double-stealing in his own gas station attendants' union.

Already at least two international locals have sent sharp demands to their representatives on the A. F. of L. Executive Council that Bradley at once be driven from his office and expelled forever from the A. F. of L. Other international unions, including the United Rubber Workers of America, are expected to take action in similar manner in the near future.

Complete information on these latest moves is still lacking, but reliable sources have indicated that the above exposures will not only be further related, but that they may be extended to include those persons high up in the "leadership" of the A. F. of L. with whom Bradley must have been acting in full accord.

Once again the membership of the A. F. of L. is getting a chance to peer into the inner life of the labor bureaucracy. And what a stench comes forth! Here are the men who want weak, easily-dominated unions, unions in which the backbone of progressive and radical thought has been broken. Labor throughout the country must answer with a full-throated cry AGAINST their splitting policies.

GET SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR 8-PAGE NEW MILITANT.

Meyer Lewis Has to Catch Train--

After Students and 574 President Get Thru with Him

MINNEAPOLIS.—On Tuesday, Nov. 12, Meyer Lewis, the mighty union splitter, was scheduled to appear before the University of Minnesota Student Forum and tell how he was going to make the world safe for trade union bureaucracy.

Undoubtedly, Meyer considered this occasion as just another step in his program of rallying non-union support in his and Bill Green's campaign for the destruction of the living union movement. The subject of his talk, as it appeared on placards distributed all over the campus, was "The A. F. of L. Red Purge in Minneapolis." Meyer thought, unquestionably, that he was going to hold forth, this time also, before another boss club—a junior edition of the Citizens Alliance or of the Chamber of Commerce, perhaps. He thought, too, that it would be easy going; wouldn't the students, like any other boss organization, simply drink in every word he had to say and accept it as the gospel truth? Wouldn't they just adore his union-splitting tricks?

Meyer Meets Bill Brown

Meyer was sitting upon a settee in the room where the Forum meets, waiting for the meeting to begin and in the meantime basking in the glory of his anticipated victory. In a few minutes, as if by a dash of cold water, Meyer was rudely brought back to reality. Bill Brown, Ray Dunne and Grant Dunne walked in through the door of the Forum hall. A student at the university, sympathetic to 574, having learned of Lewis' scheduled appearance at the Forum, had invited the leaders of 574 to come down so that they could get the dope direct from Lewis' own lips. As the leaders of 574 walked through the door, they were greeted by "Hi, there, Bill. Do you know Meyer Lewis? Meet Bill Brown, president of 574." Bill Brown shook hands and said, "Meyer, do you know Ray and Grant Dunne?" This was the first time that Meyer had come face to face with the leaders of 574, whom he was trying to purge. It was a rude shock for him, indeed. But the leaders of 574 enjoyed it immensely; they obtained front row seats, right under Lewis' nose. You see, they didn't want to miss a word!

When Lewis got up to talk, he was not going to talk about the A. (Continued from Page 2)

Stormy C.L.U. Rally in Mpls. Voices Protest

Green Stooze Forced to Backwater on Hosiery Strike Despite Solidarity with 574; C.P. Plays Cowardly Role.

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 18.—Meyer Lewis, despite the fact that he has the complete backing of William Green, Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer, and the bosses—with the Communist Party helping in its own way—lost every round in last week's battle to split the strong Minneapolis labor movement and smash fighting Local 574.

The regular Tuesday noon business agents' luncheon openly opposed him, and had to be hurriedly adjourned.

At the Tuesday Student Forum at the University of Minnesota, where Lewis spoke, he was given the most brutal verbal wracking that a speaker there has ever received.

On Wednesday night the membership of the expelled Laundry Workers Local No. 18005 voted unanimously to support its executive board in repudiating Lewis and continuing friendly relations with Local 574. Lewis' appearance at the Central Labor Union meeting Wednesday night, the first time he has appeared there in his six weeks' stay in Minneapolis, was the signal for one of the stormiest sessions the C.L.U. has ever seen. Not one delegate took the floor to support Lewis.

Lewis has been forced to make an abrupt about-face and come out in open support of the Strutwear strikers.

A Planned Frame-up

Finally, in desperation, Lewis and the Latimer city administration began the use of gutter tactics and attempted a frame-up. On Wednesday night, Local 574 had planned a stag-show for its membership. Just before the show was about to go on before 700 workers, word came that the police were all set to raid 574 and arrest the leaders. Three hundred police, with patrol wagons and armored cars, were all set to make the raid, and provoke a fight. A dozen plain clothes men were in the audience. The newspapers actually had the whole story already set up and ready to run in Thursday's papers. The plan was to arrest a bunch of prostitutes in Minneapolis' red-light district and use them as a background against which to photograph the 574 leaders. But at the last minute the scheme leaked out, and the stag-show was called off and the money refunded. Seven hundred men left the hall with even less love for Meyer Lewis and Mayor Latimer who had suddenly taken such a fatherly interest in the morals of 574's membership.

This wasn't the only frame-up attempted that night. One of the 574 leaders, Harry DeBoer, was picked up the same night by the cops and thrown into jail, charged with disorderly conduct, an old charge growing out of the May, 1934, drivers' strike, and one that had been settled out of court over a year ago. DeBoer was released on \$25 bail early the following morning, and the next day when his case came up in court, the judge was forced to postpone it for lack of evidence. The two incidents cited above show the growing bitterness of the current struggle in Minneapolis, and the lengths to which the reactionaries are willing to go in their fight against militant unionism. Readers of the NEW MILITANT should not be surprised if, in the near future, they hear that various militant trade unionists have been arrested on the most outrageous charges that can be conceived by the enemies of the working class.

574 Goes to College

At the Tuesday business agents' luncheon, one of the delegates rose and demanded point-blank that the group reach a decision on the Lewis-Green drive; as for himself, he was completely opposed to Lewis' fight on 574. Support immediately rallied to this suggestion, with the result that Pat Corcoran, chairman, had to hurriedly adjourn the meeting.

At about the same time, Mr. Lewis was making the fatal mistake of addressing a student forum at the University (reported elsewhere in this issue), and got the drubbing of his life.

The affair was a field-day for 574, a pleasant interlude in the bitter struggle that is taking place in Minneapolis today. Incidentally the Minnesota Daily, student newspaper, came out next day with a story and editorial attacking Lewis, and that night broadcast over the university radio station the story (Continued from Page 2)

Scottsboro Boys in Danger as Southern Bourbons Hint Deal

Two days after new indictments were returned against the Scottsboro boys by a grand jury, an authoritative spokesman of the Alabama authorities openly intimated they were prepared to let the Scottsboro boys off, if the International Labor Defense were prepared to make a deal.

If the Scottsboro case is turned over by the I.L.D. to non-labor elements and thus ceases to be identified with the cause of labor and oppressed minorities, an acquittal is implicitly promised by John Temple Graves, prominent Birmingham editor, whose editorial correspondence to the Sunday edition of the New York Times during the trials and appeals authoritatively expressed the policy which the Southern bourbons subsequently carried out.

The Bourbon Deal

"In the opinion of many Alabamians the prime thing to be considered today is whether the International Labor Defense shall be permitted to win a famous victory and exploit it to further the Communist movement among the Southern Negroes," declares Graves in the New York Times of November 16. "These Alabamians would be well satisfied if the defense could be taken over by some well-known Southern lawyer or lawyers and an acquittal won under such command. They do not believe acquittal would be wise if the I.L.D. were in a position to claim credit for it and they do not believe an acquit-

tal will be possible if the defense is conducted by this or any other group identified with what has come to be known as 'outside interference in Alabama's affairs.' This is in all probability the essentially realist attitude toward the case."

Emptiness of Supreme Court Decision

In the same article, the Alabama editor boasts that the U.S. Supreme Court decision requiring placing of Negroes on jury rolls does not interfere with chauvinist exclusion of Negroes.

The dispatch with which the Southern rulers have rendered meaningless the legalistic requirements of the Supreme Court proves to the hilt that their "honor" does not exist where "white supremacy"—which is actually the policy of divide and rule—is involved. If the I.L.D. opportunistically turns the case over to "respectable people" and the necessary militant mass support of the labor movement is not built up, the Scottsboro boys are in greater danger than they were when the I.L.D. combusted a sectarian policy of adventurist stunts under the sole banner of the C. P. and the I.L.D. with trimmings in the form of Attorney Liebowitz's catering to Southern prejudices. Only evidence of the determination of the organized political and trade union forces of labor to support the Scottsboro fight will convince the Alabama bourbons that the Scottsboro boys must be freed.

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Shays' Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

Note: Hearst quotes Jefferson. But quotations, like statistics, can be so manipulated as to seemingly prove a black lie is a pious truth. Jerked from their true settings and placed in new ones, quotations often shine with false brilliance and fool the eye.

Yes, Hearst quotes Jefferson. But what about Thomas Jefferson's opinion of Shays' Rebellion? If it were not so horribly tragic, it would be amusing to watch the Hearstians as they avoid that opinion on tiptoe. "God forbid that we should ever be for twenty years without such a rebellion," and "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants." That's the real Thomas Jefferson, the Jefferson who fought tyrants but was impeded by lack of a fundamental knowledge of class relations.

This article concerns Shays' Rebellion, the joy of the real Thomas Jefferson and a part of our revolutionary heritage.

When the "embattled farmers" stood by the rude bridge and "fired the shot heard 'round the world," they were inspired by dreams of freedom from tyranny. Because they were not aware of the inevitability of class dictatorships wherever classes exist, they had the right to hope indeed that victory for them would bring freedom. In the end, they succeeded only in driving out one group of tyrants to make room for another.

The new tyrants did not quickly establish themselves. It was not until the Articles of Confederation were scrapped in favor of the Constitution that the new batch of oppressors were able to make their dictatorship secure. But lack of complete control did not prevent the money leaders, speculators, commercialists and industrialists from making themselves known at once. And while they were engaged in gaining their selfish ends, there was an increasing determination on the part of the agrarian population that freedom should not ring out only to be immediately resubmerged.

In all fairness, we must take care not to magnify the size of the revolutionary group of 1776. Two-thirds of the population either opposed or showed no interest in the conflict. But those who actually fought to destroy tyranny meant to do exactly that, not to effect a mere transfer of rulers. It is probably true that no power could have altered the result; capitalism had something to put forward then besides stinking, decaying flesh. Be that as it may, the truth is that a militant minority sought to overthrow oppression, both the old and the new. Their spirit is our heritage.

Hamilton Safeguards the System

In a society of classes, there must be a ruling class. When the ruling class cannot rule, there is chaos. Such were the circumstances in America following the Declaration of Independence. The new high-and-mighty needed time to learn the art of subtle persuasion. It took Alexander Hamilton to give them their first lesson when he artfully saw to it that the likes of Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Sam Adams and Tom Paine had no hand in framing the Constitution. That document eventually brought order, in addition to much comfort to shivering capitalists.

Shays' Rebellion was largely responsible for the urgency felt by the capitalists in the matter of drawing up a constitution more suited to their needs. That armed insurrection was the handwriting on the wall that told the new tyrants that to make themselves masters they were obliged to use the whip of artifice to retain democracy, yes, but only in name.

Foreclosures, Taxes, Oppression

In the state of Massachusetts, a group of capitalists (hardly a party)—among them merchants and money lenders—determined to solve their problem by jamming through a state constitution of their own making. Under this code, adopted in 1780, the makers and administrators of the laws were chosen on the basis of their sympathy for the capitalist cause. The immediate result was the hiking of taxes, with the secondary result that wholesale foreclosures and

oustings were the order of the day.

As the pressure became daily more hard to bear, the farmers made no secret of their resentment. The spirit of revolt that had led them to boot out one gang of tyrants still smoldered, and each new stinging lash only served to fan higher the fire of indignation. Insurrection was inevitable. Had it not been conducted in 1786 by Daniel Shays, veteran of Bunker Hill, another would have led.

"The Common Property of All"

Congress appointed a committee. (Yes, even then!) In this case it was one man, General Knox, who was sent to Massachusetts to see what was what. His report on the followers of Shays is greatly to the point: "Their creed is that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of all, and therefore ought to be the common property of all, and he that attempts opposition to this creed is an enemy to equity and justice, and ought to be swept from off the face of the earth." Let the Hearstians try to explain that quotation away!

The general court of Massachusetts offered the olive branch in the form of questionable "redress," and the chief magistrate summoned the state militia. But Shays, with hundreds of militant followers, was determined that the supreme court should not meet. He was equally determined, moreover, that the ten thousand stand of arms in the con-

tinental storehouse should be distributed among the revolutionists. The supreme court of Massachusetts under the state constitution of 1780 would probably have disappeared indeed had Shays been able to gain possession of the too-well-guarded arms, thus augmenting the lean supply of the insurrectionists.

"A Strong" Government

There was quaking among the influential throughout the land. Fears of a general agrarian revolt led to talk of an outright military dictatorship. Colonel Humphreys held that "nothing but a good Providence can extricate us from the present convulsion," and he begged George Washington to again enter the arena. The latter was stunned by the events: "What, gracious God! is man, that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct." But he was also moved to vigorously propose greater constitutional power for the federal government to suppress local revolts: "What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our government than these disturbances?" And, make no mistake! the money lenders and commercialists were bent even more on making their position more secure.

In the end, the leaders of the revolt sought refuge in Canada, and Shays' revolutionists suffered disfranchisement at the hands of the Massachusetts legislators. The insurrection was put down, but not until the clash of arms had revealed the militancy of oppressed Americans.

The militant working class of today is the counterpart of the "embattled farmers" of yesterday. If they of 1776 believed democracy possible in spite of class antagonisms, the reason lies in their lack of experience. We have no will to brush their memory aside, nor do we intend to allow them to be clothed in the garments provided by capitalist apologists. Their example is our tradition, our heritage. The tree of liberty will again be refreshed with the blood of tyrants!

C.L.U. Raps Meyer Lewis

(Continued from Page 1)

Bosess Plan to Open Strutwear

On Wednesday noon the Citizens Alliance held a meeting at the Radisson Hotel and outlined a plan to re-open Strutwear and break the 4-month strike—the bosses claimed their proposed action was on a "non-controversial basis." The Citizens Alliance had taken Lewis at his word (he had previously come out against the hosiers workers' strike) and thought they saw the chance to deliver a blow at the organized labor movement. Previously, Lewis had tried to get Alexander McKeown, first vice-president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, who is in Minneapolis, to come out with a statement denouncing 574. This McKeown refused to do, maintaining that it was 574 who had been the chief force in making the strike a success. This move of the bosses put Lewis right up against the gun, and he had to make a complete change of front, formally announcing that the A. F. of L. was standing behind the hosiers workers' strike to the fullest extent.

The C.L.U. Meeting

On Wednesday night Meyer Lewis went into the Central Labor Union meeting all primed to beat down opposition to his outrageous splitting program; for this purpose he was ready to wield the club of wholesale expulsion from the A. F. of L. An awful surprise was due him. In a heated four-hour session, not one delegate took the floor supporting his game. Instead, delegate after delegate arose in absolute opposition to the Green-Lewis drive, the fight on the floor being ably led by Sanders Genis of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Even T. E. Cunningham, president of the State Federation of Labor and chairman of the meeting, opposed Lewis.

The significance of this event can only be understood if one recalls the impressive showing of the industrial unionists at the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention, plus the recent move of the John L. Lewis group to wage a nation-wide campaign on behalf of industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. through a "committee for industrial organization," in cooperation with Charles Howard, Sidney Hillman, Dubinsky, McMahon, Fleming, Zaritsky, Brophy, Thomas Brown and other A. F. of L. leaders. There can be little doubt that this committee had already contacted various Minneapolis locals. The fact that various reactionary labor leaders are already no longer willing to go along with Green in his fight would seem to indicate that Green's days are numbered, and that the policies he advocates are fast headed for oblivion—faster than was even suspected by the most optimistic of his opponents.

Stalinists Play Miserable Role
In closing, it is well to point out the role that the Communist Party has played locally in the Green

drive on the progressives. It will be recalled that in the Daily Worker of November 6, the Communist Party took a good position on the Minneapolis "red hunt," saying editorially that "Meyer Lewis is trying to expel not only Communists, but all progressives from the unions. He is attacking the very teamsters who have led Minneapolis labor's most heroic struggles," and closing by appealing to labor to repudiate Lewis and drive him from Minneapolis.

We will only pause here for an instant to smile at the C. P.'s admission that Local 574 has led heroic struggles in Minneapolis, and to recall a certain no-longer available pamphlet entitled "Permanent Counter-Revolution in Minneapolis." The truth is that the local Stalinists have played exactly the same game in the Lewis-Green drive that they played in the truck strikes of 1934. The truth is that the actions of the local Stalinists is at complete variance with the position the C. P. puts forth in the Daily Worker. The truth is that the actions of the local Stalinists are so vile and anti-labor that they dare not tell their own supporters in the nation just exactly what they are doing in Minneapolis.

Let us observe them in action. Prior to the November 8 mass meeting in 574's auditorium, various Stalinists came to 574 and asked that the mass meeting be held under the auspices of the Conference of 15 Unions, a group of locals who had banded together to fight for progressive labor principles. 574 replied that the situation was too serious, that it was not ready to place its fate at that time in the hands of people who had not yet been tested in the fire. A few weeks' time would show who were the friends and who the enemies of labor in Minneapolis. The Stalinists were invited to send speakers to the mass meeting and assured they would be given the floor.

C. P. Funks on 574

Events quickly showed how correct 574's stand was. The night prior to the mass meeting the Auto Mechanics Local 382 (the very local for whom 574 has done most in assisting to fight the bosses) met and decided to withdraw from the conference of progressive unions, the Stalinists attacked the 574 leaders as "dishonest" and moved to send no speakers to the mass meeting. In short, the C. P. completely fumbled the fight and rolled over to Meyer Lewis in his "red drive." The C. P. did precisely what they did for their treacherous strikes, sided openly with the worst enemies of the working class against Local 574.

The Stalinists, in the last few days, have seen their mistake. Yesterday they sent a delegation to 574 to seek a reconciliation. It was pointed out to them that they had been the very first to go over to the enemy after the "brave" stand they had taken prior to the

Lewis Catches Train

(Continued from Page 1)

F. of L. purge, as had been announced. His subject was to be "The Attitude of the A. F. of L. toward the Minneapolis Situation." He further revealed how disturbed he was by the presence of the leaders of 574 by giving a loose, rambling talk. He told how the depression had resulted in terrible conditions for the workers all over the nation; and how it was to be expected that there would be trouble (for the bosses, he meant) arising from such conditions. But in Minneapolis, labor troubles were not due to bad working conditions and low wages. They were due to "outside influences." There were two outside influences in Minneapolis—the "Communists," who are the same as the leaders of 574; and the Citizens Alliance—the extremists on the bosses' side of the picture. Now, Meyer said with some emphasis, the A. F. of L. is not opposed to the members of either the Citizens Alliance or of 574. The member in both organizations are all very fine. It is only opposed to the leaders; but particularly to the leaders of 574 who use intimidation and threats to force unwilling workers to accept better working conditions and raises in pay. The latter is entirely opposite to the methods of the A. F. of L., which Lewis proudly called "conservative." The methods of the A. F. of L. are "cautious, slow, and gradual." The A. F. of L. does not believe in strikes—and Lewis admitted that one of his main jobs in the past few years has been "flying from city to city and stopping strikes when we didn't think they were justified." The A. F. of L. believed that the rank and file of the bosses were few fellows at heart, and that if "outside influences" would stop stirring up trouble the bosses would fall over each other trying to make life sweet for the workers.

Reserves Right to Refuse to Reply
After having finished with this rubbish, Meyer announced that he "reserved the right to refuse to answer any questions not put in the proper spirit." But the students and faculty were not impressed by his high and mighty attitude. One professor jumped up, and made a point of order that it was not for the speaker to decide whether a question was proper or not but for the student chairman. This brought considerable applause from the audience, and showed immediately that the students were almost to a man hostile to Lewis and his malicious slanders and falsehoods. From that time on, Lewis did not have a comfortable moment. In the words of The Minnesota Daily, student organ, Lewis brought down upon himself "the scorn of the audience, which asked questions with a decided 'put him on the spot' intent."

One student asked Lewis why he had so far depended entirely upon publicity in the capitalist papers, and why he had not yet appeared before any unions? Lewis replied that in the six weeks that he had been here the C.L.U. had not met, but that he intended to appear before the C.L.U. the next day. Everyone in the audience knew he was lying, because the questioner pointed out that the C.L.U. met every other Wednesday, and had actually met. To many of the other questions, Lewis refused to reply directly, saying "You'd be surprised." He said this so many times that it became a joke, and Bill Brown dubbed him "You'd-be-surprised" Lewis.

Brown Shoots a Question

Then Bill Brown got up. "I'm Bill Brown, President of 574," he announced. All eyes turned upon him. Lewis became excited and shouted, "Before you ask your question, I'll tell you I won't answer it." Quick as a trigger, Bill flashed back, "I don't expect you to answer my question before I ask it." This witty retort brought down thunderous applause and laughter. Never had there been so riotous a Student Forum. When the applause and laughter subsided, Bill went on to say, "You say that Minneapolis has become the worst spot in the United States for labor troubles. Just what do you mean? Here the workers have taken control of their own economic and political organizations, and have succeeded in improving their conditions. Does that make it a bad

spot for labor?" Lewis, forced to make a reply, said that he was against 574 because it was against the principles of the A. F. of L., the first of which is that Green is the only prophet of American labor, and there is no other. Lewis was forced to abandon all pretenses of defending democracy against communism, or American principles against the Reds. In almost so many words, he revealed that the present drive against "five-seventy-four" has at its basis a struggle for continued power on the part of the bureaucracy. Green, Lewis, Tobin and Co. demand the right to continue to slowly strangle the American labor movement to death. They are determined, Lewis admitted, to keep the A. F. of L. pure—that is, to expel any and all elements which threaten the control of the present masters of the A. F. of L. Any effort to agitate within the ranks of the A. F. of L. for the reform of the A. F. of L. is a "violation of the principles of the A. F. of L."—principles laid down by the bureaucracy in their own interests. Thus, willy-nilly, all of Lewis' pretensions were punctured, and he was forced to reveal his real purposes.

Lewis Has Enough and Scrams
When asked by a student why the members of 574 did not join local 500 if they were dissatisfied with their present leaders, Lewis replied, "How do you know they haven't joined?" This brought a loud laugh from the students; and the questioner, taking up the challenge, replied that more than 3,000 members of 574 and other trade unions had attended a mass meeting called by 574 the preceding Friday. "How do you know that the people present were members of 574?" Lewis asked. This brought a number of students to their feet, and one of them shouted that he had been there and had seen most of the people present wearing 574 buttons. "Well, you'll be surprised six months from now," was all Lewis could reply. By now, the hostility of the audience had begun to wear upon Lewis' hearty but obtuse frame. Casting a glance at his watch he announced that he would have to leave after the next question were asked. And thus did Meyer meet, instead of a warm welcome and sympathy, one of the most crushing defeats that any speaker at the Forum has ever experienced.

So dramatic was the appearance of Bill Brown at this meeting; so witty his remarks to Lewis; that the next evening the University of Minnesota "Daily" broadcasted the highlights of the Forum meeting as part of its regular newscast. The necessity for a genuine workers' paper in Minneapolis is revealed by the way in which the daily press covered up completely Lewis' defeat at the Forum. This is just another instance of how the daily papers serve as instruments of the employer-class. Build "The Organizer"! Push its sub-drive on to victory!

Shachtman Holds First Meeting In Fresno, Cal.

FRESNO, Cal., Nov. 14.—Max Shachtman spoke to a group of twenty people at a meeting under the auspices of the Fresno branch of the Workers Party tonight.

His talk on the subject of "War and the Working Class" was well received. Many questions were asked and answered to the satisfaction of an enthusiastic audience.

This was the first public meeting held by the Fresno branch since it was organized less than one month ago, and although the turnout was small it speaks well for a town which is considered by many to be reactionary and apathetic. The Workers Party branch of Fresno, however, feels that this town is misjudged, and that a strong working class movement will soon be established. —G.H.

Textile Barons Ready For War

"The outbreak of a war involving the United States would find the cotton textile industry well prepared for rapid mobilization of its resources, the United States Army Industrial College was assured today by George A. Sloan." (Daily News Record, Oct. 29, 1935.)

Mr. Sloan, who was formerly president of the Cotton Textile Institute, the One Big Union of the cotton mill magnates, told the Army college that the Institute "has developed a splendid technique for determining the facilities for manufacturing the various types of cotton products that the nation would need in time of war."

He referred to the preparations for war in the textile field that the War Department has been making in cooperation with mill owners. "Needless to say," he added, "the cotton manufacturers are always only too glad to cooperate with the War Department. . . . Such cooperation between the Government and industry cannot but help to pay dividends—so to speak—in the form of the most practical and efficient product for the purpose of which it is intended."

Support Italian Comrades In Their Struggle Against Fascism and War

MUSOLINI must go.

But with Mussolini, ITALIAN CAPITALISM must also go.

OUR ITALIAN COMRADES HAVE CONSTITUTED

a Coordination Committee for the Revolutionary Struggle in Italy. This Committee of Coordination has issued a manifesto to the Italian soldiers, to the youth, to the Italian mothers, to the workers and peasants that:

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

with the aim of overthrowing Italian capitalism can yield any results; that all CLASS COLLABORATION is a betrayal of the working class and that the path of the so-called "popular front" is nothing else than collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Coordination Committee needs funds:

Everywhere where there are Italians, REAL enemies of Italian Fascism; everywhere where there are revolutionists able to understand the extreme importance of an Italian revolution—everywhere they are asking for funds for the revolutionary struggle in Italy.

Address messages, letters, donations to:

Walfis, 17 rue de Meaux, Paris XIXe, France.

—The International Secretariat of the International Communist League.

'Social Credit' Goes Begging

A terrible fate has overtaken the Social Credit movement—it has a chance to put its theories into practice.

In the last Canadian elections the Social Crediters swept the province of Alberta, Canada, under the leadership of Premier Aberhart, promising a social credit paradise of \$25 per month to man, woman and child within eighteen months after election.

Today we find that Premier Aberhart has extended the time limit from eighteen months to two years, and hardly a few months gone since the election.

Twenty-five dollars a month is no fortune, in the United States there are many relief workers who receive the same miserable pittance, and that without any fancy social credit theories. Yet Mr. Aberhart has so far failed to provide even that. He has limited himself to economies, the last resort of every reform government. He has abolished several of the provincial departments, applied to the government for financial relief, and is planning to convert the provincial loan to a lower rate of interest. Not a very auspicious start for a movement that is supposed to rejuvenate the whole capitalist system.

The social creditors are already beginning to excuse themselves on the ground that the previous administration left them an empty treasury, an unbalanced budget, and a huge debt. Not a very original excuse.

The great social credit crusade has its lighter side: Major Douglas, the originator of the system, has so far refused to commit himself to the experiment.

"The major has told London newspaper correspondents that he has not been asked to come to Alberta. Mr. Aberhart's provincial secretary, Ernest Manning, has denied from the platform that there is any rift and that the major would not be needed until the foundations had been laid.

"Mr. Aberhart himself has declared that he is awaiting word from the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, who was asked to interview Douglas on Alberta's behalf."

It would seem that the major is somewhat reluctant to associate himself with the concrete application of the system he has been lecturing on for the last ten years. After all a lecture is one thing, a real government problem another. . . . and lectures are much easier.

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

The best results in the campaign to increase our circulation by 1,000 new subscribers at the time of the second Workers Party convention, to be held Dec. 26, have come so far from New York City. Even here, however, it is necessary to say that it is only a beginning. But a number of our very best subscribers from various parts of the country have informed us that their plans are ready and they are going to work.

In New York City the best record is held by Branch 1. Undoubtedly this is due to the fact that this branch has in comrade Ray Saunders an exceedingly active and efficient literature agent. The cooperation she receives from the membership flows essentially from her own careful attention and effective methods of organizing the drive. Branch 3 is also moving forward apparently in an effort to contest Branch 1 for first place.

Less than five weeks are still available for the various branches to work and make good on their quota of new subscriptions. Is it necessary to mention again that speed is essential?

Since our last report on the campaign we have received 29 new subscriptions and the standing of the branches is as listed below:

City	Quota	Turned In
Akron, Ohio.....	20	—
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	—
Boston, Mass.....	25	2
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	7

Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	3
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	—
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
Guilford, Miss.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	—
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	—
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	1
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	55

(Branch 1	90	26)
(Branch 2	40	8)
(Branch 3	75	18)
(Branch 4	30	1)
(Branch 5	20	1)
(Branch 6	15	1)
(Branch 7	15	1)
(Branch 8	10	1)
(District	100	9)

Northampton, Pa.....	5	—
Paterson, N. J.....	10	—
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	1
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	—
Plentywood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	—
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	—
San Diego, Cal.....	10	—
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	—
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	—
Williston, N. Dakota	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	—

Received from cities	—	—
not listed above..	—	6
Total	1,000	75

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND

51st JUBILEE CELEBRATION WITH BALL

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1935, 3:30 P.M.

ST. NICHOLAS PALACE, 66th St. and Columbus Ave.

- Concert - Varieties - Ball -

Guest Speaker: NORMAN THOMAS

Tickets: Advance 25c; at box office 40c.

The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, for more than half a century a pioneer in the field of Fraternal Insurance and advocate of Social Insurance, will celebrate its 51st anniversary on Sunday, Nov. 24, at St. Nicholas Palace, 66th Street and Columbus Avenue, New York.

As at past occasions a program will be presented, that will mainly consist of the splendid achievements of our workers' cultural clubs. The performances of the Mass Chorus of the Workers Singing Societies, the New Theater

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Scottsboro Case

Once more the Scottsboro boys are to face capitalist legal-lynch law of the South. This time just to satisfy those old fogies of the Supreme Court the farce has been enacted of placing one Negro on the grand jury rolls. Nobody has any illusions at all that this means a change in attitude towards the Negro or his "rights." On the contrary, the press treats the matter with utter cynicism, pointing out that of course no Negro will actually be allowed to serve on trial juries. The cynical gesture has exactly the same meaning as that of Hitler in inviting two Jews to participate in the Olympics. Nobody is taken in by the farce, but it permits the reactionaries to gloss over the realities and to state that the formal rules of the game have been satisfied. The ruling class would like nothing better than to have the Negro boys quietly convicted without too much public fuss. This the class-conscious workers will never permit. Mass pressure must be aroused once again to snatch these boys out of the hands of the lynchers and to ward off this act of terrorism against the oppressed Negroes of the U. S.

Egypt...

One of the reasons for British opposition to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia was the dread that the sympathies of every colonial people would be actively aroused and might take channels of revolt against the immediate oppressor. The fear of the English ruling class has already been justified by the events in Egypt. All that was required to get off the spark was the speech of Hoare, British Foreign Minister, giving clear evidence that the rulers of Egypt did not intend to carry out a previous promise to

grant a new constitution. The first constitution of 1923 had been replaced by a new one in 1930. The latter had been abrogated in 1934 when the Wafdist movement became a threat to British rule. The reactionary speech of Hoare started student demonstrations and riots that were put down ruthlessly by troops. This is the beginning of a revived movement for independence in Egypt, one of the fruits of the Italian attack on Ethiopia. It would not require much to cause the spread of this movement for national liberation to the other colonies of Great Britain, particularly India. A widespread concerted movement of revolt of the colonial countries would be a blow not only at British imperialism but at all imperialism.

Shanghai...

An open anti-Japanese movement sprang up in Shanghai this week. The threat of the Japanese to take over the five northern provinces produced a feeling of desperation and the demand for a war against the invaders. The situation in Shanghai resulting from this agitation and some demonstrations against the Japanese, became so tense that the population of Shanghai, mindful of the previous brutality and slaughter in this district, flocked into the International Settlement by the tens and scores of thousands. The hatred and mistrust of the Japanese brigands is too great for the Chinese masses to believe the words of "reassurance" issued by the Japanese army representatives that no bombardment or invasion was intended. The Nippon imperialists have been laying the basis for some time for large scale operations designed to meet any resistance that might ensue when the seizure of the northern provinces was consummated.

Old Guard Reorganizes N.Y. Socialist Party

After weeks of conferences to decide upon a course of action, the Socialist Old Guard has decided to stay in the Socialist Party and capture control of the national apparatus by hook or crook.

The first important step in its campaign to get a majority at the national convention in May, 1936 was taken at the November 13 meeting of the New York City Central Committee when, by a vote of 69 to 47, the Old Guard vested dictatorial power in the all-Old Guard City Executive for a sweeping reorganization of the New York branches.

The resolution bluntly states that the purpose of the reorganization is "to put an end to factional organizations and disruptive activities, enforce the orders of the N.Y.C. and the State Committee concerning the ineligibility to party membership of those advocating violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship as a means of achieving socialism" and "pending the accomplishment of these purposes" by reorganization, puts all power in the hands of the City Executive.

With the City Central Committee thus dissolved, there exists now no official body through which the Norman Thomas and "Militant" minorities can act.

In a mass meeting of party members protesting the Old Guard action, held at Stuyvesant Casino Sunday afternoon, Norman Thomas and the "Militant" leaders declared they would not submit.

A meeting the same day of the Old Guard-controlled State Committee took two further steps in consolidating Old Guard forces for the coming convention.

The Old Guard meeting announced that early next month a two-day conference will be held in New York in which the state organizations of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland would be officially represented, as well as minority delegations from New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan and other states. The Finnish and Jewish Federations will also be officially represented. The conference will determine the policy of the Old Guard at the May convention, including the drafting of a party platform and a new declaration of principles, decide on nominees for President and Vice-President, and plan the strategy of the convention struggle.

The State Committee also announced that it had decided to overrule the National Executive

Committee which had disapproved of the expulsion of five Buffalo left-wingers.

At the protest mass meeting, which was called by a committee of fifty members of the dissolved City Central Committee, Thomas declared that he would refuse to appear before the City Executive to answer charges of breach of discipline for debating Browder. Resolutions were adopted branding the reorganization as "illegal" and an attempt "to split the party locally and nationally," and declaring the protestants determined to "resist the splitting move."

In recent weeks, since last month's Chicago meeting of the N.E.C. showed that the "peace pact" adopted three months previously had broken down, some of the Old Guard had counselled withdrawal from the national party. The policy that prevailed, however, is based on the conviction that the Old Guard can depend on Dan Hoan, Hoopes and other erstwhile allies of Thomas, particularly the municipal Socialists of Reading, Bridgeport and Milwaukee, to aid them in carrying the convention against the Thomas-"Militant" group.

With the aid of these elements, and powerful financial resources, the well-organized Old Guard faces a heterogeneous conglomerate of Thomasites and "Militants" who have little in common except hatred of the Old Guard. Only decisive steps to organize a left-wing on a revolutionary program can provide the necessary rallying center to oppose the Old Guard's machinations. With only five months to the convention, and only three months before delegates will be elected to the convention, the "Militants" have not yet published their program.

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Speaker:
NORMAN SATIE
Member Natl. Committee, W.P.
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Lovestone Gets His Price

Herberg and Zimmerman Dicker
or Entry into S.P., Lovestone in C.P.

The Lovestone-Brandler group, known as the Communist Party Opposition, notorious for six years for its opportunistic attempts to get back into the Communist International at any price, has at last had the price named. The Stalinist bureaucracy will welcome its repentant servants if they successfully act as brokers between the Stalinists and the Socialists.

The sudden cessation of criticism of the Lovestoneites in the Stalinist press; a lengthy interview with the Lovestoneite, Charles S. Zimmerman, in the Daily Worker, approvingly quoting him as favoring the Stalinist conception of a Labor Party; and, above all, the new line of the Lovestoneite "Workers Age," provide independent verification of information from a reliable source that Lovestone and Brandler have just negotiated with Comintern representatives an agreement to act as Stalinist agents in ballyhooing organic unity on an unprincipled basis.

It is understood that the agreement, so far as it concerns this country, provides that Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe and others are to be received into the Stalinist apparatus, while Zimmerman, Will Herberg and the main body of Lovestoneites enter the Socialist Party. We have definite information that Herberg and Zimmerman have been negotiating with leading Socialists for an understanding for their entrance into the S. P., under the pretense that the negotiations are being carried on without Lovestone's knowledge and that to enter the S. P. they are "splitting" with Lovestone.

Actually, the negotiations are under Lovestone's direction. The sending of the main body of Lovestoneites into the S. P. as Stalinist agents is an elaborate piece of trickery, of the type for which the Lovestoneites have long been notorious in the labor movement.

An Interlude of "Criticism"

Recent issues of the Lovestoneite Workers Age provide the "theoretical" foundation for this elaborate maneuver. The first few issues of the paper after the Seventh Congress of the C. I. had unfolded its social-patriotic and reformist policy reflected spontaneous shock and reaction against the Stalinist betrayal. "Shadows of 1914 Over the Comintern," "principled deviations from Bolshevism," "degeneration," were among the characterizations of the C. I. course. One section of the Lovestone group proposed a complete break with Stalinism. But six years of a false theoretical analysis of the Stalinist line had its effect; so long fed the Philistine doctrine that all that was wrong with the Comintern was its "ultra-leftism," the followers of Lovestone were driven into line by being fed the equally Philistine doctrine that the Seventh Congress was like a pendulum which had swung too far to the right and would eventually swing back to the correct place.

It is significant of the disastrous results of the theoretical miseducation of the Lovestone group that the irrelevant analogy from mechanics of a swinging pendulum was accepted by them. Lovestone, Wolfe and the other leaders, of course, no more believe this pap they feed their followers than they believe any of the scores of other fantastic excuses for Stalinism that they have brought forward during six years of degeneration of the Comintern. Having driven their followers into line, and arrived at an understanding with Herberg and Zimmerman to negotiate with the Socialists, the Lovestone leadership proceeded to develop the necessary "theoretical" line in their press:

1. Widespread the Stalinist War Program

No more talk of "shadows of 1914"—what a regrettable error that was! No, indeed; instead, Lovestone developed the theory that the "sole" deviation of the C.I. was on the question of "mixed wars," i.e., wars in which the Soviet Union was involved on one side, and that even this deviation arose from the laudable desire to protect the Soviet Union. Since "mixed wars" are the only kind of large-scale wars which are possible in a period in which all wars tend to be international in scope, and since Social Democrats support capitalist governments from the equally laudable desire to protect the working class organizations against the foreign enemy, Lovestone's arguments do not hold water for a moment. But no matter; they confused the issue sufficiently to enable the Workers Age to move to the next stage, in which all talk of fundamental differences with the Comintern disappears completely.

Wolfe Sees the Flashpoints

Finally, in the issue of November 9, Bertram Wolfe and Herberg show us to what lengths these cynical tricksters are ready to go. Only a few weeks before, it had been perfectly clear to Wolfe what the C. I. line on war was—one of "principled deviations," "shadows of 1914," etc. By November 9, however, the prospect of return to the Stalinist apparatus had so dazzled him, the rich aromas and heavy vapors arising from the Stalinist flashpoints had spread such a mist before his eyes, that Wolfe was no longer able to see what had been so crystal-clear a few short weeks before.

Now he utters the gentle cry that the Stalinists must "clarify its stand." He gathers up all his courage to point an accusing finger at the Seventh Congress to say—"Does not the Seventh Congress bear the responsibility of not having spoken clearly on the French and Czechoslovak errors, of having tried to correct some of them by just dropping them without analysis, thus leaving loopholes for their repetition?" He cares not what happens to him, he must say it—"The Comintern must hasten to clean house." What a performance, indeed, this charade of Bertram Wolfe! He speaks of "errors" of "vague and worse than vague formulations," of "mechanical transference of the tactics of Soviet governmental diplomacy to the tactics of the class struggle," of the need to "clarify"—he speaks of everything except the bald fact that the Communist parties everywhere are social-patriotic to the marrow of their bones, and that the whole foul betrayal of every fundamental principle of the class struggle was embodied in every step taken by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. "The Comintern must clean house"—what a fantastic joke! Real revolutionists will go more to the degenerate Second International to clean house than they will ask the degenerate Second International to clean house. Both are equally incapable.

Take Any Program—Not Revolutionary
In the same November 9 issue, Herberg goes even beyond Wolfe in covering up the Stalinist war line and seeking a basis for unity with the Socialists. "Never," declares Herberg, "was the situation more favorable for the development of a powerful anti-war and anti-Fascist mass movement deeply rooted in the trade unions. But what is the C. P. doing?" And what do our readers imagine that Herberg is about to accuse the Stalinists of doing? Their general social-patriotic war program? Their position on sanctions and the League of Nations, etc., etc.? Not a word about this from Herberg. His sole accus-

sation against the C. P. on the war question is against the organizational form through which it pursues its social-patriotic line. "But what is the C. P. doing? It obstinately persists in pushing forward the American League Against War and Fascism as the chosen vehicle for rallying the masses in this field."

All the C. P. needs to do, according to Herberg, is get rid of the American League. "Why not start anew in the face of the new situation and, in collaboration with the Socialists and the C.P.O., help launch a new anti-war movement on sound foundations, with program, methods and appeal such as will open the way to a fruitful approach to organized labor? On such a basis, effective cooperation is possible immediately." Lest anyone harbor the notion that Herberg's talk of "sound foundations" refers to any revision of the Stalinist social-patriotic decisions to support capitalist governments in war—this, to repeat, is completely avoided by Herberg—we quote Herberg's notion of how to get a common platform:

A "Reasonable" Appeal

"In order to be really fruitful, Socialist-Communist cooperation must be cemented on such a basis and on such a program as will most effectively mobilize the organized labor movement for action. The question is not how 'correct' or how 'revolutionary' a program or a slogan may be but how reasonable an appeal it makes to the trade unionist who is beginning to feel keenly the need of doing something about the danger of war," etc. (Our emphasis.)

In other words: the Stalinists, with their social-patriotic conceptions, should unite with the anti-sanctions Socialists, and the Militant Socialists with their near revolutionary analysis of the struggle against war; how can such opposite camps unite? Herberg, as attorney for Stalinism, finds the formula: unite not on a correct or revolutionary program, but on one making a "reasonable" appeal to the

simple worker who is "beginning to feel."

Note: Herberg does not speak here of specific, united front actions against war as being needed to involve broad masses in order to help them take their first step toward a revolutionary program. No! Herberg proposes that the program itself be written down to the level of the simple worker. In other words, write the kind of program on which social-patriots and Leninist fighters against war can both unite. But what kind of united front action can flow out of such "reasonable" programs, and where would it lead to? Only to the camp of Stalinism, for the backward workers, imbued with bourgeois ideology and otherwise unassisted, will move toward social-patriotism. The opposite camp, of real struggle against war, is one which must go against the stream, must go against the "reasonable," that is, the first thoughts, of backward workers. In calling for unity on such a "broad" program, a unity inclusive of Stalinism, Herberg is serving the cause of social-patriotism.

New System of Stalinist Apologies

The whitewashing of Stalinist social-patriotism, the erection of a smokescreen to cover the bare, bald fact that the Seventh Congress adopted a policy of supporting capitalist governments in war if they are allied with the Soviet Union, the invention of a "theoretical" justification for uniting with Stalinist social-patriots in "anti-war work"—this is merely the beginning of the doctrinal facade being erected by the Lovestoneites to facilitate their attempts to bring about organic unity. From this point they go on to give a completely false picture of the line adopted by the Seventh Congress. Whenever the Stalinists anywhere commit an act so flagrantly opposed to revolutionary policy that even the Lovestoneites must condemn it, they do so with the refrain: "Is that the way to carry out Dimitroff's directives at the Seventh Congress?" This preposterous fabrication, however, requires another article to do it justice.

(A second article on the Lovestoneites will appear next week.)

Y.C.L. Meet Converted Into Forum against Social Patriots

By JOSEPH CARTER

Last Friday's New York meeting of the Young Communist League on the new turn of the Young Communist International was converted into a forum against Stalinist social-patriotism.

The several thousand youth, mostly students, who came to the meeting were given innumerable pieces of anti-Stalinist literature by the Spartacus Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and others. As a prelude to a dry humanitarian speech by Gil Green the audience was treated to some soothing music. The young Socialists were given the platform following Green's speech. The chairman announced that two representatives of the Spartacus Youth League had asked for the floor but that there was not "sufficient time" for any more discussion. This after only two Yipsels and no one else had been permitted to speak!

Following the meeting a group of Spartacuses assembled in the street and lustily sang revolutionary songs and shouted slogans, most popular of which was "I know it Browder" and the slogan of "Fourth, Fourth, Fourth International."

Green Sees the "Light"

Green dished out the new line of the Young Communist International. He sounded like a Y.M.C.A. director who had just seen the "light" and urged "the unity at all costs of the young generation against war and Fascism." Nothing new was added to his interview in the Daily Worker and Young Worker on the "reorganization" of the Y.C.I. preparatory to organic unity with the Young Socialist International.

The Young Communist League is today nothing but a "young Communist party," he stated. It must become a mass youth educational organization not directly affiliated with any political party. He denied that this meant the "liquidation" of the Y.C.I. but avoided any explanation of the omission of the road to power in the proposed program of the "reorganized" league.

Green declared that the "communists" in this broad league would "democratically" urge that the organization have fraternal relations, engage in joint activities, etc. with the Communist Party. If organic unity were achieved between the Y.C.I. and the Y.P.S.L., then the young Socialists would have the right to propose that the new youth organization have certain relations with the Socialist Party. This, he stated, would be a step to organic unity of the S. P. and C. P.

The response of the audience indicated that the young Communists present were uneasy about the liquidation of the Y.C.I. but seemed to be reassured by the remarks of Green.

Green had apparently forgotten

all about the struggle against capitalism! Nor did he even attempt to explain the program of the Y.C.L. on the struggle against war and struggle against Fascism. Only bare formulas were presented: "unity of all non-Fascist and progressive youth," "organic unity of the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L."

YPSL Denounces Social Patriotism

The young Socialists who spoke in "semi-official capacity" since the Y.P.S.L. had refused to send an official spokesman—followed the line of the leaflet issued by their organization. This is the first leaflet ever issued by the Yipsels to the Y.C.L. in New York and follows on the heels of a young Socialist leaflet which greeted Browder's meeting in Chicago several weeks ago.

The leaflet scores the "liquidationism" of the Y.C.L. "as an abandonment of the struggle for a Socialist revolution." (The inference might logically be drawn from this that the Y.C.L. directly affiliated to the C. P. is a revolutionary organization.)

The social-patriotism of the Comintern is attacked.

"The Comintern justified the split 16 years ago mainly on the ground that the International had to exclude all remnants of social-patriotism, all those who had supported the imperialist war because they considered their bourgeoisie to be aligned on the 'just side.' Today a similar situation is developing. Again we find sections of the working class (including the Communist International) leading the war drums in the name of the revolution. The C. P. frankly states that if, in the next world war, the U. S. finds itself aligned on the same side as the U.S.S.R. (against Japan or Germany) then it will support that war by the Government."

Here is a clear cut statement against social-patriotism.

The Twenty-One Points

But strangely enough, this statement appears in the same leaflet wherein the twenty-one conditions for admittance to the Communist International (adopted 1920) is attacked as the cause of the split in the international working class movement.

"We are glad that they (the leaders of the Comintern—J.C.) now wish to take measures to overcome the split in our movement which has lasted since 1919 and for which the famous '21 points' were largely responsible. At that time, it was the theory of the Communist leaders that it was inadmissible for revolutionaries to be in the same party with the reformists and centrists. It was with this guiding idea that they drove toward the thoroughgoing split which your leaders

are bemoaning at present.

"We of the Y.P.S.L. agree with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized, which will be capable of overthrowing the capitalist state. But we consider that such an end can be achieved only by a process of discussion and self-development within the party, not through an artificial split engineered from without as the Comintern leaders believed. We therefore welcome the new turn of the C. P. and the Y.C.L. toward organic unity as a complete repudiation of the organizational principle upon which the C. I. was founded and which gave it its reason for separate existence."

Let History Speak

In the first place the split in the labor movement was caused by the social democratic betrayal during and following the World War. Strangely enough, this was stated by the young Socialist speaker at the Y.C.L. meeting—who is the author of the leaflet!

Second, the organizational split with the social-patriots was not "an artificial split engineered from without." One has but to read, for example, the history of the origins of the French and American Communist parties. In the first case Lenin urged the Communists to stay in the S. P. and it was more than a year and a half after the Comintern was formed (March 1919) that the Communists won a majority in the French S. P. (Dec. 1920)! The party affiliated to the Comintern.

In the United States the majority of the S. P. was expelled in the most arbitrary fashion because of its support to the program of the Third International. They agreed with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized (present statement of Y.P.S.L.) and attempted to achieve this end—which means a break with the social-patriots of all stripe "by a process of discussion and self-development within the party."

Green Nods His Head

The leaflet confuses Stalinism with the early Comintern under Lenin. Stalinism has repudiated the 21 points in regard to the political struggle against social-patriotism because it has adopted this treacherous program as its own. And therefore it proposes organic unity to the social-patriots of the Second International!

Gil Green's reply to the young Socialists' charge of social-patriotism was an admission of the accuracy of the charge. He did not

deny that the Y.C.L. would support the United States if it were in alliance with the Soviet Union in the coming war. He stated very dramatically that "we would force the government to support the Soviet Union in case of war!"

The young Stalinists present were undoubtedly impressed by the anti-Stalinist literature given to them. The statement of the Spartacus Youth League clearly explained the political basis and significance of the new turn of the Y.C.I.

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

A. K. BRONX—
Question: Why should it not be correct for a revolutionary party to proclaim the slogan "Fight in the next war under the leadership of your imperialist government while it is allied to the U.S.S.R. and turn against your government when it turns against the U.S.S.R."?

Answer: What is completely false in this slogan, which is essentially that of the Stalinists, is that it relegates the defense of the U.S.S.R., not to the international proletariat, but to the Soviet Union's imperialist "allies" on the assumption that the military support of the latter can defend the class interests of the Soviet state, whereas the class struggle of the proletariat will only weaken such defense.

The class antagonism between the Workers' State and ANY imperialist power is of a more fundamental character than the antagonism between any imperialists or groups of imperialists so that, in the final analysis, the "aid" which an imperialist "ally" will give the Soviet Union can be, at best, of such treacherous and unreliable a character as to constitute, in reality, acts of hostility against the latter. As in 1914-18, the outbreak of war may reveal secret treaties by means of which pacts between the Soviet Union and imperialist powers have been completely negated. A possible variant here is for the imperialist "ally," at the same time that it agrees to support the Soviet Union in case of attack, to give the imperialist enemy to understand that it can depend upon the "ally's" neutrality; the intention of such a trick being, of course, to involve the Soviet Union and the opposing imperialist power in an exhausting war from which the "neutral" imperialists expect to benefit. Even if it should enter a war as opposed to the same imperialists as the Soviet Union, the "ally" will attempt to conserve its own resources at the expense of the U.S.S.R.; so as to exhaust the latter as well as the imperialist enemy. As the world war showed, the imperialists, when allies, practice treachery on each other and in every turn of events the true nature of the "ally" would manifest itself. Areas and property, valuable to both opposing imperialists would be free from attack. If profits can be made out of the transaction, the enemy may find it possible to purchase arms and supplies from the "allies" of the Workers' state, who will even attempt to prolong the war if such profits are assured thereby. During the course of the war the class antagonism between the "allies" would immediately come to the fore. The question as to the form of government in captured territory, Soviet or capitalist, is sufficient to produce a rupture which could be solved only by force of arms.

The Soviet Union is dealing with imperialist bandits, with class enemies, and yet these are the people to whose "alliance" the Stalinists ask workers to surrender their own material interests. It is only by hiding the true character of the "aid" which the imperialists can and will give the Soviet Union, that it is possible to claim that the struggle of the workers against their own capitalists, "allied" to the Workers' State, can endanger the latter.

Only the class struggle of the proletariat can save the Soviet Union from being eventually faced with the military opposition of its imperialist "allies" as well as its enemies. If at first the workers' struggle appears to deprive the Soviet Union of a certain, even if treacherous, military support, it nevertheless opens up to the Workers' state the possibility of obtaining as allies, reliable allies, the proletariat of the enemy capitalist countries; and a demoralization in the armies of the latter can more than offset the loss of such military "support." Finally, it is the workers alone who can permanently remove all danger of attack on the U.S.S.R.

We have repeatedly stated that the Stalinists have squandered the revolutionary resources of the October revolution; that they no longer have any faith in the proletariat and cannot be depended upon to defend the U.S.S.R. The C. I.'s subordination of the proletariat to the class enemy, which is palmed off as the defender of the Soviet Union, is so much more confirmation of this. A real defense of the U.S.S.R., therefore, means the struggle for the Fourth International. All else is quackery.

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Chiang Hands Over North China to Japanese for the Asking

Abandons Region Without Raising A Finger

By LO SEN

Plans for the proclamation of formal "autonomy" in North China were temporarily postponed on Nov. 20 following what looked very much like a deal between Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese. It should be clearly understood that the question involved in the North China situation at the present time is almost entirely a formal one. De facto Japanese control has existed in North China since the conclusion of the Tangku Truce in May, 1933. Ever since that time no Chinese official in North China has dared breathe without permission.

The "autonomy" movement which sprang into being only a few weeks ago was a direct product not of any sudden political change in North China itself but of Nanking's temerity in trying to make monetary and other arrangements, without consulting Japan.

Britain Steps In

British imperialism stepped in with a plan for reasserting itself by having the Chinese dollar pegged to the pound sterling and for organizing an international loan which would relegate Japan to the position of being merely a partner in the plundering of China.

Nanking, and Chiang Kai-shek, jumped at the hope of finding a new imperialist wet nurse. The Chinese dollar was devaluated and all silver called in.

The Japanese soon showed their hand. They flatly and bluntly told Britain that no loan would be counterbalanced by Japan. They flatly and bluntly told Chiang Kai-shek and Nanking to behave or else—there would be "autonomy" in North China and perhaps a new invasion of Shanghai. In the north an "independence" movement miraculously came into being after Nanking's demand for the shipment of silver stocks southward. No Northern general had any intention of shipping good hard silver to Nanking in return for paper! And Japan stood ready to back their refusal.

Japanese Marines March Again

In Shanghai a Japanese marine was conveniently murdered and a whole flock of "incidents" occurred. Japanese marines tramped once more through the streets of Shanghai. Threats were again made that Japan would enter Shanghai to take for itself what Nanking hesitated to give.

The developments at Shanghai were not only meant as a demonstration of force to frighten Nanking but were also directly linked to the Anglo-Japanese struggle for control of Shanghai's rich foreign settlement, now dominated by British interests. Japanese demands for a bigger hand in the administration and police of the settlement were again brought forward with one hand, while with the other stinging slaps were administered to the Nanking government.

Meanwhile "autonomy" was announced for North China, to be proclaimed on Nov. 20. Under cover of specious press reports about the massing of troops to resist further Japanese incursions—a bit of window dressing Chiang needed to show his good will in the matter—Chiang moved toward a new settlement with the Japanese.

Chiang Backs Down

He looked over his shoulder for help from Britain and America. But from London and Washington come only expressions of "concern" over Japan's new conquests. This "concern" will one day grow into a major war in the Pacific but at the moment that prospect was of no help to Chiang, who is nothing if not realistic. So Chiang started talking terms.

The first indication that an agreement was approaching came when the Japanese modified "complete autonomy" to only "financial and economic" autonomy with face-saving political sovereignty left to Nanking. But that Japan meant business was likewise made plain with the concentration of Japanese troops and planes on the border ready to move in at a moment's notice if need be.

At zero hour, noon on the 20th, no proclamation was forthcoming in Peking. Instead at Nanking, Akira Ariyoshi, the Japanese ambassador, emerged beaming from a 2-hour talk with Chiang and announced that he was "completely reassured" concerning China's "intentions" toward Japan.

The terms of the deal remain to be divulged. They will be concealed, as usual, under the diaphanous veil of a "compromise" formula. But the latest despatches at this writing (Nov. 20) indicated that negotiations were about to open at Nanking to cover a thorough "settlement" of outstanding Sino-Japanese questions.

1,000 NEW MILITANT SUBS

BY CHRISTMAS!

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

'Peoples Press' Sinks Ever Lower in Its Methods

The third issue of the People's Press, that new national tabloid sponsored by the Stalinists, is now being peddled on the streets. Sickened as we were by the filth of the first issue, we decided to skip the second in order to see whether the third showed signs of reform. Perhaps, after all, we were unduly harsh in our criticism, and the opening issue was simply an aberration on the part of the editors.

We hasten to report, however, that the character of the People's Press has not altered in the least. Although the third issue has a little more red paint on its cheeks and even a touch of Stalinist rouge on its lips, it remains the same journalistic prostitute.

Indeed, the paper has been going from bad to Hearst. Almost the entire contents of this issue, including news stories, photos, a full-page True Story, and the leading editorial, revolves around the Sultan of San Simeon and his personal affairs. The main headline on the front page, announcing that "Marion Davies Rushes East to Be With Hearst," treats the palpitating public to another chapter in that stirring sex-serial on "The Bad Life and Good Times of W. R. Hearst."

The leading editorial is given over to a puny peevish personal attack upon Hearst. It seems that King Features, the Hearst syndicate, refused to sell photos to the People's Press. From the photos of cities, etc., the People's Press has been printing, this doesn't seem to us so damaging an offense. However, this unjust act brings all the fighting blood of the editors to a boil. They simmer over in a savage editorial. Listen to the lions roar!

'WILLIE'S MAD AT US!'

"Willie's mad and we are glad. We know what will please him, Sugar plums to make him sweet, And Marion to please him."

"Despite all our efforts to please everybody, William Randolph Hearst doesn't like the PEOPLE'S Press. And we try SO hard. . . . 'His boys . . . sent our money back. . . . So we marked, 'Charge Marion Davies account,' to help the boys figure it out."

"You see Hearst lies about the best people in America. Then he poses as the Great American Husband, the Savior of the American Home, and the Patron of Clean Movies. And he lets publishers know that anyone who dares tell the story of his long affair with Marion Davies will be blasted from existence."

"Well it was a good act while it lasted but there's a new deal in American life and that means curtains for the Hearst myth. . . . Thanks to the People's Press, we now know what 'the new deal' is all about. It is to expose the private life of Hearst and defend 'the best people' against his slanderous attacks. Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Vanderbilt, Mrs. Rockefeller, meet your valiant knights, the People's Pressmen."

We have nothing good to say for the arch-reactionary Hearst. His anti-labor and anti-Soviet activities must be exposed to the last detail. But the campaign against him must be waged upon the level of political propaganda. It is Hearst's political and economic activities that menace the working class, not his personal peccadilloes. Such keyhole peeps into his private life as the People's Press indulges in have nothing to do with the case. They can only make the untutored worker believe that Hearst acts the way he does because he is a degenerate person, not because he is an aggressive spokesman for the masters of capital. Accordingly, if Hearst led a pure moral life, he would presumably be as well-disposed toward democracy and the workers as "the best people" he slanders, such as the Rockefellers, the Whitneys and other leaders of bourgeois society.

Another streamer head on the front page reads: "Poison Candy Sold As Medicine for Children." At first glance, we thought this was

a brief statement of the paper's editorial policy. But no! It is an expose of "Ex-Lax" by Editor Kallet of "100 Million Guinea Pigs" fame. Ex-Lax, we are told, contains phenolphthalein, an irritant and a poison. Kallet, however, doesn't consider one important circumstance. So long as people continue to stomach such stuff as appears in his paper, they need strong laxatives. We do not uphold this "policy of the lesser evil." We say: boycott the sheet and you won't need laxatives after reading it.

The biggest laugh of the week is contained in the first sentence of a hot story on the Amsterdam News strike, which reads: "Hearst's reputation as a hotbed of entertainment has acquired a new luster (sic!). 'The new luster' in case you're interested is William H. Davis, husband of the owner of the Amsterdam News who, although he owns 41 percent of the stock, is presumably willing to play ball with the strikers in order to get even with his wife. That's class—angling the eternal triangle with a vengeance!"

To date, the NEW MILITANT is the only labor paper that has protested against the putrescent policy

of the People's Press. Following the lead of its big brother, the Daily Worker, the New Masses also applauded its appearance, and its attempt to apply the tabloid technique to the popular issues of the day, and "to approach politics through personalities."

Fascist Propaganda Methods

In our opinion, such a policy is absolutely false. Marxists approach personalities through politics. This principle holds true in every field of political action and propaganda, even to the most popular printed agitational material.

There exists, however, another tendency in the world today, which believes and acts in a totally different fashion. This tendency stresses the personal side of politics to the exclusion of the real political issues involved, shouts "turn the rascals out!" and "put right men" or "the strong man" in their place. It stoops to the vilest level of slander; resorts to all kinds of lies and tricks of deceit; and panders to every prejudice among the backward elements in the working and middle classes. That tendency is reactionary through and through. It has nothing in common with Marxism or the revolutionary movement. It is, indeed, its deadliest enemy.

This tendency is called Fascism. Hearst is at present its leading exponent in the United States.

The editors of the People's Press have begun by imitating the propaganda methods of the Fascists. Where will they end?

Jim-Crow Law for Herndon

(Continued from Page 1)

Jim Crow judge likely to overlook Solicitor Lecraw's political philosophy and demands. "If the highest courts finally sustain the outrageous class sentence passed on Angelo Herndon, the governor can free him. For this reason, the petition campaign must be intensified."

"While the Joint Committee does not control the policy of the Herndon defense, which is directed by the I.L.D., it can do a lot to help Herndon's struggle for liberation through this petition campaign, which is its primary concern. We call on all members of the N.P.L.D. and all members of other organizations who have received petition blanks from us to send them in at once with every space filled out with a bona fide signature."

W. A. Sutherland of Atlanta, Georgia, the other defense counsel, did not deal with legal questions, but presented the judge with his political arguments in favor of granting Herndon a writ of habeas corpus as a step towards Herndon's eventual liberation. His chief argument was that existing social, political and economic relations could best be preserved by allowing radicals, whom he regards as ridiculous, freedom of criticism and agitation up to the point where they might threaten to succeed in their aims. This argument he supported by flattering references to the social system of Georgia today.

Jim-Crow Political Philosophy
Solicitor Lecraw, in addition to making legalistic and technical replies to Seymour's argument, gave Sutherland a political reply from the viewpoint of the State of Georgia, the instrument of ruling-class political oppression. Denying that Sutherland's theory of limited free speech is the law of Georgia, he went on to say:

"Should the Supreme Court of the United States decide that this doctrine is the law of the land, we are through. When things get so that there is a danger that they will succeed, we won't be able to fight them in the courts. Then we will fight them somewhere else. Now is the time to fight them in the courts."

Weighty legal technicalities, with such fancy names as "the rule of stare decisis," stand in the way of Judge Dorsey granting the writ, Lecraw argued.

Whatever Dorsey decides, a long struggle is ahead. The Joint Committee for the Herndon Defense is continuing its work in aid of Herndon by circulating pamphlets and petitions.

Statement of N.P.L.D.
In a statement issued subsequent to the Atlanta hearing, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a constituent of the Joint Committee, declares:

"It is hardly likely that Judge Dorsey will fly in the face of the ruling Bourbons of Georgia by overlooking these 'good' excuses for denying a writ. Nor is this

ALABAMA MINERS WIN

PARTIAL VICTORY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Union recognition and an agreement granting approximately half their demands were won by 17,000 miners in the Birmingham district as a result of an eight-week strike.

The miners will receive a wage increase of 20 cents a day, with increases of 4¢ cents a ton for tonnage workers and 5 percent for dead work. The new agreement runs until April 1, 1937. The strike was hard fought, and at least one miner was killed.

British Tories Sweep Election as Best "Sanctions" Party to Protect Empire

By MAURICE SPECTOR

The Baldwin government was returned to power by a majority that exceeded every Tory expectation. The distribution by parties in the new House of Commons is:

For the National Government: Conservatives, 385; Liberal National, 32; National Labor, 8; National, 3; total, 428.

Against the government: Labor, 154; Liberal, 17; Independent Liberal, 4; Independent Labor Party, 4; Communist, 1; Independent 3; total, 183. Four seats were still in doubt when these lists were compiled.

If one considers the entire national and international background of this election, the British working class, under the leadership of the class-collaborationist, pro-"sanctions" Labor Party, has sustained a severe defeat. The increased Labor representation from the low-water mark of 52 in the elections of 1931, may be Thanksgiving fodder for the "New Leader" of this city, but it will be no occasion for mad revelry in the ranks even of the British Labor bureaucracy.

The Conservative strategists themselves, who learned their "cricket" on the playing fields of Eton, did not expect a government majority of 250. In the face of such a majority the return of the lone Stalinist Gallagher will hardly send any tremor through the Empire, particularly as the Stalinists stood for "sanctions" and the "League" as staunchly as Sir Samuel Hoare. Besides which British Communist Party representatives have a way either of deserting to the Tories like Colonel Malone, to the Labor Party like Walton Newbold and Ellen Wilkinson or feebly subsiding at the first supercilious Tory's push like the unfortunate Parsee Saklatvala.

Labor Party Prepares Own Defeat

For the past four years the Labor Party has assiduously prepared its own defeat. When you estimate the results, remember that the Labor Party has already formed two Labor governments. We are not dealing with an election victory of our own cherished C. P. who proclaim a one hundred percent increase when (probably with the aid of a little colonization) they add another vote to the solitary vote in Oshkosh! The British Labor Party is the party of the majority of the organized British working class.

In these past four years, the army of nearly two million unemployed has not appreciably declined. Wages and the social services have been reduced. Conditions in the "distressed areas" have become a by-word of destitution. As in the case of the miners now threatening a great strike, longer hours were imposed by legislation of the National Government in 1932. In the field of foreign affairs, the disarmament conferences

have diametrically collapsed. Hitler re-armed with the complicity of the government and the Bank of England. But the elections nevertheless gave the party of National Reaction five more years of a free hand at home and abroad.

Supports and "Deplores"

And the principal reason? At this crucial juncture of the post-war epoch the policy of the British Labor Party is in every practical essential a capitulation to the interests of British imperialism. The outstanding fact is that there is virtually nothing but a feeble protestation to distinguish the pro-"League Covenant," pro-collective security, pro-sanctions position of the Laborites from the Tories. Both the Labor Party and the Trades Congress went on record urging not only economic but military sanctions. They gave the Tories just the right ammunition for the imperialist plans to increase the air and naval forces on a gigantic scale in preparation for war.

The Labor Party manifesto declared that it "deplored this attempt to exploit for partisan ends a situation of grave international anxiety." But they have deplored before! The Labor Party "deplored" Lloyd George's Khaki election but they had ardently helped Lloyd George prosecute the war. They "deplored" the fake Zinoviev letter sensation which won another election for the Tories, but the Labor government had been prosecuting Communists. They "deplored" the financial panic stragem by which the Tories turned out the second Labor government in 1931; but with what right when they had themselves been preparing to cut wages and social services in the interests of economy? MacDonald was merely following out the extreme logic of his position as the leader of the Labor Party, when he entered the coalition. MacDonald's policy was always based on "continuity" instead of class struggle and "community" as against "class-consciousness." Those who believe in "continuity" and socialism by parliamentary procedure must accept the consequences. MacDonald is not the only "undone old man" in the ranks of the present and former heroes of the Second International.

Right Party for Right Job

The point cannot be too strongly stressed. If what is wanted is a party that will maintain the imperial establishment, support the present distribution of world markets, called "collective security," and enforce military sanctions, then a single-minded, strong-willed, forthright imperialist party like the Tories will get the support over the "arf-and-arf," milk-and-water, "Socialistic dilution" of these objectives by the Labor Party. The twelve million who participated in the straw vote for the League of

Nations prefer to put their trust in additions to the fleet and the air force rather than in more professors of international law.

Role of Independent Labor Party

That there are prospects for a revolutionary party in Great Britain is indicated by the fact that the Independent Labor Party which has vacillated so badly for so long was yet able to return four members. The I.L.P. must make up its mind which route to travel or be dissipated by the C. P. For a considerable time, Maxton and Brockway have balanced themselves on a tight-rope. The stand of the I.L.P. in opposition to sanctions and its approximation to the revolutionary anti-war policy should clear the air if followed up with a clear-cut orientation on the problem of the international. Precious time has been frittered away in the attempt to establish the united front with the Stalinists. The result was demoralization of the I.L.P. The British C. P. is sterile and the problem was to engage in united front activities with the Labor Party for fruitful contacts with the masses, but the leaders of the I.L.P. adamantly insisted that they wanted a "revolutionary" united front. For a while they even utilized the "third period" concepts of the C.P. The social-patriotic rightward swing of the Comintern seems to have had a sobering effect on some leading elements of the I.L.P.

But the I.L.P. is still bound up with the London-Amsterdam Bureau of "Socialist Revolutionary Unity." That means that they are still pursuing "organic unity" of the Second and Third Internationals. If any country provides an illustration of the futility of mere unity on the basis of a program of social reformism, bourgeois democracy and social-chauvinism, surely it is Britain with its Labor Party, already overwhelmingly in fact the party of "organic unity." To imagine that the addition of the British Labor Party to the German Social Democracy to the Stalinist bureaucracy (Comintern) will somehow engender the social revolution is mysticism, not Marxism. The unity of the working class movement can only be progressive if it embarks on a program of class struggle, if it breaks with bourgeois democracy, if it is a revolutionary unity. The I.L.P. has recently been rid of the Gaster-Lovestonite (R.P.C.) clique that was striving to liquidate the I.L.P. into the C.P. The revolutionary left of the I.L.P., the Marxist Group, clearly indicates the road the party must travel—the road of the Fourth International.

The Years Ahead

We have said that the next years will be crucial, confronting the revolutionists with gigantic problems and decisions. Consider that in the half decade of the National government just gone, history inscribed on its rolls the Spanish revolution, the victory of Hitler, the Viennese insurrection, the seizure of Manchuria, the Italo-Ethiopian war. Ahead of us lie the prospects of yet greater upheavals. Japanese imperialism is systematically carving up China. The United States is carefully preparing for the great struggle in the Pacific. German rearmament proceeds apace. The Egyptian demonstrations indicate the challenge to imperialism generally contained in the colonial ferment. The capitalist world is a powder keg. The British Labor Party has given every evidence of its impotence. In the tests of office and of opposition. The I.L.P., if it takes the road of revolutionary Marxism, can become the party of socialist power.

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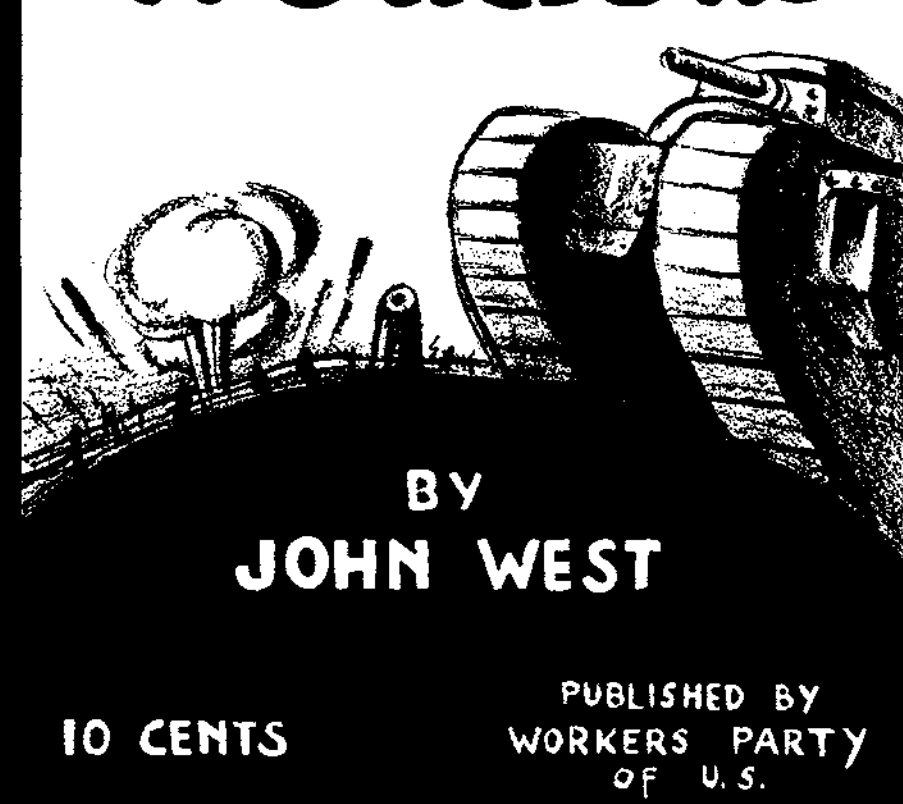
This is the attractive cover of our new pamphlet, just off the press.

Popularly written so that every worker can understand it, Comrade West's pamphlet is a searching analysis into the causes for war, the imperialist conflicts of the present epoch and a scathing indictment of all forms of pacifism and social-patriotism.

Party branches are asked to make special efforts towards a large scale distribution. This should be done, of course, without delay and in such a manner that it can really become an important part of our campaign against imperialist war. Those branches which have not as yet forwarded their orders should do so right away. All orders are to be sent to the NEW MILITANT, 55 E. 11th St., New York City. The pamphlet retails for 10¢ a copy; 7¢ in lots of 10 or more.

Order your copies without delay!

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One Year of the Workers Party

By A. J. MUSTE

A YEAR ago the Workers Party of the United States came into existence as a result of the fusion of two of the most significant currents in the American labor movement. One of these was the American Workers Party (outgrowth in turn of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action), the other the Communist League of America.



A. J. MUSTE

The A.W.P. forces came mainly from militant elements in the unions and unemployed organizations who, through practical experience in the class struggle, had come to realize the need of a theoretical foundation, and political expression, and who believed that this foundation must be revolutionary and internationalist. Organizationally they had taken the position that new revolutionary parties and a new International, as against the Second and Third, must be built. The C.L.A. and its sister groups of the International Communist League throughout the world came out of the Communist (Third) International.

They fought within that International and after expulsion as a group seeking readmission, against the Stalinist line of "socialism in a single country" etc. After the debacle of the C. P. in Germany and similar developments, they concluded that the Third International could no longer serve as the vanguard of the working class, that a new, Fourth, International, must be built. Hence the fusion of the C.L.A. and A.W.P. in December, 1934.

Those who have some knowledge of the interaction of groups within the labor movement know that "fusions" by no means always result in fusion. The first year of the history of the W.P.U.S. has, however, demonstrated the genuine success of this particular fusion. It is true that there have been unclear individuals who could not be assimilated, and on the other hand ultra-leftist, sectarian elements that proved unfitted for existence in a revolutionary party with its face turned to the masses which was more than a debating society. The main core of the A.W.P. on the one hand and the C.L.A. on the other are fused into one. Whatever differences of emphasis and tactics may emerge, and those always exist in every living organization, the struggle over these differences will not be as between former A.W.P. members and former C.L.A. members. They will be fought out by revolutionists who all stand upon the Declaration of Principles of the W.P. and owe unswerving allegiance to the Fourth International.

Now this achievement of fusion is in itself a big thing. If there were nothing else to record at the end of the year, this year in the existence of the W.P. would none the less be justified. It would have marked an important step in the creation of the Fourth International.

The fact that the year has not been marked by anything approaching a mass influx of members into the W.P. in no way invalidates this estimate. The period in which the W.P. lived out its first year is predominantly reactionary in character. The trend away from parliamentary democracy, the open resort to Fascism in many instances, the piling up of armaments, the actual outbreak of war between Italy and Ethiopia and the increasing tension in the foreign relations of all the important capitalist powers are all illustrations of the general trend.

The pressure upon the working class movement from capitalism making a desperate effort to save itself is in such a period tremendous. The world labor movement has suffered severe set-backs in recent years and important sections, such as the German and Austrian, have been almost obliterated. Reaction is thus also characteristic of the labor movement, as is most clearly seen in the stampede to the right of the Stalinist movement—capitulation to social-patriotism, People's Front, support of bourgeois democracy, etc.

From a superficial viewpoint the general trend is obscured by certain developments in the Second International and its parties. The crisis of the democratic state, the developing break of the bourgeoisie with social reformism in favor of Fascism undermines the internal stability of the social democracy as it involves its ultimate destruction. A cleavage between leaders and followers and within the leadership itself develops. The classic reformism of the party gives way to centrism, etc.

This does not mean that it is our concept that the Second International is now becoming the "international of revolution." As the Open Letter stated, "the social democracy everywhere continues to remain the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class." The reaction—the capitulation or preparation for capitulation to social-patriotism—marks the main body of the social democracy everywhere, though camouflaged by centrist maneuvering and equivocation. We note, on the one hand, the trend in the Scandinavian countries, British Labor Party, Canadian C.C.F. In the main, on the other hand, "the shift to the left" in such countries as France and U. S. expresses itself in rapprochement with the Stalinists (organic unity, People's Front, labor party, conciliationism toward

(Continued on Page 6)

230 Hear Shachtman in L. A.

LOS ANGELES.—At a mass meeting of some 230 Los Angeles workers Max Shachtman gave an inspiring lecture on "War and the Soviet Union." The enthusiastic crowd stayed until the very last, plying Shachtman with questions and engaging him into heated discussions. From every point of view the meeting was a successful one. Many new people heard for the first time a Marxian analysis of imperialist war and the attitude of revolutionists to it.

The following night 52 members and friends of the Workers Party attended a banquet where comrade Shachtman spoke on the history of the Left Opposition. Songs by the "Spartacus Chorus" and speeches by the local activists finished off the evening.

Subscribe to NEW MILITANT.

Big Auto Strike Brewing

M. Lewis Reported Retired

Minneapolis C.L.U. Refuses Splitters Aid; Negotiates with 574

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 25.—In strong contrast with its initial bombast, the attack of William Green and Meyer Lewis upon the progressive labor movement of Minneapolis has quieted down to a whisper. It is reported that "Splitter" Lewis will spend the rest of his time auditing the books of local federal unions.

The Minneapolis Central Labor Union has told Lewis they can settle matters with 574 without his assistance. The executive board and a special committee from the central body asked for a meeting with 574's executive board, and on Tuesday morning, Nov. 19, the two groups conferred for the first time, with the hope of bringing about peace in the local trade union situation. In a statement issued to the press, 574 said: "Local 574 has been invited by a committee of the Central Labor Union to meet with them with the view to ironing out some disputed questions. The General Drivers Union has accepted this invitation in the spirit of unity and friendliness to the trade union movement. We believe that any dispute which may now exist can be adjusted. We have no quarrel with any bona-fide A. F. of L. union as such. Every effort consistent with the principles of honest trade union practice will be made by Local 574 to come to a worthwhile and lasting agreement."

On Thursday morning 574 again met with the A. F. of L. committee. It is understood that the General Drivers union is proposing that the local trade union movement recommend 574 be reinstated in the Teamsters and Drivers International.

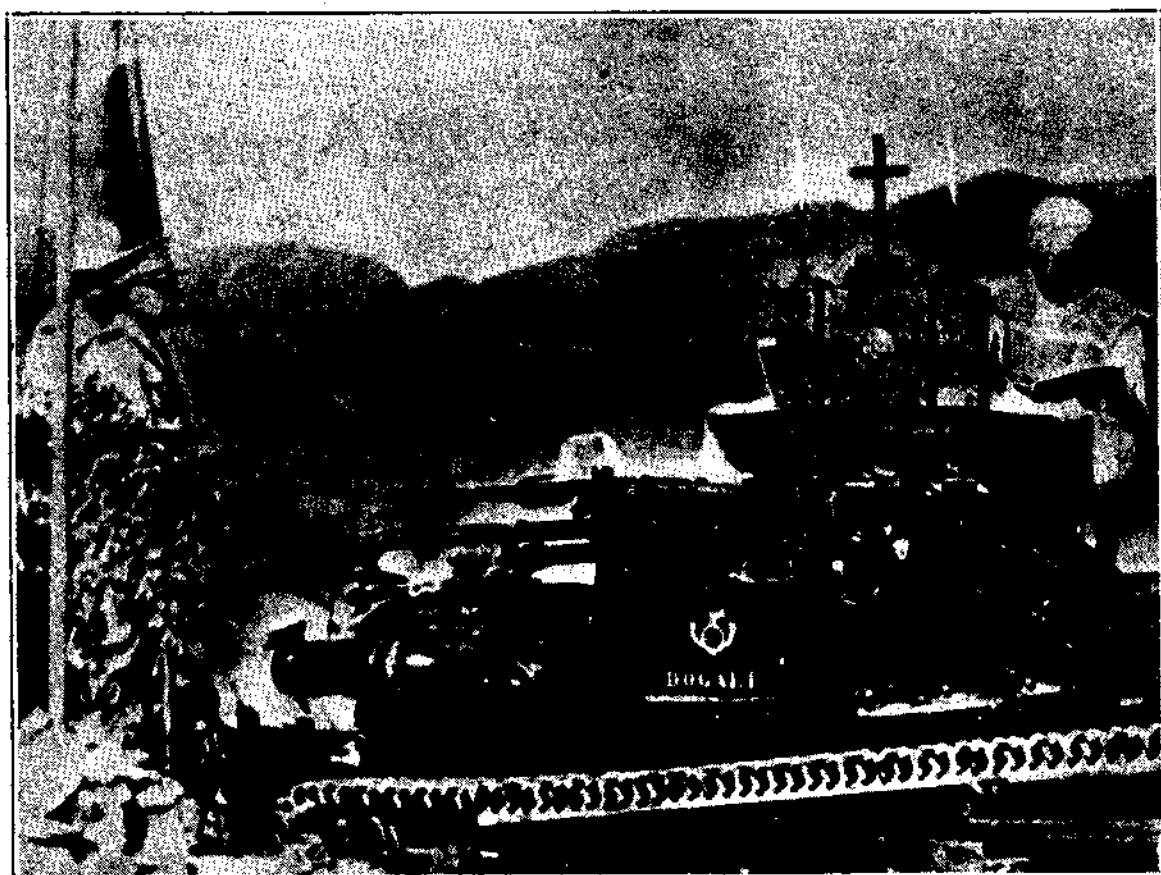
In their fight against William Green's red drive, the Minneapolis progressives have obtained impressive support from various forces throughout the country. Emil Rieve, president of the Hosiery Workers, has written that he is "doing everything possible to prevent the A. F. of L. from making the mistake of going on a 'red baiting' campaign." Norman Thomas has written 574, pledging national support to the General Drivers union.

Local 574 is in a strong position for three reasons: first, its own control of the workers; second, the local trade unionists want to support the General Drivers; thirdly, the national situation is shaping up in favor of the advocates of industrial unionism. The A. F. of L. local leaders have realized this very clearly, and that explains why they have told Meyer Lewis so emphatically to keep his hands off Minneapolis.

Minneapolis employers, encouraged by the irresponsible and false statements of the red-baiting Lewis, are making a strong drive to re-open the Strutwear Hosiery plant, where 1,200 hosiery workers have been on strike since August 15. On Wednesday, Nov. 20, the bosses met at the Radisson Hotel and drew up a plan by which Strutwear would agree to take back all employees as of August 15, and would be willing, after the plant has been in operation 30 days, to meet with any employee groups for the purpose of discussing any complaints. They demand that the American Federation of Hosiery Workers cease picketing, and call upon Mayor Latimer for police protection for this strike-breaking move.

Alexander McKeown, first vice-president of the Hosiery Workers, who is conducting the Minneapolis strike, has answered this proposal by pointing out that "it offers no assurance to our membership that grievances or complaints placed before the management will receive just consideration and action to adjust the grievances and complaints." McKeown calls upon the Strutwear employers to agree, as have the strikers from the very beginning, to arbitrate all disputed points before the plant re-opens.

SPOUTING THE GOSPEL IN ETHIOPIA



ASMARA, Ethiopia.—Above is a portable altar used by the Italian general staff to sanctify the murder expedition in Ethiopia. (Associated Press Photo)

Peoples Front Cracks in Crisis
Fred Zeller Declares for 4th Int'l

Paris Socialist Youth Leader Writes Stirring Pamphlet

Comrade Fred Zeller, acknowledged leader of the revolutionary Socialist Youth Federation of the Seine, has declared for the Fourth International, and for a new revolutionary party in France.

Behind comrade Zeller march the revolutionary proletarian youth of the Seine, the proletarian heart of France. To the thousands who know him as a leader who has served prison terms for his activity in the class struggle, for his bold fight under the banner of revolutionary defeatism, comrade Zeller has given a revolutionary lead at a time when such a lead is the most imperative need of the French working class.

Young revolutionary Socialists and Young Communists should study the political evolution of Fred Zeller with the closest attention—for it is in France that fibres are being tempered today for tomorrow's test. It is in France to-morrow's test. It is in France to-morrow's test.

(Continued on Page 5)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE!

Watch for the next issue of the NEW MILITANT for a complete factual report and political analysis of the Browder-Thomas debate held Thursday at Madison Square Garden. The rush of work connected with this issue, being eight-pages, prevents an immediate report and analysis.

Army Stocks Up in Cas...

The War Department over the last six months has ordered \$3,836,786 worth of blankets. This blanket order is described by The Wall Street (Oct. 22, 1935) as "the first substantial order since the World War."

Recent woolen contracts placed by the Army Quartermaster Depot, Philadelphia, include the following: American Woolen Co.—Over 280,000 yards of flannel. Gera Mills, Passaic, N.J.—125,000 yards of flannel. William Whitman Co.—400,000 yards of flannel.

Radicals, Stalinists, Socialists Collapse at First Test

By H. F. ROBERTS

The Bonapartist regime of Pierre Laval sought and secured a temporary renewal of its mandate this week from the Chamber of Deputies which reconvened on Thursday. Fear for the safety of the franc stampeded the doughty Radical Socialist leaders of the Front Populaire back into the arms of Laval. Under pressure from Herriot, darling of the Stalinists, the Radicals swung from the People's Front and cast their votes for Laval, to whom they gave a majority of 120.

It took just that—a threat to the franc—to crack the parliamentary front of the Front Populaire—and the parliamentary front is all that it has! At the first critical moment the bourgeois politicians of the Radical party decided that power would be too hot to handle. The Socialists and Stalinists—whose only perspective was a Radical Socialist government—were left

(Continued on Page 8)

Chevrolet Plant May Lead Off

Motor Products Strike In Detroit Is First Skirmish

BULLETIN

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 26.—At the mass meeting of the Toledo Chevrolet workers, held this Saturday afternoon, the Chevrolet men unanimously rejected the company's proposal of a seven and a half-hour day, four-day week, three shifts—a proposal which would automatically throw 900 of the Chevrolet employees out into the street. The shop committee, instead is instructed to offer counter proposals to the management which would provide a greater schedule for Toledo, and that every man not reabsorbed be immediately placed on other General Motors payrolls.

The Chevrolet executive committee is already establishing contacts with the "Committee for Industrial Unionism" with the aim of immediately organizing Saginaw and Muncie and other unorganized Detroit Motors plants in the Detroit area.

With the bitterly fought Motors Products strike in Detroit holding out solid, and the prospect of the Hudson plant men going out very soon, the prospects are that hell will be popping loose around these parts in the immediate future. The whole party must be keyed up to the possibilities of the situation, and must stand ready to give the men in the field all their aid, at a moment's notice.

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 21.—The Chevrolet plant at Toledo has opened its doors this Monday, after a four-week shutdown, and announced through its general manager, Mr. Guiliver, that the plant will rehire 1,100 men. (Prior to the lay-off approximately 2,200 men were employed at the plant.) Before the shut-down, the management specifically promised the shop committee that all of these men would be rehired.

The shop committee, headed by its chairman, James Roland, has been in interminable negotiations with the management since Monday. The final proposal as submitted by General Motors, was 7½-hour-day, four-day week, three shifts. This arrangement would hire approximately 1,400 men, still leaving off some 800 Chevrolet employees.

The shop committee is in a quar-

(Continued on Page 8)

VOTE TO STRIKE ILL. WPA

Mass Conference of Illinois Workers Alliance Draws Up Demands for Wage Increase and Hour Reduction

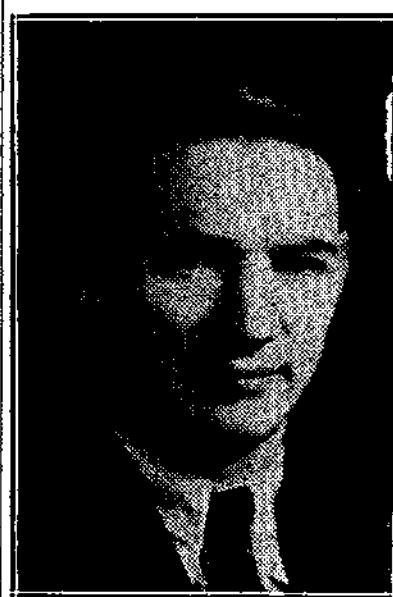
AUBURN, ILL., Nov. 24.—Delegates representing thirteen well-organized counties of the Illinois Workers Alliance unanimously voted today to strike all WPA projects in Illinois Dec. 16.

The Labor Temple was crowded with hundreds of delegates and visitors who voiced an emphatic disapproval of the WPA arrangements; the delegates minced no words in denouncing the scab wage scale that averages much less than \$65 a month and demanded that the I.W.A. lead an aggressive movement to end the starvation pay.

The Action Committee elected by the conference recommended that the following demands be presented to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission:

The 30-hour week, no Saturday work.
Pay day every Friday night.
Prevailing union wages.
A minimum of 50c for agricultural districts.
First aid kits on all projects.
Free transportation to and from work.
Recognition of all project grievance committees.
These demands were unanimously accepted after a healthy discussion. Hank Mayer, Carlinville, re-

I. W. A. LEADER



Gerry Allard

ported for the Action Committee. The chairman of the conference was Gerry Allard who stated in a burning address that the unemployed workers of Illinois would win their demands for union wages

(Continued on Page 4)

BARBERTON LABOR RISES

Plan General Strike in Akron Suburb to Meet Threat of Militia; Reporter Tells of Heroic Battle

By JACK WILSON

BARBERTON, Ohio, Nov. 25.—6,000 organized workers in this highly industrialized suburb of Akron planned a general strike to back 300 strikers at the Ohio Insulator Co., a Dupont subsidiary, against possible use of the National Guard and martial law to smash the solid picket line, after their threat of the city-wide walkout forced the sheriff to withdraw 60 scabs and completely shut down the plant.

Aroused by the tear gas terror and clubbings by 70 company thugs against the 100 percent organized strikers, 2,000 unionists and sympathizers stormed the plant last night after they were attacked and routed the thugs and shouted:

"We'll give you another Auto-Lite strike if you want it."

The union went on strike ten weeks ago for a 20 percent pay raise, seniority rights, union recognition and a written agreement. It was called the "most peaceful strike in Ohio history" by the bourgeois press. But last Tuesday the company announced it would open the factory for "all loyal workers who wanted to work." Meanwhile, Jim Flower, the sheriff, who is also a National Guard captain, hired 70

thugs to "keep peace," and brought out all the tear gas guns and clubs bought last spring for possible use against the rubber workers.

The Weed Double-Crosses

A solid picket line greeted the company officials and the thugs early Wednesday. Flower, a big burly brute, called the pickets to one side and demanded peace. Just when the pickets came toward him, 12 cars filled with scabs, tried to break through. The workers grabbed stones, but a volley of tear gas and a clubfest by the thugs proved too strong.

Shouting, "We've been double-crossed by that rat," the workers valiantly defended themselves, although over 20 were hurt by the gas shells and clubs. Another attack was made by Colonel Joe Johnson, an old strike-breaker and aide to Flower, at the railroad entrance against another picket line so a train could bring in food to the scabs.

As the tear gas drifted away the workers reformed their line. Flower marched out of the factory and ordered them to dissolve. He dug up a "riot act" passed in 1902 as his authority and threatened a \$500 fine and 90 day sentences for work-

(Continued on Page 8)

High-Lights

By HENRY THURMAN

THE PEOPLE'S FRIENDS

"Anti-Soviet, ally of the Friends of New Germany, shielder of the murderers of a charity patient," was the cheerful manner in which the C. P. of Cleveland characterized Doc Walz for the past few years. Walz has the habit of running as an independent mayoralty candidate.

But this year, after the primaries, I. O. Ford, Communist candidate for mayor, told a meeting of the Independent Civic League that the minority candidates ought to get behind a write-in campaign for Walz.

Ford sat down with Walz and wrote out a reformist platform for him.

The C. P. leaders met and decided to participate in this action if the S. P. stated its willingness to go into it. Otherwise the C. P. was to pretend that it has reached a contrary decision for some trumped-up reason. (Write-in campaigns are not effective.)

At the meeting where the "united front" was to be consummated, Walz made a typical liberal, reformist speech—then launched into an attack on conditions in the Soviet Union! The C. P. representative sat without a protest, with his head bowed sheepishly. No objection could be made to Walz's statements because the Socialists hadn't stated their position as yet, and the united front was yet tentative.

The S.P. disrupted another beautiful united front. They thought the platform (prepared by the C. P.) had nothing to do with the C.P. had nothing to do with labor and didn't resemble anything that militants could rally around.

At any rate, the audience got a good laugh.

"DESIGN FOR LIVING"

"Frankie and Uppie were lovers," Maurice Sugar snatched on Upton Sinclair in the Detroit debate on "America's Way Out—EPIC or Farmer-Labor Party?"

"He was your man but he done you wrong. You captured the Democratic Party. Roosevelt has captured you! Mr. Sinclair, it is apparent that you fell in love with Roosevelt at first sight. He carried you. He led you on. He played with you. . . Mr. Sinclair, you lovely man, you have been seduced!" (Daily Worker, Nov. 5).

This Freudian analysis does not help us to understand that a Farmer-Labor Party will get America "out" of—(economic crisis?)—but we would like to point out that Earl Browder states in the September "Communist" that the C. P. ought to take over the Epic Plan.

F.D.R.'s bedroom must be getting popular.

"I KNOWS IT, BROTHER"

Mike Gold chides the Left young Socialists for singing ribald parody "Our Line's Been Changed Again." Instead of the customary abuse, threats, and third period epithets, the columnist resorts to wheedling, pleading, and sugar-talk. We understand, Mike,—your line's been changed again!

WORKERS SCHOOL HANDS OUT PLENTY TOO

"Have you ever wondered why I. O. Ford (Communist candidate for mayor) is always so jolly and gay, why he has that big smile on his face?" gushed Onda at the Cleveland Browder meeting. "Because he's a Communist!"

We thought it was because Onda, running for council on a Labor Ticket, promised to collect all the garbage if he was elected.

Too bad he didn't get in. His first job would have been to send around a truck behind the Workers Book Shop to pick up all those copies of "The Name is Lewis, John L." which have been withdrawn from circulation.

WORKERS

Protect Yourself Against the Hazards of Life. Join the WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000.

Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$50 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes.

Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office:

714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

A 'Square Deal' Corporation An Altruistic Boss! Workers Get It in the Neck

By CYRUS RIGBY

BINGHAMPTON, N. Y., Nov. 15.—Last week the workers in the shoe factories of the Endicott Johnson Corporation were given renewed and positive assurance that the world does not move. The occasion was the posting, on all shop bulletin boards, of the identical Promotion Policy Message that George F. Johnson had himself issued before in 1920.

The statement was prefaced by a note saying that "This is just as true today as it was 15 years ago, and as it will be 50 years from now." Resuscitated, the message took no account of the ravages made by the system of capitalism on the workers of the Southern Tier no less than in other parts of the world. Parading of the now completely exploded American myth of "equal opportunity to all" was so brazen, in the light of past events, that the notice was this time greeted only by ridicule by those few workers who paused to read it.

Dividing the Workers for Profit

The message is part of the halloved Endicott Johnson "square deal plan," which is itself founded upon a policy of dividing the workers in order the better to use them for profit. One passage reads, "You may even be the general manager or one of the directors, as we are looking for the best talent to fill positions of responsibility." It closes with the words, "If you are faithful, loyal and reliable, you will earn a good living with a chance for advancement. This company and its directing heads know their business. Their business is to see that you give them a square deal, which means a fair return for what you receive—an honest

effort to do the work well and a fair and sufficient amount of it."

Because the most recent breakdown of capitalism has forced more and more people to wear shoes of a cheaper, and hence inferior grade, the Endicott Johnson factories have enjoyed an ever-increasing expansion since 1920. But not one extra benefit has accrued to shoe workers by this circumstance. Wages have been lowered and the threat of unemployment held constantly over their heads to still protests. Speed-up has been growing in pace every month. Stoolpigeons and spies, always with hope of promotion at the expense of their class, have been more numerous and more active.

A "Working Class" Bank

Everything in Endicott and Johnson City is cloaked with a fake "working class cooperative" veneer. Even the local bank bears the name "Workers Trust Company." Yet further scrutiny of this institution, as an example, will show how all these labels and policies are merely clever methods of deluding the workers into a false sense of power. Assets of the Workers Trust Company are placed at about five and a half million dollars. Stocks in the bank consist of 8,000 shares. Are most of the shares in this "working class" establishment owned by the workers in the E.-J. factories? By no means! 7,534 shares, or complete control and ownership of the institution, are owned by the Marine Midland Corporation, a major fortress of finance capital in America. Investigation has shown that the same tissue of spuriousness covers every supposedly benevolent gesture of the Endicott-Johnson shoe barons.

American workers have learned, to their sorrow, that they are no different from workers in every part of the world: that for the working class there is strength only in unity. Anything else faintly resembling a real trade union is still banned in the Endicott-Johnson sphere of influence. Most of the workers there still hope to live on altruistic crumbs from the table of "George F." and his fellow capitalists. Yet even the most superficial examination of the facts will prove that their one salvation is in solidarity with the entire working class, rather than in accepting the occasional sops handed out to them by their exploiters to keep them docile.

Shachtman Meeting in San Diego

SAN DIEGO, Cal., Nov. 19.—Approximately 75 workers came to Woodbine Hall last night to hear Max Shachtman lectured on "War and the Soviet Union." Shachtman analyzed the causes of war and outlined the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat in relation to war as advocated by the Workers Party and other adherents of the Fourth International in contradistinction to the class collaboration policies of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. A lengthy question and discussion period followed the lecture and nearly everyone stayed until midnight asking questions about the Workers Party. This was one of the first public meetings attempted by the San Diego branch and Shachtman's lecture is calculated to conclusively solidify the W. P. with the already sympathetic class-conscious workers.

Dunne to Give Series on Labor Party

Tuesday Night, Dec. 3, 8 P.M. "What is a Labor Party?"

Tuesday Night, Dec. 10, 8 P.M. "Can a Labor Party Promote Trade Union Organization?"

Tuesday Night, Dec. 17, 8 P.M. "Can Labor Parties Prevent Imperialist War?"

Tuesday Night, Jan. 8, 8 P.M. "Labor Party or Revolutionary Party?"

MINNEAPOLIS HEADQUARTERS Workers Party of the U.S. 631 Third Avenue South Ticket for Complete Course, 50c Individual Lectures, 15c

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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How They Ache for War!

Editor's Note: How the Stalinists are out-Baldwin Baldwin and becoming the most rabid advocates of military sanctions, i.e., imperialist war, is revealed in the quotation below from the Journal de Moscow, French equivalent of the Moscow Daily News—one of the many Stalinist stooge periodicals.

MOSCOW, Nov. 1.—Steps to make possible military sanctions must be taken by the League of Nations, the Journal de Moscow, French language newspaper here, declared tonight.

The sanctions already voted against Italy will help the League's prestige by showing that it is prepared to act, the newspaper said. But economic and financial penalties never can stop a war.

"The first experiment of the League will allow us to conclude that economic sanctions alone never can succeed in guaranteeing peace," it stated, "and that it will be impossible in the future in analogous cases to limit ourselves to economic sanctions, as is foreseen in Article XVI, Paragraph 2 (of the Covenant) treating of military sanctions."

"It will suffice to study especially this paragraph and at the proper time create the conditions necessary to apply it rapidly in case of need."

If the sanctions already voted are not energetically applied they will only have a harmful effect, the paper declared.

Appeal Date Set in Cal. C. S. Frame-Up

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Nov. 27.—The District Court of Appeals has set a hearing for Dec. 3, at which Raymond W. Henderson, attorney retained for Norman Mini by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, will argue for a writ of mandate ordering the trial court in the famous criminal syndicalism case to provide the Mini defense with a copy of the proceedings of the trial.

Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, one of eight workers appealing against the frame-up convictions arrived at under pressure of an anti-union and anti-radical drive launched by employers' organizations in this state. Thus far the trial court has provided only one transcript of the proceedings. Applications for copies made by Mar-

tin Wilson and several other appellants who represent themselves legally, have been denied.

Due to the refusal of the I.L.D. to consider a unified defense, there are two attorneys in the case. Leo Gallagher represents the I.L.D. defendants, while Henderson represents Mini. By compelling the two attorneys to prepare their briefs on the basis of one copy of the transcript, the court is working a hardship on both Henderson's fight for an additional copy has the support of Gallagher.

Support for the defendants is on the increase. The Los Angeles and San Francisco sub-committees of the N.S.A.C. recently held successful mass meetings.

Subscribe to the New Militant

A Radical Farmer's View of Recent Shifts in AAA

(Reprinted from the Producers News, official organ of Farmers Holiday Action Committee)

The AAA Wheat Production Control Board has now amended the bonus basis from the county acreage of wheat production per acre average to that of the individual unit of wheat production as the basis, based on the last three years production adjusted to the preceding two years, whatever that may mean. This individual unit base discriminates against the small grower, against the poverty stricken farmers, who do not have the means to farm properly, or who for the want of seed wheat could not get his crop in when he should, and so did not get the crop which he would have had the planting been done in the proper seed bed and at the right time, and in favor of the farmers who have the proper machinery, the seed and the means to carry on his farming operations as he should.

The first and the largest section of farmers of course raised very poor crops, the latter quite good crops. So on the individual unit basis, the impoverished farmer gets a reduced bonus, while the rich farmers get the big check—the gravy as it were.

On the county average basis for the last five years, all farmers get the bonus on the average acreage production of the county so all farmers share alike as to the number of bushels per acre they receive the bonus on, and this is as it should be.

But the county average basis for the bonus payment is contrary to the basic policy and program of the AAA, in spite of all the illusions the farmers may be entertaining of the purpose of the act, and so just could not stand. The

purpose of the AAA wheat control is to make a privilege of farming—those finally will farm who have a license, a government permit to farm; no others will. The purpose is to eliminate all the impoverished farmers from the land, put them on subsistence farms, take the poor lands out of production entirely, and put the good lands into production, in the hands of the rich farmers, on a basis where they can farm it at a profit. And to do this, to reduce the production to what those who have buying power can consume. This is the purpose of the AAA and has been since the beginning, and the idea that is going to be carried out.

The county unit plan was adopted at first because it was necessary to put the scheme over, in order to get the farmers to sign up the contracts. The individual unit basis was the plan all of the time. Now that the AAA crop control has developed to where it can substitute the latter plan, it has.

The work out is—to him who has shall be given, while to him who has not shall be taken away! That is the spirit of the AAA in all of its ramifications—just set yourself right on that.

The late delivery of seed grain loan checks so as to reduce production possibilities, the ruthless seed grain loan collections, removal of farmers to subsistence farms, etc., are all a part of the general scheme.

The one thing that will defeat this scheme is understanding of it by the farmers and mass resistance. The Dagmar farmers are showing the way. Other impoverished and bankrupt farmers must follow their lead or get ready for the subsistence farms. And it's time to get into action!

Letters to the Editor

Editor, NEW MILITANT:

I cite the following incident as a revelation of the inner workings of that great democracy-loving organization, the League Against War and Fascism. Essentially pacifist and reactionary in nature, this body listens no end to preachers, rabbis, society ladies, senators and others of the same kidney but can spare not a moment to a revolutionist. Indeed, in my case, the presentation of the point of view of the Workers Party meant ejection from a meeting of the League.

I attended a meeting of the Boro Park branch of the League in a Y.M.H.A. building at 49th Street and 4th Avenue, at which a speech was given on the Chinese Soviets and the situation in the Far East. During the discussion I took the floor and attempted to show that the speaker had been guilty of several misstatements as well as outright lies, all of which were intended to justify the line of Stalin on the Chinese Revolution. The chair-

man interrupted me when I offered to outline briefly the historically correct theses of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. He immediately entertained a motion that I be excluded from all further meetings of the League since for several weeks I had insisted on presenting a political point of view which could "only succeed in disrupting the organization," etc., etc. The organizer, a well-known Y.C.L. member, backed the motion, fulminating for fully fifteen minutes against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite line." Some "innocent" members of the American League protested that this action smacked of bureaucracy, but the Y.C.L. faction had a majority and the motion of exclusion was passed.

The American League, which would fight for democracy in Germany, Italy, Spain and everywhere except in the American League, will never learn that the struggle against tyranny like charity begins at home. A stooge can only mimic his master, the American League, the C. P. —MILTON HINDUS.

The 'Resettlement' Fraud A Texas Thanksgiving Relief Is Discontinued

By JAMES EVANS

(Special to the New Militant)

DALLAS, Tex.—Thousands of impoverished Texas farmers are being made the victims of Roosevelt's "resettlement" fraud. The relief administrators make glowing promises to these bankrupt producers, only to shunt them into leaky shacks on sub-marginal lands. As a rule, the tenant is forced to incur several hundred dollars of indebtedness before he is allowed the privilege of supervised starvation.

In McLennan county alone, five hundred rural families were taken off the relief rolls last year and given government loans to "rehabilitate" themselves. In twelve counties of central Texas, 2,600 such families were given opportunities to lead the simple life—as prescribed by the banking interests that dominate the Federal agricultural policies.

Slaves of King Cotton

Despite the uncertain condition of the cotton market, two thousand have been put to growing crops of this staple. These recipients of government bounty are truly the slaves of King Cotton. Many of them became impoverished as a result of the cotton plow-up program. Their rented tracts of land went back to the owners upon being retired from cultivation. Their small AAA checks went to satisfy the landlord and the merchant. Their livestock starved to death or was sold for a song. Now, they find themselves once more planting cotton, bound to Uncle Sam rather than the landlord, still keeping their children out of school to pick the crop during the fall.

4,000 bales of cotton were produced on these Roosevelt poor-farms last year, an average of two bales or \$120 cash income for each family. Out of this princely sum, the family had to repay loans of \$31 for groceries (mostly fatback and cornmeal) and \$37 for feed and seed. After buying insufficient amounts of winter clothing, the average subsistence farmer does not have enough money to last himself and his family until the first of the year.

In the meantime, all relief was discontinued for the subsistence serfs long before Roosevelt made good his heartless promise to the business interests that he would "get out of this business of relief."

The tenants were buncoed by adroit case-workers who promised them part-time jobs at manual labor. Now, all pretense of work relief has been dropped by Rex Tugwell and his well-fed minions. The "steer farmers," as they are called, are expected to live together by what they earn from the farms—a forced continuation of the dying Southern feudal system.

Most of the subsistence farmers live in miserable colonies scattered over the state. Others live on single tracts, temporarily consigned to the resettlement administration by landlords. Generally these tracts are poor lands which the owners have been unable to rent otherwise. The tenant is expected not only to make enough to carry his own family, but also to pay his debts to the government and the landlord.

It is obvious that this policy will result in a continual turn-over in tenants, since not one out of ten will be able to meet these requirements.

Corruption Rampant in Ft. Worth, Texas, Relief

(By a Worker Correspondent)

FORT WORTH, Tex., Nov. 18.—Fort Worth relief clients are being put off projects because they will not pick turkeys for poultry houses at the starvation wages of fifty and sixty cents per day. The price of turkeys has advanced with the approaching holidays and due to a strike of farmers which forced poultry dealers to pay more for the fowls. Nevertheless, the companies are adhering to the same wage scales.

A recent investigation of the Fort Worth relief administration showed widespread graft, coercion and corruption. Young girls were even told by case workers to get out and hustle if they did not like the rations afforded them by the relief boards. In some cases, case workers even forced indigent women to accept their attentions.

It was for exposing such evils as these that T. E. Barlow, Unemployed Council leader, was murdered by the third degree in September of 1933.

Newark Jobless In Demonstration

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 21.—A demonstration of organized unemployed and project workers took place in Washington Park today.

The demonstration was called by a united front of three unemployed organizations: the Workers Alliance of America; the Unemployment Council and the Association for Adequate Relief. Newark section of the National Unemployed League. The demonstration marked the launching of the fight for an increase in wages on the projects and for the continuation of direct relief. The meeting was an enthusiastic one and is to be followed by a large indoor mass meeting to hear the reports of the delegations that visited the state and county WPA and ERA officials.

The mass meeting was preceded by a short parade of the women who decided suddenly that they didn't need a permit to parade. This was led by Elsie Salvatore and other members of the Association for Adequate Relief. The speakers were Edwin Kaemph for the Workers Alliance; Fred Haug for the Unemployment Council and Irving Rosenberg for the Association for Adequate Relief. The chairman was Jerry Kotz of the Association for Adequate Relief.

The project workers' locals of the Association for Adequate Relief are planning a giant mass meeting for Dec. 9 in the City Hall council chamber in Newark. The Monday night project workers' local, attended by over a hundred workers, received reports from almost all Essex County projects that the men are clamoring for action against the \$55 slave wages.

ness before he is allowed the privilege of supervised starvation.

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Mays Strikers Call for Aid

The strike in the Mays department store in Brooklyn, entering its fifth week, is agitating the New York labor movement. Over 100 strikers came out in answer to a strike call when Mays began to fire members of Local 1250. The working conditions in Mays are absolutely intolerable. We are fighting against the starvation wage of \$10 and \$12 for a 50 to 60 hour week. This wage is lower than that received by most workers on relief projects. We have been compelled to work on Sundays or suffer the loss of a day's pay, or worse, the loss of our jobs.

The militancy and courage of the strikers has won the widespread admiration of labor for the struggle we are making. Wholesome arrests, reaching a total of 102, have been made, the "conspiracy to interfere with business" charge made against two union organizers and three strikers have hardened us and we are more determined than ever to win this fight.

We will win this strike if you give us your support. We appeal to you for assistance. Through your Executive Board, through your membership, through your affiliations we appeal for immediate financial aid.

Send all contributions to Leon Levy, chairman of the Finance Committee, Department Store Employees Union, Local 1250, 205 West 14th Street, New York City.

THE NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE

A Year of Activity, Success and Service to the Working Class on All Fronts of the Radical and Labor Movement

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has a record of achievement of which its members and the working class organizations which support it may well be proud. The following summary of some of its defense activities concretely illustrates what is meant by "non-partisan labor defense."

Anti-Fascist and International Activities

HITLER GERMANY:

It was the N.P.L.D. which organized the protest movement against the deportation to Hitler Germany by the Dutch police of four young German refugees attending a radical congress at Laren, Holland. The N.P.L.D. organized a joint protest of many workers' organizations and, despite his reluctance, compelled the Dutch Consul General to accept it.

NEW YORK:

The N.P.L.D. organized the protest movement against the clubbing of anti-fascists by the New York police, arising out of a demonstration of young Socialists and Spartacus youth against a Nazi meeting at Madison Square Garden in May, 1934. The N.P.L.D.'s activities were recognized as a factor leading to the removal of Commissioner O'Ryan from office.

ITALY:

The N.P.L.D. was an active constituent of the Committee which held effective counter-demonstrations against visiting Italian Fascist student groups on Columbus Day, 1934, in New York. When college students were expelled for participation in these activities, it was the intelligent aggressiveness of the N.P.L.D. which forced on a reluctant city administration a discussion of this attack on civil rights.

CUBA:

The Cuban National Committee for Amnesty, composed of thirty-one Cuban labor organizations, has asked and received the aid of the N.P.L.D. in winning American support for its struggle against the Mendieta regime of terror. Anita Brenner is chairman of the N.P.L.D. Committee on Cuba.

CHINA:

The N.P.L.D. is organizing an international protest movement against Chiang Kai Shek's reign of terror. Herald Isaacs, formerly editor of the Shanghai China Forum, leading labor organ of China, is chairman of the Committee on China.

The Fight Against Criminal Syndicalism Laws

SACRAMENTO:

The N.P.L.D. has taken an outstanding part in the most important criminal syndicalist case of the past decade—the famous Sacramento frame-up.

During the trial the N.P.L.D. provided Norman Mini, a member of the Workers Party, with the services of attorney Albert Goldman, noted Socialist lawyer, whose work was an outstanding feature of the courtroom struggle. At their request, it raised \$3,400 bail to liberate Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick (members of the Communist Party) from Sacramento County Jail, where they had been held for six months. It stimulated widespread public interest in the case through press publicity and public meetings from coast to coast.

The cases are now being appealed. Owing to the importance of the Sacramento case to the entire labor movement, the N.P.L.D. organized the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, including the Socialist Party, Workers Party, General Defense Committee, Y.P.S., L.S., S.Y.L., National Unemployed League, Workers Alliance of America, and the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund. This Committee, together with sub-committees acting in San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, Boston, Cleveland, Toledo and elsewhere, has assumed direction of the appeal fight. Herbert Solow of the N.P.L.D. is secretary-treasurer of the Committee. The N.S.A.C. has retained Raymond W. Henderson, attorney in every successful criminal syndicalism appeal in California; has published and circulated 10,000 copies of a pamphlet on the case entitled "Union-Smashing in Sacramento," and is conducting a nation-wide campaign to organize mass support behind the Committee's efforts to obtain a reversal from the California Supreme Court.

ANGELO HERNDON:

The N.P.L.D. is one of six organizations which set up the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. The Committee has printed and distributed over 45,000 copies of a 16-page pamphlet. It aims to secure 1,000,000 additional signatures to petitions calling upon the Governor of Georgia to free Herndon.

WARD ROGERS:

The N.P.L.D. is a constituent of

the Committee to Aid the Defense of Ward Rogers, young FERA instructor and Socialist, convicted of "anarchy" for aiding the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in Arkansas. An appeal is now pending.

Deportation of Aliens

ANTONIO BELLUSSI:

Antonio Bellussi, veteran anti-Fascist, union coal miner, and a member of the Bordiquist group, was forced to flee Italy in 1923 because of his fight against the Fascist. He was arrested by Federal agents on June 17, 1933 for expressing his opposition to Fascism during a meeting of Fascist Khaki Shirts at Wilkesbarre, Pa. In danger of deportation to Italy, Bellussi appealed to the N.P.L.D. for aid. The N.P.L.D. secured Bellussi's release on bond after he had been nine months in jail. The N.P.L.D. obtained for him the right to go to South America, and raised the funds necessary for transportation and admission to a South American country.

JACK WARNICK:

Jack Warnick, one of the defendants acquitted in the Sacramento trial, but thenceforth pursued by the Committee on Subversive Activities of the American Legion, has been seized by the immigration authorities, acting on the instigation of the Legion, and basing themselves on the evidence on which Warnick was acquitted in Sacramento. Released on bail, Warnick is being aided by the N.P.L.D.

Against Martial Law

The N.P.L.D. initiated a joint committee of seven organizations which held a mass meeting in New York protesting against the use of the National Guard as strikebreakers, and which sent defense funds to Toledo, Minneapolis and the Gulf Coast. With five other defense organizations, it helped launch a counter-offensive against the strike-breaking anti-red scare in California in the summer of 1934. It presented to Secretary Perkins a petition to stop deportations of aliens arrested by the troops. It organized an Eastern protest against martial law in Minneapolis, during the great strike of teamsters Local 574, in July-August, 1934.

Against Persecution of Strikers

HARLAN MINERS:

In 1931 the eyes of the working class were centered upon the terror in the Harlan, Kentucky coal fields, where seven union organizers who defended themselves against the attacks of coal company gangsters armed with machine guns, were given life sentences. The General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. has never ceased its fight for the release of these seven prisoners. The N.P.L.D. in raising funds to aid the fight for a pardon. The G.D.C., N.P.L.D. and I.L.D. have now formed the Joint Committee to Aid the Kentucky Defense.

ROBINS-GRAS:

Harold Robins and Andre Gras were arrested during the hotel strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York City in February, 1933 on the charge of assaulting a non-union chef. Found guilty, they were sent by the notorious anti-labor Judge Corrigan to Sing-Sing. Undertaking their

defense at this juncture, the N.P.L.D. organized a movement which secured broad backing. The judges of the Appellate Division unanimously reversed the conviction on the ground of obvious prejudice on the part of the trial judge.

FARGO TEAMSTERS:

One of the longest and most bitterly fought strikes in the history of the Northwest, in Fargo, North Dakota, led to a frame-up instigated directly by the notorious Associated Industries of Minneapolis. The N.P.L.D. sent its Chicago counsel, Francis Heitsler, to represent the strikers during the strike struggles; defended the strikers in numerous cases, and carried the 17 convictions to the North Dakota Supreme Court, which has not yet handed down a decision.

MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES:

As the defense representatives of the famous General Drivers Local 574 of Minneapolis, whose 1934 strikes have led to a resurgence of the Northwest labor movement, the N.P.L.D. has been in charge of numerous defense cases in that locality. Latest of these cases are: Vincent F. Dunne, officer of Local 574, while leading a picket line in aid of an American Federation of Hosiery workers' strike, had three ribs broken by Farmer-Labor police and was arrested and convicted.

When police shot and killed two pickets and wounded numerous others who had closed down the Ornamental Iron Works, and the Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer refused to conduct an open hearing, the N.P.L.D. conducted a mass public hearing on the issues; a score of eye-witnesses testified; leading Farmer-Laborites denounced the mayor for scabbery and murder; and the assembled workers laid the murders at the door of Mayor Latimer.

PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS:

Local 753 of the Retail Clerks International appealed to the N.P.L.D. when five of its members were framed by the employers' association during a strike. With the exception of a peace bond required from one striker, the cases were all won.

Rallying the Labor Movement

The main aim of the N.P.L.D. in all cases is to rally the broadest possible section of the organized labor movement in support of persecuted workers in need of limiting defense struggles merely to the necessary legal steps. In the course of its activities, the N.P.L.D. has enlisted the support for cases of the leading trade union, fraternal and political organizations. Its ultimate aim is the unification of the largest number of labor groups in one defense organization on the basis of a militant, class-struggle program.

The foregoing brief and incomplete record of the work of the N.P.L.D. testifies to the way in which the N.P.L.D. meets a fundamental need. Hardly a day, but some labor organization or worker seeks its aid. The American working class has greater need than ever of a strong defense arm to protect it against enemies. The N.P.L.D. needs the active support and sympathy of every worker and every friend of the labor movement. What can you do to help? Actively participate in its work by joining the N.P.L.D. where a branch exists, or help build a branch where none yet exists. Build the Non-Partisan Labor Defense!

To Hold Protest Against Ferrero Deportation

A mass meeting to protest the imminent deportation of Ferrero and Salitto is to be held at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., at 8:15 P.M. on Wednesday, Dec. 4. Under the auspices of the Ferrero-Salitto Defense Conference, 21 organizations, among them the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. are calling this meeting as the latest step in the long struggle to save these two men.

Prominent speakers, both from the outside and from the participating organizations will outline the case to date and the further steps which must be taken. Ferrero is in immediate danger of forcible deportation to Italy where, because of his anti-Fascist views, certain death or imprisonment awaits him. A similar fate for Salitto hangs upon a pending decision in his case by the Department of Labor. Only mass pressure and additional funds with which to carry on the legal battle can save either of them. The charges against both men, long residents of this country, are nothing more than that they hold anarchist views. In reality their cases are but another in the long list of cases wherein the government is taking aggressive and arbitrary steps against all militant fighters in the labor movement.

Norman Mini Writes from His Dungeon in San Quentin

One year after the beginning of the Sacramento trial, Norman Mini sent from San Quentin Prison the following letter to Herbert Solow, secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee:

Nov. 18, 1935

Dear Solow:

Getting those orange-colored two pages (the N.S.A.C. "News Letter") was a surprise and a gratification. Today it struck me this might be a good time to write you a sort of summary of my state of mind.

Just this afternoon as I was wandering around in the yard (Saturday afternoons you can walk, look at the sky, think) it came to me that now almost any feeling of strangeness or wonder at the life I'm leading has worn off; this has become the normal existence. It is completely and utterly natural that you should work down there (in the jail) six days of the week, that you should sit around doing nothing on Sunday, that you should fit all your actions and ideas to this particular rhythm. It is the only existence.

Somewhat it strikes you as absurd that you should have ever done even the most everyday things outside: standing on a street corner looking into the window of a cigar store; ruffling up a starched napkin; seeing a bill-board in a vacant lot. And you realize all this profoundly, but without any particular feeling of unhappiness. Your desires, the things you worry or dream about, are the MINOR events of your life; the things close to you (my god, my task!—the loom broke down yesterday and 30 yards behind; tomorrow we will have cornbread for breakfast



NORMAN MINI

lar feeling of unhappiness. Your desires, the things you worry or dream about, are the MINOR events of your life; the things close to you (my god, my task!—the loom broke down yesterday and 30 yards behind; tomorrow we will have cornbread for breakfast

and I like it and will be glad sopping up the gravy with it) take up your time and you have no sense that it could be otherwise.

Probably the adjustment has been so complete because it has been, in a sense, deliberate. About a month ago I said, "Come on now, we are going to get down to business," and when I started working on my novel, life began to fit into three distinct categories—the jute mill, books, and the outside world. (Writing, newspapers, visitors.)

I almost hate to say it but, in spite of the work, the ascetic diet and the innumerable petty annoyances, I'm getting along very well JUST NOW. I know that the writing is really the cause of this, and that in time something there's sure to happen to it and then there'll be a reaction. But maybe by that time something will have happened to change the whole perspective. I don't think I'll actually stay in here forever!

Before I forget it, the N. Y. Times runs out on November 26, the first anniversary of the beginning of the trial, and my letter to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense asking their aid. In honor of the occasion, I want to thank all of you for everything you've done in this past year... and I mean EVERYTHING. I leave it to you to get my thanks to the proper people.

Fraternally,
MINI, No. 57606.

New Stalinist Pamphlet Covers Up their Shameful Role in the Sacramento Case

Truth - Telling Remains the Worst Evil for the C.P.

plain. Nor does he mention the role of the N.P.L.D. in the bail matter. Nor does he mention how his rag had to publish an apology to the N.P.L.D. after it had insinuated that bail should not be put up through the N.P.L.D. because it was composed of racketeers.

On page 15 is an impeachment of the "intelligence" of the jurors. We haven't conducted any psychological examination of the jurors and so we can't dispute this matter with Professor Quin. We can, however, ask why Quin does not reprint some of the scurrilous cartoons and insulting wise-cracks which his rag published during the trial about the jurors and which the prosecution's undercover agents were in a position to slip to the jurors when they went home at night.

On pages 17 and 21 is a discussion of a statement made by Norman Mini to the prosecutor shortly after his arrest. Jack Warnick has testified and events have shown that Mini's statement in no way aided the prosecution. Pat Chambers has signed a statement scoring the capitalist press for calling Mini's statement a "confession."

The "Stool-Pigeon" Legend During the trial, however, Quin made a united front with the Hearst papers. They and he called the Mini statement a "confession," thus building up the prosecution's argument that a crime had been committed. Mini was denounced by Quin and the whole C. P. as a "stool-pigeon."

The Quin pamphlet says nothing of "stool-pigeon" whether "subjective" or "objective." It states only that Mini's statement ridiculed the Communist Party. It did in the tone of properly so. It was in the guilt of Mini's remark to Al Hougharty, Stalinist section organizer, when Mini was thrown into the tank in Sacramento County Jail along with this petty bureaucrat: "The only criminal syndicalism you have ever been guilty of is being section organizer all this time and never organizing anything."

Gallagher and Goldman On pages 17 and 21, mention is made of the fact that at one point in the trial Attorney Albert Goldman of the N.P.L.D. dissociated himself from a remark made by Leo Gallagher, the I.L.D.'s "genius" attorney. Quin does not reveal that Gallagher's remark was a challenge to the jury to do its damndest: "I am not speaking for the jury; I am speaking for the people in the back of the court." Quin writes that Goldman asked "exception for his client, Mini, from the displeasure of court, jury and prosecution." This is a typically Quinish lie. Goldman asked that the jury not permit itself to be prejudiced against any of the defendants by Gallagher's remark. In so doing, Goldman served all the defendants.

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other participants in the united front, is that the C.P. ruthlessly and deliberately broke up the united front on orders from 13th Street. Later, Charles Gordon, California I.L.D. organizer, was fired from his post; the Western Worker printed the charge made against him; he had entered a united front with Trotskyists. So who broke it up?

Mini's Testimony On page 25 Quin states that Norman Mini took the stand first "for the defense." What? Was he part of the defense? As to what he said, not a word here. But the day after he testified, the Western Worker charged that Mini's testimony had consisted of a "fantastic" scheme of violence against the government, which was not Marxism, gave the prosecution a weapon, etc. etc. Where are all those charges now?

On page 28 Quin writes that one juror, after the conviction, signed an affidavit revealing that the verdicts were arrived at in an illegal manner. True. What Quin does not say is that Juror Howard S. McIntire gave this affidavit not to the noble I.L.D. and the "heroic" Gallagher, but to the N.P.L.D. Attorney Goldman and to the Sacramento representative of the N.P.L.D.

The pamphlet admits that Norman Mini was a defendant and that he is now in San Quentin. It has a cover design which the careless might think represents only seven prisoners. But if you look closely, you will see a little lock of hair. That is Norman Mini!

On the other hand, when the names of the prisoners are listed with their statements to the sentencing judge, Mini's name is absent! Quin does not want to record that Mini said:

"Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the result of the inner logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep away forever everything this court and state represents. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently: we know that the future belongs to us."

Even a Quin can show that there was perpetrated in Sacramento a gross frame-up, not only against the revolutionist Norman Mini, but against those workers who endorsed the centrist views expressed by Sam Darcy at the trial.

The C. P. may be in a new period, but when it comes to telling the truth about its revolutionary opponents, that part of the line—I know it Browder—remains unchanged. During the trial the C. P. disrupted the defense, attacked those who sought honest, militant unity, knifed in the back a courageous hero of the working class movement, and spread a thousand lying stories. Because the N.P.L.D. pounded it at every turn, exposed its corruption and slanders, the C. P. has had to back down. Today it merely whines: Norman Mini, the N.P.L.D., Trotskyists... they are not very nice fellows.

Come, come, Mike Quin... next thing you know you will find that you are willy-nilly, in a united front with the N.P.L.D. Or is your national office keeping secrets from you?

The Race Into War

Keen competition for world markets marches hand in hand with fierce exploitation of the working class in an endeavor to degrade prices to the lowest possible level. The intensity of this competition indicates the proximity of war which is felt immediately by the workers in the mad pace set by capitalist industry—the speed-up.

The race between American and Japanese capitalists for markets is graphically illustrated in the story told by the October Textile World which publishes figures on the Japanese cotton industry showing an increase in sales per worker and a decrease in workers per 1,000 spindles between 1927 and 1934.

Bales per worker	Workers per 1000 spindles
1927 1.23	35.3
1930 1.51	29.1
1932 1.85	20.1
1934 2.04	18.8

Between 1933 and 1934, the last year for which figures are available, the number of spinning workers increased only 9.3 percent while the increased production rose 12 percent. And this, it is pointed out, is not because Japan is turning out coarser yarn. On the contrary, the finer yarn output increased much faster than the output of the coarser counts.

American employers and their trade journals point with envy to the ability of Japanese capitalists to speed up the workers and the handsome profits derived from this.

Pioneer Notes

The first volume of a series of six of the Selected Works of Leon Trotsky, publisher by Pioneer Publishers, is to be The Third International After Lenin. It is scheduled to appear in January of next year. The contents are:

- A Letter to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.
- The Program of the Comintern.
- (a) A Program of International Revolution in One Country?
- (b) Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch.
- (c) Balance and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution.

An Analysis of the Seventh Comintern Congress.

This volume deals with all the major polemics raging between the International Left Opposition and Stalin, bringing them to their final climax at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

- The other five volumes will be:
- The Stalin School of Falsification.
- The Revolution of 1905.

- The Revolution of 1917.
- Seven Years of World Politics.
- The Chinese Revolution.

In order to raise the necessary funds for this publication program, Pioneer Publishers is conducting a campaign for the sale of certificates at \$10 each, which entitle the holder to 30 percent discount on all of their own publications and 15 percent on all books of other publishers.

The Trotsky series will cost \$1.50 if paid in advance and \$1.00 to certificate holders.

All those interested are urged to subscribe. Write to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Ave., for further details.

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Who are the New «Progressive» Leaders in the A. F. of L. ?

By ARNE SWABECK

With his usual flair for punctuating a specific issue by a dramatic act, John L. Lewis has created a stir throughout the trade union movement in submitting his resignation from the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Unusual importance is attached to this act. This is natural for more than one reason. John L. Lewis is identified as the leader of the new "progressive" bloc formed within the A. F. of L. upper crust and his resignation certainly tends to emphasize the hopeless division within the leadership. Much more important, however, is the additional and keen attention this act will focus upon the industrial union issue.

His resignation, to be correctly understood, must be viewed on the background of the recent A. F. of L. convention fight in which John L. Lewis, supported by Charles P. Howard, of the typographical union, together with Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky of the needle trades and others, argued on the progressive side of some important questions. This fight in the main centered around the issues of the organization of the unorganized workers in the basic and mass production industries and their organization into industrial unions. The most hidebound craft unionists, led by William Green, Matthew Woll, Dan Tobin and John P. Frey, made up in voting strength what they lacked in convincing arguments and were thus able to carry the day, with the opposition, however, mustering imposing forces. Of course, this vote did not settle the issue. No sooner had the delegates left the gorgeous hotels and the beautiful shores of Atlantic City than the industrial union defenders realized that if there is to be any force at all behind this idea it is necessary to organize. They formed the "Committee for Industrial Organization." Does the resignation of John L. Lewis indicate that this group intends to take up in earnest the fight for organization of the unorganized and for industrial union organization?

Framed Way Into Presidency

In the leadership that John L. Lewis can give to this group is expressed both its strength and its weaknesses. He is both resourceful and cunning. His fixed objectives he pursues relentlessly. One need only remember how he came into the leadership of the U.M.W.A. by the back-door route. Functioning as a technical worker for the weak Frank J. Hayes, he was appointed vice-president to fill the vacancy left open when Hayes took White's place as president. Lewis was quick to utilize the opportunity to frame up Hayes, keeping him drunk most of the time and involving him in compromising situations which finally forced his resignation and thus automatically elevated Lewis to the presidency.

John L. Lewis has proved himself equally relentless in pursuing his opponents and tracking down those who fell victims to his despotic rule, always striking at the time when the opponents one way or another were in a weakened position. To this he adds the flair for the dramatic staging of his battles against his opponents in order the more surely and the more effectively to gain his ends. Often these methods have helped him enormously to consolidate his own position and strengthen his prestige among leading trade union officials. Hardly one instance in his long career can be found, however, where these special abilities were put to use in conflicts with the coal operators, except in an adverse sense insofar as the interests of the rank and file workers are concerned. One such example dates back to 1920, when he sold out the great national strike and yielded weakly in the face of the Daugherty injunction, declaring: "We cannot fight the government."

Turns Heat on Farrington

Toward the operators Lewis proved soft and exceedingly flexible; toward the opponents in the organization, uncompromising. For years he fought bitterly the equally ambitious president of the Illinois district, Frank Farrington, keeping almost constantly at least five dozen organizers in the district, not to organize what was then already a completely organized district, but to watch Farrington and get the goods on him. In this they succeeded and Lewis made good use of the evidence, and as usual in the most dramatic fashion. When Farrington was about to address the British Trade Union Congress as an official A. F. of L. delegate, Lewis denounced him as an agent on the payroll of the largest Illinois coal company, the Peabody Coal Co., at a salary of \$25,000 a year.

Most recently John L. Lewis again made use of his great dramatic talents in appearing suddenly on the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention floor, asking that the rules be set aside to give consideration to a special resolution directed against Matthew Woll. He demanded the latter's resignation from the reactionary Civic Federation and won his point while the august assembly was thrown into

A Few Pages from the Records of John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Chas. P. Howard et. al.

an uproar.

Wrecking the U.M.W.A.

John L. Lewis is at the helm of the strongest and undoubtedly the most militant organization in the country. But his record, to put it mildly, is an odious one, and even though he now takes his stand on the progressive side of the argument in what has become the most important dispute in the A. F. of L.—which deserves due recognition—this record should not be overlooked. In the course of further events it is quite likely that he will be compelled to become one of the outstanding champions of trade union democracy. If so, and this is to be expected, it will arise out of the logic of his present position and not because of any principled adherence to the idea of trade union democracy. His whole past record is that of ruthless wielding of bureaucratic powers, expelling progressive and left wing opponents, beginning with Alex. Howatt, packing conventions and stealing votes in union elections, not shrinking from the most vicious and arbitrary measures.

On times, almost without number, the rank and file members have been in revolt against his sell-outs to the operators. Notable is the instance of 1922, when 50,000 unorganized miners of western Pennsylvania, the home of the steel trust, saved the national strike by making common cause, only to find themselves left out in the cold in the settlement, abandoned, beaten and to be starved into submission. Similarly in 1928, the striking miners of Pennsylvania and Ohio were finally left by the national union officialdom to shift for themselves, beaten, disorganized, and the national organization in the soft coal territories reduced to about 70,000 members.

The Revival

Many severe blows were thus dealt to the glorious U.M.W.A. which reached almost the depths of despair when John L. Lewis, who is now the champion of industrial unionism, inaugurated the disastrous policy of separate state and individual agreements with the operators. However, with the turn of the business cycle and the recent revival of trade union organization, the U.M.W.A. came back strongly to occupy its rightful place. The changing economic conditions and the change in the moods of the masses produced its inevitable pressure also upon the union officials. The coal miners gained new experiences battling the steel trust for organization of the captive mines. It is only natural that this should find its reflection even in the upper strata of the union officialdom.

Trade union organization, now so bitterly fought by the gigantic corporations, has really become a matter of a life and death battle. No trade union leader, no matter how reactionary and bureaucratic, can remain blind to the fact that in the issues of the class struggle—which are here, whether or not the bureaucrats attempt to deny them—only organizations of mass numbers can assure the power necessary in facing these battles. The small beginnings made toward union organization in the basic and mass production industries such as steel, automobiles and rubber, only lends further emphasis to this situation of reality. And the first real distinction that appears between the old bureaucracy left over from the days of Sam Gompers and the bloc of "progressives," headed by John L. Lewis, is the fact that the latter has much more readily responded to the pressure of new objective conditions and much more accurately gauged the actual moods of the masses.

Failure of Leadership

The Executive Council reported to the Atlantic City convention a gain for the year of another half million workers over that of the previous twelve months, bringing the total membership up to 3,045,947. This is the highest membership reported since 1922, though it is still more than a million below the 4,078,740 of 1920. Paltry figures indeed when compared to the rich opportunities for organization that were available. A mighty stream of workers was set into motion for union organization, coinciding with the revival of industrial production and stimulated by the NRA. Almost without exception this stream gravitated toward the A. F. of L. Again and again, however, these workers were repelled by the dismal failure of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and its reactionary collusion with the employers. Therefore the matter first to be recognized is the fact that the craft union structure is no weapon for the struggle against the large corporations that union organization entails. These bureaucrats lacked both vision and will to even attempt to adjust the organizational

structure to the new needs. They leaned almost exclusively upon the government for their support, entering into a partnership in which their position as agents of capitalism meant that they were to prevent the workers from engaging in independent class activity. Consequently they did their best, with the support of the government, to strangle every strike. This could not at all inspire confidence among the workers in union organization.

Lewis Gives the Record

It was thus easy for John L. Lewis to put his finger on the weak spots at the A. F. of L. convention: "For twenty-five years or more," he said, "the American Federation of Labor has been following this precise policy (he meant the policy of doing nothing—A.S.) and surely in the absence of any other understanding of the question, a record of twenty-five years of constant, unbroken failure should be convincing to those who actually have a desire to increase the prestige of our great labor movement by expanding its membership to permit it to occupy its natural place in the sun."

"What is the record?" he went on. "Delegate Howard expressed it when he said that we laid claim to a membership of approximately three and a half million, out of an organization number of approximately thirty-nine million. There is the answer."

The Executive Council had claimed a total of 1,804 Federal labor unions organized during the

year. Lewis proceeded to show, from the report itself that this number included a period of two years, and then, reading from other pages of the report about the locals that had been suspended or disbanded and thus permanently gone out of existence drew a negative balance of 314 federal labor unions. From this Lewis concluded: "So the 1,804 organizers of the American Federation of Labor in all classifications during that year lacked 314 unions of holding their own."

"On that basis I submit it to be a reasonable statement," continued Lewis, "that it will be a long time before the American Federation of Labor organizes those 25,000,000 workers that we are all so anxious to organize. There are others among us who believe that the record indicates a need for a change in policy. This convention floor is teeming with delegates from those industries where those local unions have been established and where they are now dying like the grass withering before the autumn sun, who are ready to tell this convention of the need for that change of policy."

Green's Church Philosophy

William Green attempted to make a reply to this charge of dismal failure, saying: "One might as well ask why the church has not saved all the sinners." In this answer Green revealed his true self. As a good churchman, still a deacon in his home town, Conneaut, Ohio, he would never infer that

the church is no good. His conclusion is that the wicked sinners do not repent and do not want salvation: We said we would organize 25,000,000 workers in the great American Federation of Labor, but darn it, these workers did not want to get organized. The truth is that the workers did desire organization but the gentlemen of Green's church repelled them by woeful incompetence and deceit.

Since the Atlantic City convention the cleavage in the Executive Council has deepened. The resignation of Lewis should not be looked upon as a split but rather as a determination on his part to wash his hands of responsibility for failure and, undoubtedly also, as a means of getting his hands free in case he should decide on a serious campaign for a new and more aggressive policy of organization. William Green has made further feeble attempts to take up the challenge, but despite his exalted position he is a poor match for the much more resourceful Lewis. This will become much more apparent when it is clearly understood that there are much more fundamental issues involved than a mere tilt between the two.

On how Green came into his high position there also hangs a tale. Old Sam Gompers had ruled the affairs of the Federation for so many years and in such an undisputed fashion that his sudden death and the problem of finding a "worthy" successor presented great difficulties. There was Matthew Woll, commonly looked upon as the Crown Prince, but his not very

large stature sheltered an even smaller mind, and he nursed great personal ambitions. The writer recalls having a debate some years ago with Matthew Woll when he appeared before the Chicago Federation of Labor to which I was a delegate at the time. The debate commenced around Woll's ardent presentation of his own special labor insurance scheme and expanded into the main issues of the A. F. of L. policy of organization. I received the distinct feeling that he was much more concerned about himself appearing in an impressive light than with the issues in question. The old Gompers crowd at the time of the departure of their helmsman feared the too great ambitions of Matthew Woll, and so William Green fell into his present position.

The real battle for the life of craft unionism versus industrial unionism can hardly be avoided. This is keenly sensed in all leading A. F. of L. circles and those who are the real theoreticians of the stark reactionary policies, like John P. Frey, are coming more to the fore, defending the shaky structure of craft unionism. There need be no doubt, however, that the future lies on the progressive side of this fight. And, aside from such considerations as the personal abilities of those who now stand out in the forefront on either side, the "progressives" have the real issues. On that side the real now beginning, so such a perspective lies also the confident hope forces are sure to come from the new unions that are bound to grow in the mass production industries, encouraged by the struggle that is that precisely from these unions, new and genuinely progressive forces will emerge.

Next to John L. Lewis and his powerful organization in back of him, as it surely will be, and should be, on the progressive issues now in dispute, the representatives of the textile workers' union stand out in the bloc that recently formed. In this sense we have in mind first of all the organizations that are involved. Together with these two there are the needle trades unions. On the whole these represent a line-up of unions with a militant fighting tradition. Moreover, the leaderships in these unions cannot help but feel in a very marked degree the pressure from below, from a membership trained in the fire of the class struggle, and striving to make their unions effective instruments of this struggle. This should prove an important and a wholesome factor in the future orientation of this "progressive" movement of today. However, the personal integrity of their representatives, who are now in the spotlight in the "progressive" bloc, is perhaps equally important.

In this respect very little of a favorable nature can be said for McMahon, the President of the United Textile Workers. During past years his feeble abilities served to keep the textile workers divided into a multitude of ineffective quarreling unions, and he was most often ready to sabotage any single one of them which did carry on a militant struggle. The "progressive" bloc is hardly advanced by his presence. The Vice-President of the U.T.W., Francis J. Gorman, plays a somewhat different role. No doubt his dynamic qualities have had a great deal to do with the growth of this union during the last few years. It is understood that all the more militant delegates to the U.T.W. convention, held prior to the national textile workers' strike of last year, specifically demanded that Gorman be placed in charge of the strike. He has since made many attempts to cover up and make his own weakness appear in the most favorable light, accepting a strike settlement that gave the rank and file workers nothing in return for their valiant fight. Still, at the A. F. of L. convention Gorman went further than any other prominent delegate in taking issue with the whole concept of the organizational as well as political orientation of the entrenched bureaucracy. In defending his labor party resolution he made it clear that in his opinion the labor party was to be a distinct opponent, antagonistic to the vested interests represented by the two old capitalist parties.

The Stalinists, seeing in these utterances of Gorman the living incarnation of their own "principle of the People's Front for the United States," were positively eloquent in reporting this speech at length in their "theoretical" organ. Said the Stalinist scribe:

"That a labor leader of the type of Gorman comes to the identical conclusions as those formulated by the General Secretary of our party, Comrade Browder, shows both the knowledge of the conditions and needs of the masses that Comrade Browder has mastered, and that Gorman has made great advances on the basis of his recent experience."

So, Gorman elevated himself to the position at least of becoming the unconscious medium for Browder. This ought to mean a lot to him. A true description, however, of the intervention of the Stalinists in present trade union developments would of necessity be much more prosaic in tone as it would show an absolutely pernicious influence.

The Needle Trades

The full effect of this influence has been felt in the needle trades unions, whose two most outstanding representatives, Hillman and Dubinsky, are prominent members of the "progressive" bloc. Some years ago the left wing showed its greatest resourcefulness in these unions. But this was a good deal before the Stalinist "third period." Traditionally these unions are looked upon as Socialist unions, yet almost consistently having had their definite right and left tendencies and movements. The leading officials usually laid claim to the title "Constructive Radicalism."

From the days of Schlesinger and Siegan the leaders of the I.L.G.W. were amongst the main props of the S. P. Old Guard and receiving their main support from the decrepit Jewish Daily Forward. Usually this I.L.G.W. bureaucracy was bitterly opposed by their own rank and file Socialist union members. So disreputable had this administration become that Dubinsky, a lesser evil, fell heir to it. Sidney Hillman, the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on the other hand, politically unattached, understood how to gather around himself radicals and ex-radicals of various descriptions, mostly ex's, and make them subservient to his administration.

Sydney Hillman

Whereas, in the I.L.G.W., the "Socialist" officials nearly always fought the left wing head-on, Hillman endeavored to make the left wing feel at home in the union in order to quietly muzzle it or to painfully kick out the more determined ones. Somehow he always managed to have a "right" wing target, as for example the former New York Beckerman gang, and thereby kept the left wing busy supporting the administration measures against the gang. Hillman could always manage skillfully to make it appear that he met the left wing half way, but always in such a manner that the decision would remain on paper and cost him nothing. So, for example, he did not oppose amalgamation of the needle trades unions, so long that he felt sure others would oppose it sufficiently as a practical reality. He could display what looked very much like a real and practicable form of sympathy for the Soviet Union and even accept the shop delegate system—in principle—and in such a way that it would not interfere in the least with the domination of his official machine. Hillman began his career as a progressive leader fighting the incredibly reactionary United Garment Workers bureaucracy, and fighting against the sweatshop. With the A.C.W. growth of membership and power, he adjusted himself handsomely to all the celebrated forms of bosses' "impartial" machinery, based on the "Rule of Reason" and wound up in the cunning speed-up system called standard of production, which is the curse of the union membership. Hillman is now completing the cycle, back again in a "progressive" (Continued on Page 5)

Toledo-Union Town

Militant Battles That Defeated the Bosses

By ART PREIS

Over one and a half years have passed since that memorable night in May, 1934 when some ten thousand embattled Toledo workers besieged the stronghold of the Toledo Auto-Lite plant and fought through those six days of magnificent struggle against all the armed hosts of the capitalist state. The echo of that victorious "Battle of Chestnut Hill" beat against the eager ears of the American workers and inspired the first great strike wave under the "New Deal."

Hard in the wake of the Auto-Lite strike came the two famous and historic battles of the Minneapolis truck-drivers under the leadership of Local 574, the general textile strike, the San Francisco general strike, and a flood of other militant labor struggles.

Toledo a Union Town

Emboldened by the lessons of the Auto-Lite encounter, Toledo labor began a steady organizational upsurge. Although every step of the path toward a solid and fighting union front has been marked by the fiercest opposition, both from the employers and overmen on the outside and reactionary union bureaucrats from within, the one-time notorious "scab-town" Toledo is today a genuinely union town. This development did not spring to full flower overnight out of the earth. Following the Auto-Lite affair, Toledo experienced one strike battle after another, the Armour and Swift, Larrowe Milling, General Milk Drivers, FERA strikes and a flock of others. The primary issue of most of these scraps was the establishment of the union, union recognition and the fulfillment of the grandiose promises of the late-lamented NRA.

Chevrolet Strike

It was therefore no mere coincidence that in May of 1935, but one year after the Auto-Lite strike, Toledo labor again set off the spark which revitalized the apathetic workers in the giant auto industry

"THE BATTLE OF CHESTNUT HILL"



and launched the second strike wave under the Roosevelt regime. The Chevrolet strike, under the leadership of hard-hitting, intelligent union progressives, served not only to entrench unionism in several General Motors plants, but exposed to the workers of the nation the treacherous role of Green, Dillon and other enemies of industrial unionism, stimulated the fight for union progressivism and the organization of the workers in basic industries.

The three weeks battle of the Chevrolet workers, climaxed by the unforgettable demonstration of the strikers against Francis Dillon, right-hand Green man, on the night when they were finally budgeoned into partial but short-lived defeat, served to crystallize anti-Dillon-Green sentiment in the auto, rubber and other unions, led to the formation of autonomous international unions in these industries, and spurred the fight for industrial unionism in the recent A. F. of L. convention and subsequently.

The Unemployed Leagues No history of the class struggle in Toledo for the past two years,

MASS ACTION IN TOLEDO



Vote Strike on Ill. WPA

(Continued from Page 1)

only by a state-wide walkout. W. J. Eldridge, of Kincaid, a coal miner, acted as secretary of the conference.

The conference planned to conduct an intensive drive for the organization of all relief projects and to crystallize a wide sentiment for strike action. Conferences are to be held in various sections of the state in order to consolidate the forces of labor. The first conference to be held will be at Marion, Ill., Dec. 1, where thirteen southern Illinois counties are to be represented.

One of the features of the conference was the presence of delegates from local union number 1, the most powerful unit of the Progressive Miners of America. The Progressive Trades and Labor union and the A. F. of L. Hod Carriers union had delegates at the conference.

Jas. Crass, Tony Scremin, James Shipley, Al Renner and Edward C. Morgan delivered inspiring addresses. Gerry Allard stated when interviewed that a strike would materialize in Illinois by Dec. 16 unless radical concessions were made by the WPA administrators before that time.

"Sure the workers will strike," Allard declared when asked if the workers would respond to the call for action. "As a matter of fact, hundreds of them are already on strike. The sentiment is there. Our job is to organize it and lead it in the most effective channels."

«Local 574 Is Invincible!»

By JAMES P. CANNON

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 26.—The union-wrecking racket which used to work so smoothly under the guise of the "Red purge" is not what it used to be. Not in Minneapolis at any rate. And union militants all over the country can learn something from the manner progressive labor in the northwest.



JAMES P. CANNON

In which Local 574, spearhead of has beaten off the latest attack directed by William Green's personal representative and gained ground steadily in the four weeks since it was first announced in the nation's headlines. As things stand

now it is conceded on all sides in the labor movement that Local 574 has the upper hand over the union wreckers. The impression is widespread—and strongest of all in the ranks of its own membership—that Local 574 is invincible. The name, or rather the number, has become a legend.

Bosses Wary of 574

It is highly significant that the bosses, who tried their hands at breaking the union in the great strikes of 1934, have nowhere ventured to come out in the open to support Tobin and Meyer Lewis. To be sure, this cautious attitude has not been directed by sympathy for the union under attack and its outspokenly radical leaders. Their hearts were with Lewis, but they didn't trust him to make good his boasts that he would break up the "outlaw" union. They told him frankly in more than one private conference, the reports of which found their way into local labor circles, that they had had their share of expensive trouble last year and had become convinced that their trucks could not operate without 574 drivers. The union has signed new contracts with several new groups of employers, and renewed its contracts with others, since the formal revocation of its charter by Tobin last summer, and has even made new gains since the formal launching of the ill-starred "Red purge" by Meyer Lewis on Oct. 30.

THE MILITANCY THAT SCARED GREEN



Local trade union leaders of the traditional non-militant type, despite their entanglement with and dependence upon the official A. F. of L. machine and their lack of any real affection for the "wild men" of Local 574, have likewise shrugged their shoulders at the appeals of Green's special union-bust. The action of the Central Labor Union in shouting Lewis down and then instructing its executive board to confer with Local 574 with a view toward a peaceful settlement of the difficulties was a remarkable tribute to a so-called "outlaw" union. It bears testimony to the strength of Local 574 and to the respect in which this strength is held by the local leaders of the official trade union movement of the A. F. of L.

The Grand Strategy

In its reply to the Central Labor Union the executive board of Local 574 reiterated the position which it has maintained throughout the long struggle: As point one, it declared the desire of the union to remain a part of the general labor movement represented by the A. F. of L. and asked the aid of the Central

Labor Union in securing the restoration of its charter in the Teamsters' International; it disclaimed any quarrel with the other unions, pointed to the record of its cooperation with them in the past and expressed the desire to continue this cooperation in the future; and, finally, the leaders of Local 574 reiterated the firm determination of the union to maintain its organization and to defend itself against all attacks.

In these three points is contained the gist of the policy of Local 574 which has brought it such brilliant success: a policy of militancy, plus cooperation with all other legitimate unions; a deliberate policy of affiliation to the A. F. of L., and of unceasing struggle for reinstatement, plus a refusal to sacrifice its organization or to capitulate to union wreckers masquerading as labor leaders. This policy, in my opinion, is a model for the internal union strategy of the trade union militants everywhere, just as the policy exemplified by Local 574 in the great strikes of 1934 can serve as a model of strike strategy.

Meticulous attention to every detail of organization is another one of the secrets of Local 574's astounding success. For the strike battles of last year the union set up headquarters in a big garage, equipped it like a field headquarters for the rapid mobilization of the picket "crusading squads," and hurled them like a militant army into action. The bosses, accustomed to dealing with horse-and-buggy unionism, represented so pathetically by a dickerling business agent, were knocked out of the water by these militant mass tactics. These tactics prevailed eventually even against the police and the militia and wrested settlements which made it possible for the union to consolidate itself, heal its many wounds and begin to grow as a day-by-day organization. For that a different technique was needed. Grand strategy had to make way for detail and routine.

THE BATTLE OF «DEPUTIES RUN»



The spacious new headquarters on Plymouth Avenue North present a picture of Local 574 in this stage of its development as a full-blown union, taking care of the daily business of its membership, but poised for action all the time. Occupying two large floors, with two or three times the space of the headquarters of the Central Labor Union, with an auditorium seating 1,500, adequate office space, several conference rooms and a bar, Local 574 is equipped for business and does plenty of it. As many as six different meetings of separate categories of workers, including those employed on relief projects, take place on a single night. Over three thousand people were packed into the hall on the night of the demonstration against the Green-Lewis "Red" drive, with a large overflow crowd in the streets listening to the loudspeaker. In addition, the headquarters serve as a social center for the membership. Every week there is one kind of an affair or another, dances, smokers, lectures, frolics. Sports are organized around the union—baseball, football and

soccer teams compete with amateur rivals in the uniform of Local 574. All this is reflected in signs, announcements and gatherings at the headquarters. Local 574 is a mass movement, drawing its people ever closer to the union, taking hold of them at their work and in their hours of recreation, welding them together. A formidable, new movement. A really inspiring union, the pride of the whole northwest, strong in the affection of the working masses. A hard union to bust, as the bosses of Minneapolis know, and as Tobin, Green and Meyer Lewis are learning. Local 574 is strong in itself, but its great advantage in every struggle is the enthusiasm and devotion with which the rank and file of the other unions rally around it. Local 574 has won this devotion by the inspiring example it has set before them and by the ready and effective cooperation in time of trouble. From a formal standpoint Local 574 is an "outlaw." They have revoked its charter and declared it "outside" the general labor movement. But in the real essence of the matter Local 574 is "inside"—in the hearts of the rank and file of all the other unions. These things are the real capital of Local 574 in the struggle. In spite of all, it is conceivable that the united forces of reaction in the labor movement could crush and destroy it as they have crushed other isolated unions before. But the tide is not running that way at present. The workers are in a more militant mood. They are clamoring for industrial unionism, sick and tired of the policy that brings nothing but defeat. Craft unionism is cracking at the seams in the A. F. of L. The reactionaries have too many fights on their hands to concentrate on Minneapolis alone. The ardent sympathy of progressives and militants everywhere is on the side of Minneapolis, and that helps in various ways. For all these reasons it appears to me that the militants of Local 574 have a fighting chance for victory again. That's all they ever asked for.

COPS GET A SHELLACKING



Who Are the Progressive Leaders of the A.F. of L.?

(Continued from Page 4)

Chas. P. Howard's position in the "progressive" bloc to promote industrial unionism is somewhat unique. His organization, the typographical union, is distinctly craft-conscious. But Howard does understand the importance of organized groups functioning inside the unions. He was elected President of the union on the slate of a faction calling itself the Progressive Party, which for years fought the more reactionary "Wahngits."

Strangely enough, Frank Morrison, the eternal Secretary of the A. F. of L. and ardent supporter of Green, comes from this same typographical union faction. Or maybe this is not so strange after all.

Howard genuinely fears that if the A. F. of L. becomes immune to necessary progress, somebody else will take over the job of organizing the workers. This was the tenor of his support of industrial unionism at the San Francisco convention last year, and he made no bones about whom he feared. At the Atlantic City convention he repeated almost word for word his previous speech on this particular point, saying:

"Now, let me say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not per-

mitted to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor they are going to organize under some other leadership or they are going to organize without leadership. And if either of those conditions should extenuate, I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

On this particular point Lewis was even more outspoken, yet utterly reactionary in presenting Communism and Fascism in the same category, when he declared: "What of the future of our country? Who among us does not know the hazards of the present moment? The teachings of false prophets falling upon the ears of a population that is frightened and disturbed and depressed and discouraged, the nocturnal and surreptitious attempts of interests to form a philosophy, the philosophy of the Communists on the one hand and the philosophy of the Nazis on the other hand, equally repugnant and distasteful to the men of labor. And yet it is constituting a serious, deadly menace for the future."

It would thus be absurd to assume that there is a real distinction between the Lewis forces and the Green forces in questions of basic class ideology. Nevertheless, the present situation is clear to militant and to revolutionary workers in the trade unions. Around the issues that stand out today—an aggressive policy of organization and industrial unionism—they must make common cause and a common struggle with the Lewis "progressive" bloc. This struggle, once it takes real hold, will rage primarily

DASCH SPEAKS ON OLYMPICS
Friday, December 6, 8 P.M. at 320 East 14th Street, Al Dasch, former Metropolitan A.A.U. 147-lb. boxing champion, will speak on whether the Olympics should be held in Germany. Admission free.

Fred Zeller, Leader of the Paris Socialist Youth Declares for the Fourth International

(Continued from Page 1)

day under the white heat of the class struggle that political values are brought into sharpest, boldest relief. It is the showdown—a time when no ambiguity is possible.

Days of Decisive Struggle

These are the days in France when the class struggle itself rips every shred of pretense and hypocrisy from those who stand in the van of the working class. In the decisive struggles to come the workers will learn who are their leaders—and who their betrayers.

It is at a time like this that comrade Zeller—only a year ago an avowed opponent of "Trotskyism"—has come forward with the call for a fight for the Fourth International, for a new party, as the only way out for the French proletariat. The youth organization of the Seine and whole federations and parts of federations elsewhere in France will follow his fighting lead.

Through what experience did Fred Zeller pass to arrive at this conclusion? That is what every young Socialist, every Young Communist, if he really counts himself a fighter against capitalism, will want to know. Comrade Zeller has himself written the answer.

In one of the most valuable documents of the present-day revolutionary labor movement—a pamphlet of a few thousand words—Fred Zeller describes the evolution of the Youth during the past year in terms of the political developments which have brought the fight against Fascism onto the order of the day in France.

Addressed to his own comrades in the Socialist Youth of France and to comrades throughout the world, the pamphlet gives, with all the authority of a leading participant, a picture of what has been happening in France, a picture of the Front Populaire in action, a pitiless picture of the social democracy and Stalinism in their final, social-patriotic, class-collaborationist phase. He gives a living and striking demonstration of the result of the impact of events and the influence of firm Bolshevik ideas. Firm attachment to the interests of the proletariat led him relentlessly from the bosom of the social democracy in which he was nurtured into firm solidarity with the Bolshevik-Leninists whom upon first meeting he distrusted and fought.

He describes the growing sentiment among the Socialist Youth of France against the social democratic bureaucracy of the S.F.I.O. He relates how into this leftward moving current came the Bolshevik-Leninists. At the beginning Zeller and his comrades were alienated.

Hatred for Bolshevism

"Despite our desire to take a progressive road, it seemed to us that between them and us there was an unbridgeable gulf." As young Socialists "we had been brought up in the party with a hatred for Bolshevism."

The vigorous activity of the young Bolsheviks—all too vigorous, it seemed to their Socialist comrades—led Zeller and his associates to unite in an organized faction under the name of Revolutionary Socialist Youth which was formed to combat, as they saw it at the time, "both the reformists and the Trotskyists."

But it was not long before this faction, under the pressure of events, began to itself move in a

clearer leftward direction. "One part, the most progressive, entered into collaboration with the Bolshevik-Leninists."

In this period, early 1935, the young revolutionary Socialists fought the S.F.I.O. bureaucracy, above all on the question of national defense versus revolutionary defeatism. This period coincided with the new turn of the Stalinists, particularly in the matter of national defense, as Franco-Soviet negotiations for a military pact proceeded.

Stalin's Missionaries in France
In April, Zeller relates, two representatives of the Y.C.I. came to Paris, Kossarov and Chemenodanov, and approached him with a demand that he and his comrades take a sharp position against the Trotskyists, and for adhesion to the Third International.

Lengthy extracts are given from

Evolutionary program.

Expulsions, War Crisis, Toulon
The expulsion of revolutionists, the events at Toulon and Brest, the growth of the war crisis, and the swift drop into foul betrayal by both bureaucracies hammered home, with Bolshevik-Leninist help, the real issue:

"Seeing that the policy followed by the Second and Third Internationals were nothing but a reflection and an echo of the League of Nations and that there was no longer an independent working class policy on a world scale, and that in fact we were witnessing the bankruptcy of the Internationals and the decomposition of their national sections, we concluded that with relentless inevitability, today or tomorrow, the indispensable regrouping of the whole proletarian vanguard would take place on the basis of

revolutionary position. "Carry out the indispensable rapprochement with the Trotskyists." This was Zeller's advice to Marceau Pivert, who remains so far, with many of his comrades, under illusions concerning the "democracy" in the Socialist Party which they think will enable them to seize its apparatus and introduce a revolutionary policy from the top.

The Two Roads

"It is clear," says Zeller, "that such a tendency will not go far. Under the pressure of circumstances and the pressure of events, it will automatically differentiate, just as the Revolutionary Socialist Youth did. The soundest and most active wing will come near to the Bolshevik-Leninists. The other will return to the clan of the reformists, to the shirt-tails of the bureaucracies."

What perspectives does Zeller open up?

"We have deep roots in the youth and that is important. Only those who in the days to come will know how to be the faithful interpreters of the will of the youth, who will offer it an unstained flag and clear perspectives, will win the victory in France."

"We are forging in the daily struggle the cadres of the great revolutionary party of tomorrow. From now on we call loudly to the working class youth of France: The Young Socialists of the Seine have had a series of experiences in the struggle. Now they have definitely broken with the policy of bankruptcy and of treason of the two Internationals. In the face of the bourgeoisie which is showing its teeth they do not want to bend the knee but to fight!"

"They want a party and an international of struggle which will be faithful to revolutionary Marxism, to the ideas of Lenin and the glorious tradition of the Bolsheviks of October, 1917!"

"The Second and Third Internationals are nothing more now than decomposing corpses."

"Henceforth, for the grouping of all the exploited of the earth under the banner of the Fourth International."

"Love live the French Revolution!"

"Long live the world revolution!"

To comrade Zeller and all his fellow-fighters among the revolutionary youth of France we extend the hand of comradely greeting. Welcome, fellow-fighters for the Fourth International!

Fred Zeller's pamphlet, with a preface by L. D. Trotsky, will be published by the Workers Party in the very near future. Send in contributions to insure the speediest publication to 55 E. 11th St., New York City. Place your bundle orders now!

Not Hollow Preaching - But Clear Cut Slogans!

(From Leon Trotsky's Preface to Fred Zeller's Pamphlet)

"In the ebullience of our epoch, amid great defeats and disillusionments, in the growth of the conservative Soviet bureaucracy, the oldest generation of both Internationals has largely spent itself, become a hollow shell and fallen prostrate. The building of the new International fails with its main weight upon the young generation. The obstacles are great, the tasks colossal. But it is precisely in the struggle against great obstacles that fighting cadres are formed and steeled. The Seine Federation of the Youth and after it the provinces as well can and should take an honored place in this work. More faith in ourselves, in our forces and in the future! Let the philistines howl about the tactlessness, the brashness and exaggerations of the youth. Cadres of the revolutionary party have never been educated either in the ballet schools or in diplomatic chancelleries. The revolution is not only 'tactless' but it is ruthless when need arises. That is why Messrs. Bourgeois hate Leninism (with Stalinism they get along not so badly). The social-patriots translate the bourgeoisie's fear into the language of sanctions, expelling young Bolsheviks from the party, while the centrist philistines curse on this account—the Fourth International. This need not worry us. All those processes take place in the thin layer of the bureaucracy and the workers' aristocracy. One must look deeper into the masses that languish in the chains of the crisis, hate their slave owners, desire struggle, are capable of struggle and in Toulon and Brest have already made their first assault. These masses do not need hollow preaching on unity, not the false 'tactfulness' of the salon, but clear-cut slogans and courageous leadership. Let us hope that Zeller's pamphlet will perform a service in the cause of the education of the young cadres of the new International!"

Written on Nov. 7, 1935.

the stenographic record of Zeller's meeting with the Y.C.I. representatives during which the now famous injunction was given them: "If in this period you make your revolution you are traitors!" The Stalin-Laval declaration in May completed the education of the young Socialists.

"They hoped to use us to betray the supreme interests of the international proletariat. We indignantly refused. Chemenodanov came not to win us from reformism but to push us into the arms of the bourgeoisie under the fallacious pretext of defending democracy against the principal enemy, Hitlerite Fascism. To serve the needs of a poor cause, they wanted to yoke us to our General Staff. Strongly opposed, we took up the struggle fiercely."

The brochure develops in detail the relations between the S.F.I.O. and Stalinist leaderships and the revolutionary wing of the Seine party and describes the expulsions perpetrated at Lille, their sequel, the role of the S.A.P.ists (followers of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany) in the French youth, their capitulation and the proudly developing fight of the main body of the youth on a developing revo-

lutionary program. "Expulsions, War Crisis, Toulon" The expulsion of revolutionists, the events at Toulon and Brest, the growth of the war crisis, and the swift drop into foul betrayal by both bureaucracies hammered home, with Bolshevik-Leninist help, the real issue:

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"Long live the world revolution!"

To comrade Zeller and all his fellow-fighters among the revolutionary youth of France we extend the hand of comradely greeting. Welcome, fellow-fighters for the Fourth International!

Fred Zeller's pamphlet, with a preface by L. D. Trotsky, will be published by the Workers Party in the very near future. Send in contributions to insure the speediest publication to 55 E. 11th St., New York City. Place your bundle orders now!

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One Year of the Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

pseudo-progressives in the unions, etc.) precisely at the moment when Stalinism most openly takes on the role of social-patriotic betrayal. Bureaucratic centrism and social democratic centrism meet to consummate the betrayal, to make it more certain by creating in the mind of the masses the illusion of strength through "unity."

It is in such a period of reaction as we have described that the old Internationals finally break down—i.e. in the sense of succumbing to opportunism and social-patriotism and irrevocably losing the capacity to serve as a progressive force. In "normal" times the process of degeneration is not obvious, it still appears that the working class under its leadership is "making progress." This also means that the "new" International comes into being in the period of reaction, of defeat, and of demoralization for the working class. Thus the Third International of Lenin came into being during the War, and the Fourth International comes into being in the present epoch of war and impending war.

It follows that the cadres of the new International are at first a small minority isolated in a sense from the masses, though they alone express the true interest and need of the masses, as presently becomes clear. These cadres survive in such a period because they are intransigent; because they possess clarity and sharpness in theory and ideology; because they make the clearest and sharpest break—not merely in words or even program but also organizationally from the dead and corrupt body of the old International, and because they steel themselves against every weakness in themselves and every attack and temptation from without. The example of Lenin needs merely to be cited.

To use Lenin's own words uttered during the early days of the World War, in such a period the basic task is "to unite the Marxian elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism."

There are, furthermore, particular reasons why the growth of the forces of the Fourth International on American soil does not proceed at the rate of thousands a month. Right on the heels of the founding of the W. P. came the first public announcement of the Stalinist 180 degree turn, viz. support of the labor party idea. This was followed by other breath-taking swings on the Stalinist flying trapeze. Now many of the points in the present C. P. program have a superficial plausibility and attractiveness for the workers and especially for intellectuals and liberals. To welcome all people who on any ground are "opposed" to war and Fascism, who want to see peace and a semblance of democracy maintained, into one all-embracing united front—how sensible that sounds, how attractive, how imposing the masses that seem to rally to meetings and parades around such a program! It takes time and effort to demonstrate, as the W. P. attempts to do and must do if it is to be true to Marx and Lenin, true to the real facts, that this united front is a mere show, that it is pacifist and will collapse when war really threatens, as all the imposing pacifist movements always have, that this fake united front means in reality dividing the workers from each other, because it opens the way to social-patriotic betrayal in war. A similar superficial attractiveness attaches to Stalinist proposals for an all-inclusive labor party, their abandonment of the dual unionism, social-fascism, united front from below, etc. of the "Third Period." The task of showing the workers that the opportunist ditch in which the C. P. now wallows is as vile as the sectarian ditch of the earlier period is not an easy one.

But if in such a period and for such reasons as we have sketchily indicated, workers do not flock by themselves by thousands into the revolutionary party, there are compensations. Precisely the clearest elements, the most healthy and vigorous, the youth elements, penetrate beneath the surface. They see the capitulation to social-patriotism, the preparation for monstrous betrayal in the next war, the confusion and demoralization among the workers, which must result from the course of the bureaucracies of both the Second and the Third Internationals. These elements tend surely and irresistibly to move toward our program and our banner.

The past year has demonstrated that the program laid down for the W. P. in the Declaration of Principles is in every essential point unassailable. As the war issue has come to the front, the W. P. has been the one voice which has set forth a clear, a complete, a concrete Leninist position and has been able to explain events in the light of that position. Steadily this is making its impression on the genuine left currents in the Socialist Party, in Stalinist circles in some measure, and among the politically unattached who, in spite of and to some extent because of their confusion and demoralization, feel the need of some clear, albeit as yet small, voice amid the tempest.

The confidence built up among our own membership during this first year and among the most advanced workers in other groups, because on the burning, the real, issues of the revolutionary movement we speak with consistency and authority, is a great achievement.

Although this first year has necessarily been one devoted to organizing ourselves, laying foundations for the Party and its work—theoretical and organizational—the achievements in our external work have been far from negligible. In the very first weeks of its existence, the Party, through its own channels and through its support of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, intervened decisively in the Sacramento trial, lifting that issue out of the obscurity into which the C. P. was seeking to throw it. By this and other activities our first year record in defense work was made highly creditable. The Party played a leading role in the Toledo Chevrolet and General Motors strike, which carried the struggle against the automobile barons on the one hand and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats on the other to the highest point yet achieved anywhere. In Minneapolis and the entire surrounding territory, leadership has been given in strike struggles, in organizing unions, in building the broadest and most vigorous left-progressive union movement in the country. Party members played a significant part in the conventions of automobile workers, teachers and rubber workers just preceding the Atlantic City A. F. of L. convention which opened the way for the head-on conflict between craft and industrial unionists which marked that convention and made it the most exciting and important in the entire history of the Federation. To a remarkable extent the Party has turned toward mass work and it stands out clearly as the one organization which has a trade union policy free, on the one hand, from "Third Period" sectarianism and adventurism, and on the other hand from Lovestoneite-Stalinist opportunism and conciliationism toward the trade union bureaucrats. In the unemployed field, in a difficult period of reorientation, the Party has continued to take a vital part, not least in pressing for unification on a sound basis of the two leading organizations with a mass base, the W.A.A. and the National Unemployed League.

While the Party has thus addressed itself to the concrete activities in the American labor scene, it has been internationalist in its

5th Anniversary of Spartacus Youth League

Report Shows Large Increase in Membership and Influence

By NATHAN GOULD
National Secretary, S. Y. L.

December, 1935, marks the beginning of the fifth year of the existence of the Spartacus Youth League of America and the conclusion of the first year of the post-fusion Spartacus Youth League. For those who recognize and understand the all-important role of youth in modern society and of the youth movement in the class struggle, this day is a day of exaltation. For those who have never understood its significance, it is an invitation to stop for reflection. For all, this is the occasion to review and to plan the political course and organizational strategy of the youth organization of the Workers Party.

Four years of diligent effort enables us to report the existence of a youth organization which, in the field of the class struggle, figures as a factor. The S.Y.L. has today a total of twenty-six branches functioning in fifteen cities, in ten states throughout the country.

The S.Y.L. is today approximately one-fourth the size of the Young People's Socialist League and about one-sixth the size of the Young Communist League. All other political labor youth organizations (I.W.W. youth, Anarchist youth, P.P. youth, etc.) are considerably smaller and cannot be recognized as factors influencing the youth whatever. Through our stupendous strides we have come to be acknowledged as one of the three political youth organizations active in and influencing the struggles of the toiling and student youth of this country. It is interesting to observe that our organization, in contradistinction to the above mentioned, experienced its principal growth during the last year.

Growth of S. Y. L.

While the C. I. prepared the liquidation of the Young Communist movement, and whereas the Y.P.S.L. at its last convention (Pittsburgh, July 19-21, 1935) acknowledged the loss of 20 of its branches since the time of their Reading convention one year prior to the Pittsburgh session, the Spartacus Youth League reports unprecedented progress. For the first three months after the fusion the Spartacus Youth League increased its membership by over 144 percent and increased the number of its new branches in cities where none had previously existed by 132 percent. A further increase in membership of ten percent and in new branches by 27 percent is reported for the summer months, a period of time when organizations tend to suffer normal declines in membership, in activity and in recruitment. These figures of steady and substantial growth testify to the vitality of our organization and gives indication of its great future.

S. Y. L. branches exist today in such strategic areas as the Calumet steel district and the southern Illinois coal fields, influencing there considerable numbers of youth. That the S.Y.L. is more and more becoming a factor in the struggle of the youth is best displayed not only in its active participation in the student movement and in the student strike of April 12, but more in the fact that, for example, in the past four months S.Y.L. branches in seven different cities played leading roles in strikes of the young workers.

The few organizational notes written on the occasion of the first anniversary of the post-fusion S.Y.L. are designed to give our readers an idea of our present strength and of the great potentialities of this young youth organization.

Purpose of Spartacus

The Spartacus Youth League of America is the guiding instrument of the Workers Party in the class struggles of the youth section of the proletarian population. The primary purpose of that organization

is to win and to educate for membership in the Workers Party and for leadership in the class struggle, the masses of toiling and student youth of the country. As an international organization it is prominently engaged in the work of realizing the organization of the Fourth International and the youth section of that international. In the Stockholm Youth Bureau, which the organization together with the International Communist League organizations was instrumental in founding, the S.Y.L. played an active role in the life of the Bureau and in the political struggle against the centrists and opportunists, who succeeded finally in smashing the Bureau by expelling from it the I.C.L. representative. Together with other organizations that have signed the Open Letter for the Fourth International, the S.Y.L. is now actively involved in the building of the youth section of the Fourth International and in drawing new forces to it.

The importance of the youth organization grows in correspondence with the increase of the importance of the role of youth in society. Because of the position which youth occupies in the world today it is safe to say (and it is by no means an exaggeration) that the outcome of the struggle of the working class will be determined in great measure by its (the working class) ability to win to its support the masses of toiling and student youth. In the course of the post-war period the role of youth in the various strategic positions of industry and politics has assumed an increasing importance until today they hold the very key to the four avenues which vitally concern the revolutionary movement and its course to power.

On the war front youth is the first and the most directly affected. On the economic front it is the greatest physical and moral victim. In relation to the Fascist movement it is the most likely recruit. In the field of labor politics it is the most aggressive, the most militant, and the most amenable to the propaganda of the Marxists; yet the most easily deceived by virtue of its lack of experience.

On the Economic Front

Approximately twenty-four million, or one-fifth of the total population in the United States, are youth between the ages of 15 to 24 inclusive. At least five million of

these are today without employment. Another eight million are students. In 1930, the U. S. Department of Labor reported that no less than 11,585,808 youth between these ages were gainfully employed in the U. S.

Hence in 1930 the youth comprised over one-third of the total number of workers gainfully employed in that great period of unemployment. More important is the fact that there is probably not one single important industry in the U. S. in which the youth are not represented in ample proportion. Capitalist industrial development has seen to that. Furthermore, important industries such as automobiles, employ youth in the overwhelming majority because of the nature of the work and the immense speed-up.

It is not difficult to understand therefore that the importance of the youth in the productive apparatus of the country is enormous, and considered from the point of view of the class struggle and proletarian victory, they are indispensable to the proletarian vanguard. This steady relative increase of youth in industry at the expense of the older worker is to be attributed to the simplification of machinery in production, the rationalization in production (Taylorism) which requires nimble fingers, young and active bodies, with great stores of quick energy; also the fact that youth ostensibly requires less to live on (that is, from the point of view of direct family obligations, although many times he is actually the sole supporter of large families) enabling him to work at a lower wage return. Because of these factors we find that in the past fifteen or so years youth has become more and more of a factor in basic industry to the extent where he has become a vital factor to the operation of production. Just as youth, counting in the millions, is indispensable to the productive apparatus of the country, so he is vital to the victory of that progressive force in society which, by the nature of its struggle, must rely upon and seek support from the factory proletariat. The task of winning the younger members of this class falls directly upon the shoulders of the Spartacus Youth League.

While it cannot be stated with any amount of accuracy that the degree of exploitation (from the point of view of speed-up and general working conditions in the factory) is not any worse for the youth than for the adult, it is a known fact that, as a rule, their wages are lower than that of the adult and that they are given (be-

Write Your Own Comment!

Does the support of League of Nations sanctions lead to support of the new imperialist war? A British Stalinist spokesman, T. A. Jackson, gives a clear-cut answer (see Plebs, Nov. 1935):

"The issue which is being decided now in relation to the Italo-Abyssinian war is whether the League of Nations is of any use as an instrument for the prevention (immediate or ultimate) of war. To put this issue to the test involves punitive measures, up to and including (if necessary) war upon the war-maker. There is no other way of testing the issue decisively."

"Would a war between the League states and Fascist Italy (with any allies Italy could collect) be worth while from the point of view of the INTERNATIONAL working class? Of course it would. A defeat of Fascism in Italy would be a defeat of Fascism EVERYWHERE. A defeat of imperialism in the person of Italy would be a defeat for imperialism everywhere, including Britain and France."

Here we have Stalinist social-imperialism in the guise of the struggle against Fascism and imperialism!

And the same author finds that the League of Nations can be converted into an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist force!

"It is, potentially, at least as much an ANTI-imperialist (and therefore, potentially, ANTI-capitalist) institution as the reverse." (Same as above.)

Write your own comment!

cause speed is the primary skill requirement in modern society) the more strenuous jobs and that they are being constantly cheated and discriminated against through the application of so-called apprentice laws, etc.

Unemployed Youth

At the present time youth represents almost one-half of the total unemployed of the country. Most of these are youth who have been graduated from high schools and colleges and have been denied by this system the right to participation in production. Such individuals properly enter into a category all their own—"declassed" elements. Never having worked, they lack experience in and a basic knowledge of the class struggle and its inevitable implications. Because of an absence of this fundamental class tradition, functioning under the unbearable economic conditions imposed on them, they more easily degenerate (politically) and are compelled to resort to other ("illegal") means in order to live.

It is not surprising that Dr. Williams of the Psychiatric Clinic of Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, can report a tremendous increase in crime in the depression years among the youth between the ages of 18 and 21, most of whom have had no previous record; that these "depression youth" are today the greatest offenders of the law. Wandering and begging, living as "moochers," is the most dignified expression of the demoralization imposed upon the youth. America's

contribution to the institutions of crime and degeneration, the pool hall, profit considerably from increased attendance by the youth who frequent these institutions for lack of a better means of disposing of the long hours of tortured thought. A process of moral and physical degeneration of the youth, "the future of the country," as we say, takes place and is taking place at a rate unbelievable. Hundreds of thousands of youth wandering, listless and apathetic; restless, stealing, begging, degenerating, rendered useless by a system that cannot care for them, they become the victims of that society.

This multitude of "depression youth" (ex-students who have been denied a place in the productive apparatus of the country) will tomorrow, unless reached and educated by the proletarian movement, constitute the Fascist army of this country. That is the lesson of the development of the Fascist movement of every other country. American capitalism is producing today by this very economic process a huge reservoir from which will spring tomorrow a consensable Fascist army. We for our part can and must direct the gross dissatisfaction of these youth into the proper channels, the channels of proletarian revolution, as the only means by which the needs of these youth can be satisfied for all time. Let it be known to all that the Spartacus Youth League is the instrument of the working class designated to execute this vital and historic task.

(To be concluded next week)

THE NEW STRUGGLE IN AUTOS

Big Test Awaits Industrial Union Movement

(Special to the New Militant)
By A. J. MUSTE

DETROIT, Mich.—On every side signs multiply suggesting that before this winter is over the battle for unionization of the automobile industry will come to a head. The condition of the industry, the developments among the independent unions in the industry; the Green-Lewis controversy in the A. F. of L. over craft versus industrial unionism, and the strikes that have already broken out or are about to explode, all point in this direction. It is hard to see how a gigantic conflict can be avoided. The automobile magnates' nervousness is reflected in all the newspapers in the automobile centers of Michigan, Ohio and adjoining states.

The strike of nearly 4,000 workers in the Motor Products Co. in Detroit is holding firm. It is a preliminary skirmish in which the forces that will presently be cooperating or fighting on a grand scale are feeling each other out.

The strike was called by the Automobile Industrial Workers Association (the "Coughlin" union) mainly composed of production workers, but the Mechanics Educational Society of America (composed mainly

of tool and die makers though its last convention decided for industrial organization) which also had members working in the plant immediately called out its men and gave the strike complete support. The strike also has the support of the Associated Automobile Workers of America (known as the "Greer" union after its leader). As the NEW MILITANT reported recently, the executives of these three independent unions in the auto field have voted for amalgamation into an industrial union with a preamble recognizing the existence of class struggle. The referendum vote of the membership on the proposal will be almost unanimously favorable.

The Motor Products strike is thus the first test of the new amalgamation of auto unions. If it succeeds, as seems fairly certain, the new union will become a very potent rallying center.

The reactionary wing of the A. F. of L., headed in the automobile industry by Francis Dillon who gained unsavory fame for his collaboration with the bosses in the great General Motors strike last spring and was rewarded by Bill Green last August by being made president over the protests of the delegates of the A. F. of L. International, the United Automobile Workers, has behaved in characteristic fashion and has succeeded in finally discrediting itself in the eyes of the Detroit workers. Dillon tried to play an open scab-herding role. He stated publicly that he would confer with the management and "take the Motors Products workers back to their job at once."

The strikers met the Dillon bid with two masterful strokes. First, they challenged Dillon to support an election under Federal auspices to determine which union represents the majority of the men. Dillon cannot run this chance. The firm will also oppose it as long as possible, because to allow an election means recognition of the Wagner Board and recognition of the independent union!

In the next place the strike leaders are inviting Dillon's union to join the strike committee, help them to win the battle and telling him that they are willing in such case to have him take all the credit he wants for the victory!

Dillon will of course not cooperate with the "outlaws" and the chance that he will be able to do any damage to the strike is now practically nil.

It can be authoritatively stated that from both sides leaders of the M.E.S.A. and the A.I.W.A., and the John L. Lewis Committee for Industrial Unionism have been making exploratory moves to determine whether cooperation is possible. Here is the key to the situation so far as the workers' side of the struggle is concerned.

The auto workers, especially in Detroit, have unquestionably lost faith in the A. F. of L. which they identify with Dillon and his predecessor, Collins. This outfit cannot organize the industry. The opportunity will pass this year, perhaps for several years, if it is left to them. On the other hand, the workers are not likely to have the confidence that any combination of independents can achieve the huge task, especially as long as an unsympathetic, reactionary A. F. of L. union remains in the field to keep the men divided and to receive the bosses' support as soon as the independents really threaten the latter. The independents need the support of the John L. Lewis "progressives" to smash the Green-Dillon leadership from inside the A. F. of L. Then the basis will be laid for a genuine industrial union within the A. F. of L. which can include the present independents. There are reasons to believe that the more far-sighted leaders among the independents have just such a perspective.

Thus the prospects for a sound foundation for building a union are better than ever. The workers are active, furthermore, and here and there strikes are breaking out earlier than in other seasons, making it more likely that enough impetus for an extensive struggle will be attained before the season passes its peak. The condition of the industry itself is also favorable for an organization campaign and strike action.

General Motors Nervous On the one hand, production is running high. Detroit turned out 93,177 cars last week compared with 16,810 in the corresponding week last year. On the other hand, competition for business is fierce.

The companies are thus caught in a dilemma. If e.g. a plant producing even a minor part of a car is shut down, the production line in one of the big companies may be slowed down in a few days which means losing orders. The same drive of competition is leading companies to seek means of cutting down costs, which means that in the face of rising prices grievances accumulate among the workers. Thus the Motor Products Corporation strike started over an attempt of the company to put over a wage cut under the cover of a shift from piece to week work. General Motors is laying up trouble for itself. In its move to decentralize its transmission production, so that it may not be caught again as it was by the Toledo strike last year, by working the men in Muncie, Ind., and Saginaw, Mich. 25 percent longer hours and at corresponding lower pay than the reduced force still working in Toledo. Little wonder the big companies exhibit symptoms of extreme nervousness!

Militants and progressives must not let this opportunity pass. They must make full use of it. In a real sense the fate of the American labor movement for a long time to come may hinge upon what happens in the auto industry between now and May of next year. Militants and progressives in meeting this challenge and opportunity will:

Program for Militants

1. Promote the amalgamation movement among the independent auto unions.
2. Fight to smash the Green-Dillon leadership in the A. F. of L. auto union once and for all.
3. Demand that the Lewis-Hillman "progressives" prove that they mean business by fighting Dillon, supporting strikes, whether of A. F. of L. or independent unions, and undertaking to unite all forces in the industry and in the labor movement for a large-scale organizing campaign to start immediately.
4. Support joint action of all elements in any organizing work and strikes now going on.
5. Aim at the creation in this production season of a powerful industrial union in automobiles with an autonomous international charter from the A. F. of L. and democratically controlled by its own membership. Even if the Green-Wool forces block the movement and force postponement of a decision until the next A. F. of L. convention, this must not prevent cooperation of all forces in organizing and strike activity pending final determination of the A. F. of L. attitude.

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

MINERS' STRIKE IN ENGLAND

The threat of a general strike of the English miners attracts the immediate attention of the class-conscious workers everywhere. For they remember the last great struggle which paralyzed British imperialism. That struggle, on the widest scale ever experienced in England, came as a defensive stand against the reactionary drive of the entire bourgeoisie to lower production costs so as to meet competition by a relentless lowering of wages. The strike developed into a general strike involving the railroad, transport and mining industries, under the "leadership" of the General Council of the Trade Unions. The Triple Alliance was betrayed by the General Council whose leaders were given the prestige of Stalinist endorsement through the abortive Anglo-Russian Committee (committee of trade union centers of both countries—Ed.). In the present instance, a vote has already given authorization to the miners' executives to call a strike if necessary in order to obtain an increase of fifty cents a day. The strike would come at a time when a considerable recovery of business and of industrial production has taken place. This means that the miners are taking the offensive to regain the ground so heavily lost during the years of crisis.

ENGLAND AND THE FAR EAST

The imminence of a further advance by Japan into North China has aroused the keenest apprehension among English capitalists. With the British fleet tied up in the Mediterranean due to Mussolini's war, the British are helpless to offer much resistance to Japanese penetration in the Far East. The vast investments of British imperialism in China are seriously endangered. Just as the United States was forced to recognize the Soviet Union in order to make the Japanese militarists pause temporarily, so now England is forced to turn to the Soviet Union with an eye to alliance in the common struggle (from totally different standpoints) against Japan. Although this is not the only factor involved, it is nevertheless a major cause of the recently opened negotiations between Russia and England in regard to a large loan to be floated for the Soviet Union by the English banks. Part of the interest on the loan would go to the purchase of railroad equipment in England. Japan cannot help understanding the meaning of this move. It is possible that the "timely" publication of the facts concerning the loan, accomplished its purpose of halting the immediate steps of the Japanese army for engineering an autonomous North China. Whether the Japanese will feel this mood of caution for any length of time remains to be seen. The contradic-

tions that antagonize Japanese and British imperialism have reached the point where the traditional friendship resulting from the military alliance that existed up to 1922, begins to turn sour and to give way to hatred.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

The situation in France becomes more threatening to the workers daily. The battle between the Fascist Croix de Feu and the Socialist and Communist workers at Limoges, in which fifteen workers were seriously injured and none of the Fascists, is a lesson from the life of the need for an armed workers' militia to meet the armed workers' hands. The policy of the "People's Front" becomes in this respect a worse and worse betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. It is the medium through which the workers are lulled into passivity, through which working class policies are made dependent on and subordinate to the bourgeoisie. The workers are being misled into relying on the "liberal" and "radical" bourgeoisie whose interests can only be identical with those of the finance-capitalists. The only salvation for the French workers and toilers is the leadership of a Bolshevik party based on a revolutionary program aiming at seizing the power for the working class. In the coming period it is either Fascism or communism that will triumph. The vicious policy of the People's Front can only assure the victory of the Fascists, helped into power by the Herriots and Daladiers—and the Blums and Cachins.

TRADE TREATY WITH CANADA

Whose government is it? Roosevelt's treaty with Canada would almost by itself prove that the government follows the demands and the interests of big business, of industrial and commercial capital as against the interests of the farmer. Industry thrives at the expense of the agricultural sector of the capitalist system. The Treaty is indeed "cold comfort to the farmer" whose interests are sacrificed wherever necessary to those of the factory owners. In the main it is the manufacturers of autos, machinery and farm implements, including tractors, who are helped, while the American farmer is forced to meet added competition from Canadian farmers. Our main interest is not particularly in the farmer-capitalist. But the working class will have to learn ultimately to utilize the contradictions that exist in American economy—and one of these contradictions is illustrated in the Canadian Treaty, namely, that tariffs are for the benefit of the financiers and industrial capitalists, not for that of the farmer. His interests come second, if at all.

Lessons of October

By Leon Trotsky

Editor's Note: This article was written for the French paper "Revolution," the organ of the Parisian revolutionary youth. The contents of the article clearly reveal as its main aim the utilization of the experience of the October Revolution to demonstrate to the reader the fatal nature of the policy of the "People's Front" in France, as well as in other countries.



I accept with the greatest readiness Fred Zeller's suggestion to contribute an article to "Revolution" on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the October overturn. True, "Revolution" is not a "big" daily newspaper, it is just striving to become a weekly. High-placed bureaucrats might pull contemptuous faces on this score. But I have had occasion to observe many times how "powerful" organizations with a "powerful" press crumbled into dust under the impact of events, and how on the contrary small organizations with a technically weak press were in a short time transformed into historic forces. Let us firmly hope that precisely this fate is in store for your paper and for your organization.

In the year 1917 Russia was passing through the greatest social crisis. One can, however, say with certainty, on the basis of all the lessons of history, that had there been no Bolshevik party, the immeasurable revolutionary energy of the masses would have been fruitlessly spent in sporadic explosions and the great upheavals would have ended in the severest counter-revolutionary dictatorship. The struggle of classes is the prime mover of history. It needs a correct program, a firm party, a trustworthy and courageous leadership, not heroes of the drawing room and of parliamentary phrases, but revolutionists, ready to go to the very end. This is the major lesson of the October revolution.

Bolsheviks a Minority in the Beginning

We must remember, however, that at the beginning of 1917 the Bolshevik party led only an insignificant number of the toilers. Not only in the soldiers' soviets but also in the workers' soviets the Bolshevik fraction generally constituted 1 to 2 percent, at best 5 percent. The leading parties of petty bourgeois democracy (Mensheviks and the so-called "Social-Revolutionaries") had the following of at least 95 percent of the workers, soldiers and peasants participating in the struggle. The leaders of these parties called the Bolsheviks first, sectarians, and then... agents of the German Kaiser. But no, the Bolsheviks were not sectarians! All their attention was directed to the masses, and moreover, not to their top layer, but to the deepest, to the most oppressed millions and tens of millions whom the parliamentary babbler usually forgot. Precisely in order to lead the proletarians and the semi-proletarians of city and country, the Bolsheviks considered it necessary to distinguish themselves sharply from the factions and groupings of the bourgeoisie, beginning with those false "socialists" who are in reality agents of the bourgeoisie.

The Poison of Patriotism

Patriotism is the principal poison of that ideology by means of which and cannot take its defense upon

the bourgeoisie poisons the class-consciousness of the oppressed and paralyzes their revolutionary will, because patriotism means the subjection of the proletariat to the "nation," astride of which sits the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries were patriots; up to the February overturn—half concealed; after February—openly and brazenly. They said: "Now we have a republic, the freest republic in the world; even our soldiers are organized into Soviets; we must defend this republic against German militarism." The Bolsheviks replied: "No question but that the Russian republic is now the most democratic one; but this superficial political democracy may on the very morrow crumble into dust since it rests on a capitalist foundation. So long as the toiling people, under the leadership of the proletariat, do not expropriate their own landowners and capitalists and do not tear up the robber treaties with the Entente, we cannot consider Russia our fatherland of that ideology by means of which and cannot take its defense upon

power and hid behind it. The aroused revolutionary masses never forgive cowardice and betrayal. First the Petersburg workers, and after them—the proletariat of the whole country, after the proletariat the soldiers and after the soldiers—the peasants, convinced themselves by experience that the Bolsheviks were right. Thus, within but a few months the handful of "sectarians," "adventurers," "conspirators," "agents of the Hohenzollern," etc., etc., transformed themselves into the leading party of millions of awakened people. Loyalty to the revolutionary program, irreconcilable hostility to the bourgeoisie, decisive rupture with social-patriots, deep trust in the revolutionary force of the masses—these are the chief lessons of October.

The Campaign Against the Bolsheviks

The entire press, including the papers of the Mensheviks and "Social-Revolutionaries," carried on a vicious campaign, really unheard of in history, against the Bolsheviks. Thousands upon thousands of tons of newspaper print were filled with reports that the Bolsheviks were linked to the Tzarist police, that they received carloads of gold from Germany, that Lenin was hiding in a German aeroplane, etc., etc. In the first month after February this torrent of abuse overcame the masses. Sailors and soldiers threatened more than once to bayonet Lenin and other leaders of Bolshevism. In July, 1917 the slander campaign reached its highest peak. Many sympathizing lefts and semi-lefts, especially from among the intellectuals, became frightened by the pressure of bourgeois public opinion. They said: "Certainly the Bolsheviks are not agents of the Hohenzollern but they are sectarians, they are tactless, they provoke the democratic parties, it is impossible to work with them." This, for instance, was the tone pervading the big daily of Maxim Gorky, around which gathered all sorts of centrists, semi-Bolsheviks, semi-Mensheviks, theoretically very left, but terribly afraid of a break with the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries. But it is a law that whoever is afraid of a break with the social-patriots will inevitably become their agent.

Learning from Experience

Meanwhile a directly opposite process was taking place in the masses. The more they became disillusioned with the social-patriots, who betrayed the interests of the people for the sake of friendship with the Cadets, the more attentively they listened to the speeches of the Bolsheviks, and the more convinced they became of their correctness. To the worker in the shop, the peasant in the trench, the starving peasant, it became clear that the capitalists and their lackeys were slandering the Bolsheviks precisely because the Bolsheviks were firmly devoted to the interests of the oppressed. Yesterday's indignation of the soldier and sailor against the Bolsheviks became remolded into passionate devotion to them and unselfish readiness to follow them to the very end. And on the contrary: the hatred of the masses for the Cadet party inevitably transferred itself to its allies the Mensheviks and "Social-Revolutionaries." The social-patriots did not save the Cadets, but themselves perished. The final break in the mood of the masses which took place within two to three months (August-September) prepared the possibility of the October victory. The Bolsheviks took over the Soviets and the Soviets took power.

Messrs. sceptics might say: but in the end the October Revolution brought the triumph of bureaucracy. Was it worth making? A separate article or perhaps two should be devoted to this question. Here let us say briefly: history goes forward not along a straight line but along a devious one; after a gigantic jump forward there follows as after an artillery shot, a rebound. Nevertheless history goes forward. No doubt, Soviet bureaucracy is an ugly ulcer, threatening both the conquest of the October revolution and the world proletariat. But the U.S.S.R. possesses something besides bureaucratic absolutism: nationalized means of production, planned economy, collectivization of agriculture which, despite the monstrous harm of bureaucracy, lead the country forward economically and culturally while the capitalist countries are moving backwards. The October revolution can be freed from the vise of bureaucracy only by the development of the international revolution, the victory of which will really assure the building of a socialist society.

Finally—and this is not insignificant—the October revolution is important also because it gave the international working class a number of priceless lessons. Let the proletarian revolutionists of France firmly learn these lessons and they will become invincible.

November 4, 1935.

*To avoid misunderstanding, let us point out that this anti-Marxian party had nothing in common with revolutionary socialism.

Question

Box

By A. WEAVER

N. W. BRONX—

Question: On page 79 of "What Next?" Trotsky writes, "Lenin, through the press offered to compromise with the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks: You compose the majority in the Soviets, he said to them. Take over the state; we shall support you against the bourgeoisie. Guarantee us complete freedom of agitation and we shall assure you of a peaceful struggle for the majority of the Soviets." Isn't Lenin's proposal here an exact model of the "United Front" or "People's Front" government proposed by the Seventh Congress of the C. I. and denounced by Trotsky as the complete repudiation of Leninism?

Answer: It is difficult to see how an equation can be drawn between the united front policy of Lenin and the policy of the Seventh C. I. Congress. In essence, Lenin's proposal is that which a revolutionary organization makes to other working class organizations in proposing a united front, of which the Soviet is the highest form: Make a bloc with us for concrete action against the capitalist class; at the same time that we will fully support this fight against the bourgeoisie, we reserve the right to agitate for our tendencies inside the ranks of the proletariat. The anti-revolutionary character of the Seventh C. I. Congress "united front" decision lies, not in the fact that it proposed such Leninist united fronts, but that it harnessed the workers of the capitalist countries to their respective bourgeoisies under the formula of the "united front." Adopting a social-patriotic position on war and setting as their goal the defense of the "remnants of bourgeois democracy," i.e., having adopted a social democratic program, the Stalinist "Congress" then proposed the formation of blocs with OTHER class-collaborationist and even bourgeois parties for the furtherance of this program.

The class-collaborationist nature of the Stalinist proposals are clearly revealed by the slogan itself, the "people's government." A PEOPLE'S government will exist only under socialism. Until that time, because the PEOPLE are divided into antagonistic CLASSES, there can exist only CLASS governments: in this epoch either the state power of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. Since the Stalinists have definitely given up their program for the seizure of power by the proletariat, their slogan of the "people's government" is merely a camouflage for their support of the CAPITALIST governments.

M. C. NEW YORK—

Question: In what concrete manner does the "antagonism between the city and the country" manifest itself?

Answer: The most outstanding manifestation of this antagonism in our epoch is the so-called price scissors which exists in Soviet economy. Because it is based on the division of labor between the town and the country and arises as a struggle between two major groups of commodity producers, the antagonism is reflected in the prices which each of the groups receives for its products. In the Soviet Union, which has inherited the antagonism, this is reflected in the fact that the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry can be maintained only if the latter receive in exchange for their grain as large a share of city-made products as they would receive in the open market which, in the final analysis, is the international market. In other words, the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry can be maintained only if the antagonism between the city and the country inside the Soviet Union is not more acute than it would be if the capitalist open market existed.

Another outstanding reflection of the antagonism is anti-Semitism. Because their course over centuries of time, primarily as merchants, has led them to live almost exclusively in large urban centers, there has been concentrated in the Jews, oftentimes in exaggerated forms, the physical and mental characteristics of city dwellers. The rural inhabitants (anti-Semitism is most prevalent in countries with large peasant populations) are thus easily led by reactionaries to vent their emotions on the Jews who appear to embody all that exploits the countryside. When a strong revolutionary movement, able to point out to the countryside the real source of its exploitation, exists, anti-Semitism is reduced to a minimum. In Germany it was precisely because the betrayal of the Social Democratic and Communist parties weakened the working class movement that Hitler was so successful with his anti-semitic propaganda.

1,000 SUBS WILL SEND THE EIGHT-PAGE NEW MILITANT OVER THE TOP! GET BUSY!

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Haymarket Sq.

By Leighton Rigby

The life of capitalist production depends upon profits. As capitalism declines, the capitalists seek to maintain profits by consistently driving down wages. By thus shifting the burden of decay to the shoulders of the working class, the rate of decline is temporarily slackened.

Reducing the speed of the fall does not, however, forestall the ultimate doom. Indeed, the very expedients brought into play to arrest the decline only serve to intensify class antagonisms and to make the overthrow of capitalism inevitable. The maintenance of profits at the expense of the working class must eventually kindle the fires of revolution.

This is true in the U. S. no less than elsewhere. Strikes will be "mediated" and broken by force of arms; the workers will be betrayed and misled. But in the end, the American proletariat will accept "no peace at the price of slavery!" It will arise and demand rebirth, not relief! The workers' state will be established.

It Can Happen Here!

It can't happen here? The American workers will continue to fight wrongs with the ballot in the American way? Idle bromides, mouthed by those who have neither felt the pulse of the American worker nor reviewed his revolutionary heritage. It can and will happen here! The working class is awakening to the realization that American democracy is but sham and pretense. Calling to mind its revolutionary heritage, the rank and file will bring forth the workers' state and consistent democracy.

The development of a clearly-defined proletariat in the U.S. came later than in Europe. The opening of the West with its free land, tardy industrialization and immigration made the circumstances here unique. Before the period of the planters' revolution, workers were mostly craftsmen, without the common interests that are found today among the industrial workers. Moreover, a constantly fluid

population and dreams of new life in the West made solidarity among the workers, as a class, all but impossible. Add to this a steady influx of immigrants, bound by contract to work at low wages for heartless capitalists, and we see that the lag was not without good reason.

Our Varied Heritage

To say that working class solidarity was held back is the same as saying that the formation of labor unions was delayed. To be sure, there were unions, or societies, here and there prior to the 1860s, but there was no organization of workers on a broad scale. The coming of nation-wide working class solidarity and the rise of nation-wide labor organizations were necessarily simultaneous. The formation of the National Labor Union (1866) and those of the organizations which followed are outside the present discussion. The point is that our revolutionary heritage, as a whole, is not made up strictly of incidents of class war involving the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Shays Rebellion, for example, which I have already described, was a farmer-debtor revolt. The proletariat was not involved, nor had the workers even emerged as a separate class. But the Shays Rebellion is surely a part of our revolutionary heritage, because it was a militant struggle against oppression.

The labor struggles of the 1870s, which have also been described, were the beginning of a series of class conflicts in which the workers revealed militant, revolutionary characteristics. Industrialization had greatly increased, and the rapid exhaustion of free land was tending to precipitate the workers into a well-defined class with common interests. The Knights of Labor (1875) was the means through which the working class manifested its growing solidarity, because that body steered for "one big union" and welcomed to membership working men and women,

skilled or unskilled, regardless of color. In fact, its membership was so "Catholic" that the Catholic Church forbade its followers to join the union.

McCormick's Lockout

In October of 1884 the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (Gompers' first attempt) set May Day, 1886, as the date for the inauguration of the 8-hour work day. The Federation of Trades had a short life, but the Knights took up the cry, and sympathizers added their voices to the swelling chorus. Agitation and demonstrations for the 8-hour day and union recognition prompted Cyrus McCormick (February, 1886) to lock out the 1,400 workers in his plant, saying that "the right to hire any man, white or black, union or non-union, Protestant or Catholic, was something I would not surrender." This lockout shifted the labor scene to Chicago.

As May Day approached, police, mounted or in close formation, took pleasure in bullying and clubbing workers wherever they assembled. The workers, on the other hand, answered by continuing to assemble. Eight thousand workers, representing labor in several industries and the International Workingmen's Association, marched to the lake front. Such slogans as "The Proletariat Must Be Liberated!" were prominently displayed on banners as the assemblage was stirred by militant speeches. And in the meantime (this was April 26) the McCormick lockout continued, and several strikes were in progress at other points throughout the city, including the steel plants, railroad shops and the stockyards. At least eight thousand workers were striking in Chicago.

May Day itself passed quietly enough. But two days later, when the McCormick workers held a meeting near the plant, there was bloodshed. The owner of the reaper works, who would consider no arbitration but was employing the Pinkertons and scabs, summoned the police to break up the meeting.

A hundred and fifty police swooped down upon the meeting and shot down workers right and left. Six were killed and at least twenty-five were soaked with their own blood.

The workers' press, the Arbeiter Zeitung, shouted out: "Blood! Lead and powder as a cure for dissatisfied workmen! This is law and order!" And the workers were equally aroused: "Revenge! Revenge! Men of color, this afternoon the bloodhounds of your oppressors murdered six of your brothers at McCormick's!" This was the call to Haymarket Square for a protest meeting on the following evening.

The meeting was held, a program of speeches had ended and the assemblage was dispersing. Mark the well! Up to this point there was no disorder. But suddenly, for no reason at all, a large cordon of bullying police marched into Haymarket Square, led by Inspector Bonfield, the biggest bully of the lot. They ordered the already dispersed meeting to disperse—police logic. A bomb was exploded, and one policeman was killed. The police immediately opened fire on the crowd, killing and wounding many. They rounded up scores, and eight men who had nothing to do with the bomb explosion stood trial—more police logic.

The eight who were tried faced a jury made up of men who admitted hostility and prejudice toward the accused. It was not by chance that stockholders, editors and printers of two "anarchist" papers in Chicago were chosen to be the victims. The capitalist press was yelling for blood, and unthinking innocents were echoing the cry. The prisoners were "anarchists!" That was enough! It was not a trial; it was a mass crucifixion. Four were hanged, one took his own life, two drew life sentences and the other fifteen years in prison.

No better evidence of persecution will be found than the very words of Judge Gary who presided: "The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did actually have any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Deagan." Some of the accused were writers, and because of that advice, and influenced by that advice somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Deagan's death." Capitalist justice!

Roosevelt Closes His Third Year with New Deal at Low Ebb

Capitalists Desert 'Savior' As Crisis Clouds Lift

By JOHN WEST

In 1932 Roosevelt was swept stormily into office on a broad wave of middle-class bewilderment, working class and farmer resentment, and bourgeois fear. The curve of the business cycle was close to its very bottom, on the downswing of the mightiest depression the United States had yet experienced. Finance-capital itself was worried. The "orthodox" solutions, administered governmentally by Hoover, had got nowhere. The curve continued down. The middle classes, fluttering tremulously, saw no out. Faced with increasing impoverishment, proletarianization, and outright unemployment, they were losing all confidence in their former gods, the big industrialists and bankers. The farmers were crushed by mortgages, taxes, and low prices. The workers were decimated by unemployment without adequate relief, by sharply decreased wages and part-time jobs. The entire population was looking for a savior. Roosevelt pranced into the arena, with the banner of the New Era flung high. He offered himself to the people as their needed savior. His powerful demagoguery rolled out denunciations of the Tories and the money-changers. A new type of life was to be brought to America—freed from the domination of greed and private selfishness. The Forgotten Man was to become the basis of the new social order.

Savior of Capitalism

Now it is true that Roosevelt came into office in a sense as a savior: precisely as the savior of the capitalist order in the United States, as a stop-gap to tide over U. S. capitalism in a dark hour, as a channel to turn aside mass discontent from any development toward genuine social change. But, naturally, to accomplish these ends, Roosevelt could not appear in his actual economic role. The psychological and political requirements had also to be met. And to meet them, his program had to embody the half-formed dreams especially of the middle classes, and even, though to a lesser extent, of labor. This, then, was the material of the New Deal: in economic substance, a series of mostly temporary measures designed to help pull the business cycle out of the hole; in psychological and political form, a group of vague but inspiring generalities constructed to rally behind the Administration all who were bewildered, confused, and resentful.

There was, thus, little systematic opposition to the New Deal in its first period. Big business was scared, and needed the help of the Administration. The middle classes were full of hope. The farmers were encouraged by preparations for commodity inflation and direct governmental subsidy. Labor, not thinking in terms of class issues, was willing to follow its official leaders in welcoming the savior. The New Deal did its work. It is of course impossible to estimate exactly how great a part the New Deal policies played, over and above the normal economic developments, in getting the business cycle out of the basement. But on any account the part was considerable—was, indeed, unprecedented for this country. Without Roosevelt's handling of the banks at the outset, it is probable that the "banking holiday" would have precipitated a most severe financial crisis. The inflationary measures helped the farmers and exporters directly and immediately, loosened up purchasing, and helped check bankruptcies. The NRA provisions added the big corporations in putting some halt to the chaotic and destructive price-cutting, which was endangering the entire price and credit structure. The outlay of government funds through unemployment relief, the AAA, the various work relief agencies, loans of all kinds, etc., undoubtedly did a fair amount of the "pump priming" which the Administration promised. Section 7a, and a judicious combination of government arbitration boards with tear gas, managed to choke off two potentially major strike waves, and to "keep labor in its place."

The New 'Prosperity'

Two minor upturns in the business cycle, during 1933 and 1934, have now been followed by a more considerable rise beginning in the early spring of this year. The dominant internal factor at present is the continuance of this new drift toward "prosperity." It is a very peculiar prosperity indeed. Hardly a dent has been made in unemployment, particularly if we take into account the youth who have come to working age during the past six years. Though factory payrolls are considerably increased, real wages of factory workers generally are still far below the 1928 level, and in many industries close to the crisis low. The professional workers and recent college graduates have an enormous percentage of unemployment and a great lowering of living conditions where employed. The farm laborers, sharecroppers, and poor farmers continue in desperate straits. But the

stock market has been steadily booming. Bonuses for executives have come back. A large number of independent as well as landlord and capitalist farmers have more money with the help of mortgage moratoriums, AAA benefits, and a combination of high prices and good crops during the current season (a combination resulting in part from inflation, in part from last year's drought). Chemicals, autos, munitions, steel, agricultural equipment, are forging ahead. Above all, corporation profits have mounted amazingly, each week bringing out new records since 1931 or 1930, and in some instances for all time.

Big Business Clamps Down

But what this means, from the point of view of finance-capital, is that the New Deal has served its purpose. With profits again rolling in, no need for any more nonsense about the Forgotten Man and a new social order. And no more extravagant governmental spending, with its necessary threat of either uncontrolled inflation or increased taxation. And no more playing around with "concessions" to the workers and the unemployed. And an end to this talk about Tories and money-changers, these slanderous attacks on American ideals, on the utilities and the banks and the Stock Exchange. Time to get down to real business again. It is all well and good to maneuver and talk and even accept certain devious methods and uncomfortable restrictions when things are on the edge of the abyss. But now that we have again picked up the scent of profits, away with this doll-playing and back to the high-road of true Americanism.

Thus has big business reasoned more and more openly during the past year and a half. And in the light of this reasoning, the campaign against the New Deal has taken form. The Chambers of Commerce throughout the land ring again with the old slogans. The editorials in the powerful newspapers denounce, deplore, and pile up the phrases about the Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and anti-Christ in



the White House. Finance-capital comes again out of its lair; its limbs rejuvenated with the blood of profits, it roars once more with its lion voice. It smashes head on into the New Deal legislation through its courts; and where the courts have not acted, it goes its own way in open defiance. And what a sham the battle is

at heart! Who is this redoubtable enemy of theirs? What is his reply? We read it day by day. Roosevelt promises a "breathing spell." He sends out Roper to glorify capitalism. He promises the bankers fullest cooperation. He pleads with big business, through the Administration press agents and the pro-

Administration newspapers: "What have you boys against me? Haven't I brought back your profits, kept labor in check, done all you asked of me?" He promises to stop the mole, to reduce the deficit next year to \$500,000,000 and the year after to bring the budget into balance. He is the injured servant, who has given his all to his master, only to be thrust out into the cold.

Only Privileged Few Benefit from New «Prosperity»

Meanwhile, in a half-hearted way, he continues his play for middle-class support by talking about the utilities and social security; and now by appealing to pacifist illusions in neutrality measures. But, alas, the middle classes no longer listen so readily. The middle classes always jump toward what looks at the moment like the winning side. With finance-capital again roaring, their depressed confidence again revives. It looks to them as if the big shots were right after all; and in any case only they seem to know their own minds. Ironically, every step forward toward "prosperity" loses for Roosevelt middle class support. If you can have the old-fashioned prosperity again, reasons the middle class, let's let it be run by its authentic representative, by the bankers and the old-fashioned Grand Old Party. Besides, what has Roosevelt done that he promised? No, we will return to the former gods, and sign up at the Chamber of Commerce.

A thankless task, indeed, this job of political dish-washer for finance-capital. But times do not exactly return, and 1935 is not nor can be 1929. The Chambers of Commerce overplay their hand. The farmers remain in the majority behind Roosevelt. The industrialists in the unioned industries stay with him. The middle class liberals have given up the Tories for good. And labor and the unemployed, for all their disillusionment with the shattered New Deal, are not now willing to go back quite as far as the rugged individualists, whose only tangible promises are a balanced budget, a smashing of independent unionism, and a cutting of relief. Thus Roosevelt can in all probability still be re-elected next year, unless major economic and social alterations meanwhile intervene.

But Roosevelt's victory taken in itself would not be the significant social symptom which it might seem—would not, for example, at all be a "vindication for the New Deal." The real cleavages begin to take form beneath the public surface.

The masses have learned far more from three years of Roosevelt than from the depths of the Hoover crisis. Labor and the unemployed are beginning to realize more clearly than ever before in U. S. history that the 1936 choice, between finance-capital open and undisguised and finance-capital with a decoration of appealing phrases, is for them no choice at all. They begin to understand that the present upturn in business will necessarily be short-lived, and will in any case and however far it goes be of little benefit to them. They begin to move toward consciousness of class issues.

Growing Sentiment for Class Action

Already this is apparent in the "third-party" sentiment, in the strength of local Farmer-Labor organizations (as in Minnesota), in the Labor party demands appearing within the A. F. of L., and especially in the growing sentiment among the rank and file workers everywhere to settle issues by direct class action, without parliamentary intervention—a sentiment clearly reflected in the stormy A. F. of L. convention. Roosevelt seems to have retained enough of his demagoguery to head this off from national expression in the 1936 campaign, but this can prove only a temporary diversion.

In the meantime, the energies of the far-sighted among the bourgeoisie itself, and of the reformists and betrayers within the working class, are being bent to make sure that this awakening consciousness of class needs and class issues is directed into safe channels. Labor fakery, Socialists, Stalinists, Love-stones and liberals alike try to move it toward a "sane" third party, toward a Labor or Farmer-Labor or People's Party. Thus would it be able to avoid direct attack against capital. The central effort of the revolutionists must be to give this consciousness its authentic expression, to lead it toward the sole historical embodiment of its genuine meaning and the actual needs which it reflects: the revolutionary program and the revolutionary party.

Peoples' Front Cracks In Cabinet Crisis

Continued from Page 1

hanging far out on a lonely limb. The best they can now propose is the substitution for Laval—of a workers' and peasants' government?—no, of Joseph Paul-Boncour or of Theodore Steeg or Laurent Bonnevay or another one of that old school of hardened reactionary politicians at the head of a new coalition of Republican-Radical coalition! In other words, the substitution of a French von Papen for the French Bruening.

Should the turn of the debate result by any chance in the downfall of Laval another "good Republican" will follow him to continue the Bonapartist regime which is rapidly clearing the road for the

Fascist Croix de Feu.

The Front Populaire, cracked wide open, offers no other perspective. The working class parties have thrown their fate into the lap of Herriot and now that the "leftist" Herriot has failed they've moved farther up the line to a Boncour! Anything, anybody but the struggle for workers' power. Not the workers, but Herriot or Boncour or somebody like them must get in to disarm the Fascists.

The Fascist Croix de Feu, armed and ready to seize power, looks with contempt on the proceedings in the Bourbon Palace. It jeers at the solemn insistence of Radical, Socialist and Communist depu-

ties that Pierre Laval, their Bonapartist friend, dissolve the Fascist leagues and disarm them. The Croix de Feu is contemptuous because it knows that France's political crisis will be solved not from the tribunes of the Chamber but on the streets, arms in hand.

It jeers because it knows that neither Laval nor any Bonapartist successor to Laval can really dissolve or disarm it—any more than von Papen could dissolve the Nazi storm troopers.

It jeers because it sees its Socialist and Communist opponents concerning themselves alone with the struggle on the parliamentary scene—with shadow boxing which will disappear when the glare of

the real class struggle is turned full force upon it.

Herriot started the defection from the People's Front last week and within the past few days—the rise of the discount rate to 6 per cent and the spectre of devaluation and inflation—turned the defection into a stampede.

During the last five days the whole French crisis reduced itself for these pitiful parliamentarians, Herriot-Blum-Cachin and Co., into whether they should let Laval introduce his budget first or whether they should insist on having their demand for dissolution of the Fascist leagues take precedence over all other issues!

Faced with the flight of the Rad-

icals—and who but Cachin and his Stalinist confreres expected anything else?—the Socialists in turn grew frightened. And if Blum got scared—Cachin has been flirting with Hitler! The "differences" among the three groups were brought out in the meetings of the Delegation of Lefts, i.e., the Radical, Socialist and Stalinist members of the Chamber early in the week.

The Radicals got Laval's promise that he would discuss dissolution of the leagues after they helped him put his budget across. That was enough for them. They voted to support Laval's motion on the agenda.

Tweedledum for Tweedledee

Blum and the other Socialist deputies, for whom the whole fight against Fascism consists in having Laval, or somebody like him, "dissolve" the Fascist organizations, discussed the advisability of forcing the downfall of Laval on some technicality of procedure and substituting—what? A government headed by Bonnevey, Steeg or Joseph Paul-Boncour—any one of them, according to Blum, "a leader known for his Republican convictions." The function of this government, according to Blum would be to "dissolve the Leagues, dissolve Parliament, call new elections and ensure law and order during the campaign."

In other words, the Blum perspective is to provide, in the event that Laval should fall, for a Laval counterpart. For this any of the old-school bourgeois politicians mentioned, Bonnevey, Steeg or Paul-Boncour would amply suffice.

And the Stalinists? Where are they left hanging in this sorry parliamentary muddle?

Where Are the 'Valiant' Radicals?

According to the Daily Worker for Nov. 26, the question is: "Shall Laval be overthrown today or has the situation not sufficiently matured? If the Laval government is overthrown, what shall take its place, a People's Front or a Radical Socialist government?" The issue of the fight against Fascism, it seems, depends entirely upon the stalwart action of—the Delegation of Lefts!—and in the final analysis—upon a bourgeois government!

But our Daily Worker writer, who says that a People's Front government would have to be a government of real struggle (sic!) but that the Socialist leaders "do not yet appear prepared" for such a struggle, has not followed his newspapers carefully enough. Cachin, Thorez, Duclos and Co. decided three weeks ago that a government of the Front Populaire at this juncture "could not be seriously envisaged." (Humanite, Nov. 11.) What do they offer in its stead? "A government of the left to replace Laval." A Radical Socialist government, in other words.

Auto Strike Impends!

(Continued from Page 1)

dary. A great portion of the machinery of the Chevrolet plant has been moved to Saginaw, Mich. and Muncie, Ind., as was predicted in the NEW MILITANT during the April strike. Toledo is no longer in the key position with regards to the manufacture of transmissions that it held at the time of the last Chevrolet strike. The Saginaw and Muncie plants are completely unorganized. Dillon has no intentions of organizing these plants. The Cleveland Fisher Body union is in a weaker position than it was during the last strike. Norwood, still strong, is only an assembly plant.

Good Time for Strike

General Motors is now deliberately playing its cards, one by one. It is obvious, that what is involved here, is a carefully thought out, carefully prepared plan, to smash the Chevrolet union in Toledo.

There are many factors, however, which make objective conditions in this battle with General Motors even more favorable today than at the time of the last strike. First, this is the beginning of the season, and the automobile industry is experiencing its biggest boom since the golden days of 1929. The Muncie and Saginaw plants can be organized rapidly in the fire attack, through a swift, sharp battle of the flying squadrons. Detroit was moribund at the time of the last strike. Today it is beginning to feel again the first flush of returning confidence. If Toledo, with its great prestige, would give the lead in battle, the Detroit workers, filled with accumulated bitterness and dissatisfaction, might rise up again in a strike that would eclipse the battles of late 1933.

M.E.S.A. Strike in Toledo

The strike called by the M.E.S.A. at the Mather Spring Co. of Toledo entering into its third week. The plant remains shut tight as a drum. After a flat refusal to conduct any negotiations with the men, as "they did not contemplate any reopening of the plant," the management has finally seen the light and consented to meet with the union representatives. The celebrated Toledo Peace Board, set up by McGrady, which was supposed to avert industrial strife in Toledo and was heralded throughout the country as an example to be followed in all other cities, has failed to make one step during the entire three weeks of the strike. Only when the local threatened to spread the strike and the Chevrolet situation was coming to a head did they finally make a move to bring the management to negotiate with the men.

Barberton Labor Plans General Strike

Continued from Page 1

ers arrested. The pickets jeered and swore. They shouted their right to picket.

Children Gassed

Flower replied by ordering his thugs to advance in military array—most of them were veterans. When they approached the picket line, Flower called for them to fire point blank with their tear gas guns. Five workers fell stunned. The thugs leaped to club the blind workers. Twenty workers succumbed under the brutal attack. A crippled girl, going home for lunch from school, screamed in terror as tear gas scorched her. Three children, not over 10 years old, shrieked as gas shells broke a window in their home and narrowly missed them. A picket, defying the clubs, rushed to the house and carried them out.

An intermittent battle raged all day. The workers reformed their lines constantly, using coal and bricks to retaliate against the attacks. Word spread through the county of the terror. Workers came from Akron and elsewhere to reinforce the picket lines. Barri-cades were built, torn down, and rebuilt.

Union leaders called a mass meeting to protest the brutalities. All the strikers and 1,000 sympathizers attended while over 2,000 workers and sympathizers remained on the picket line.

Alarmed by the growing strength of the workers, the thugs frantically fired more tear gas as night began to creep over the battle ground.

Tide Turns

A strong wind blowing from the plant towards the pickets shifted. It carried the tear gas fumes back into the factory. Soon the thugs and scabs were gasping for air and retreating.

Three main streams of pickets advanced towards the plant, concealing their movements by first busting the glaring searchlight. A steady battery of rocks answered the thugs. The pickets met the clubs of the thugs in a fierce hand-to-hand battle without flinching. The mighty fist of labor crashed through the gangsterdom of the thugs. The gate-house, main stronghold of the enemy, was seized. Scabs rushed out with a fire hose but the workers brushed them aside. They started towards the plant entrance itself to clean it of scabs, but the wind died down. It took over 150 rounds of tear gas and plenty of re-inforcements for the frightened thugs to keep the plant from being demolished. Even so, the front wall was badly damaged and every window broken.

A solid barricade was built of huge cement blocks and the workers prepared for another attack. When word of the battle reached the mass meeting, it aroused the workers to a fever pitch of indignation against the company. Speaker after speaker told of the terror, women who were hurt demanded that their husbands protect them from the thugs. "No more tear gas or clubs. Disarm the thugs," the workers cried in the meeting. "We want a general strike to defeat the company!" they cried. A committee representing 25 unions was formed to consider and plan the walkout.

The Chamber of Commerce became frightened. It called two preachers and other "impartial" citizens to see what could be done to pacify the workers. This "citizens' committee" called for a truce. Union leaders, worn out from the terrific struggle, their workers tear-gassed, clubbed and exhausted,

agreed on condition that nothing come in or out of the plant and that the thugs stay within the plant. No attacks on the picket line would be tolerated. Such provocation would immediately bring a general strike, the union leaders said. During the truce period the company refused to discuss even the critical situation. They spurned humble efforts of a federal conciliator who wanted to "ease the situation" by "compromising" the difference; in other words, making a sell-out agreement and trying to fool the workers into acceptance. Resentment against the company grew as truce expiration time drew near. The "citizens' committee" begged the union leaders to continue it for another 48 hours. They replied they'd present it to a mass meeting Saturday night.

CLU. Promises Walkout The workers, 1,000 strong at the meeting, thundered NO. Call the general strike, they shouted, unless the scabs are removed and the plant closed. We'll go in and take them out ourselves if the sheriff doesn't, voices added. The union leaders looked for Flower. He played hide-and-seek until midnight, and then told them he couldn't do anything. He said this after the disgusted workers left the meeting.

Sunday brought a formal vote by the Central Labor Union for a general strike, to be called anytime needed to aid the strikers. In particular by Monday night, when the truce again expired, if the plant wasn't closed. As the picket line began to grow into the hundreds again today, the sheriff, realizing he was licked, withdrew the scabs and ordered the plant shut.

But the company doesn't like this. If Flower can't break the strike for them, they think the Na-

tional Guard can. So they conferred with an "observer" from Adj. General Marx's office in Columbus, late today.

Workers Celebrate

Tonight 5,000 workers paraded in a "victory" march over the closing of the plant. A huge mass meeting followed with all organized labor in this district represented and pledging solidarity.

The workers know from the Toledo Auto-Lite strike that the National Guard can be defeated. They confidently face tomorrow, in one powerful united front against the Duponts and their tools, be they thugs or the National Guard. It will take every repressive measure possible under capitalism to keep the workers from victory on the picket line and they know it.

The workers aren't so sure of themselves, however, around the conference table surrounded by Edw. McGrady and other smooth-tongued federal conciliators whose treacherous moves can change a victory into a compromise. But the workers are learning and if McGrady comes here, they will be forewarned against him.

All Unions Involved

One thing is positively certain and realized by every adult in this town of 25,000. There is only one main issue in the strike: "The company is trying to bust the union and then the other unions will also be demolished."

Last year the Mellon-controlled Columbia Chemical Co. officials tried to smash the union here. A picket line of 5,000 workers from Akron and elsewhere brought this company to its knees and the union gained its demands and its leaders were given their jobs back.

Now the Duponts are trying the same stunt. "But we know that a solid front against the capitalists can't be broken and we'll win this strike," a union leader said. . . . And so far it looks that way.

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Trotsky Shows Road of Struggle in France

Thomas Leads Break with Old Guard as NY Socialist Party Splits

Danger of Patch-up with Right Wing Is Still Great

The struggle for supremacy within the Socialist Party between the Old Guard and the Thomas-Hoan-Militant coalition reached the stage of open split in New York City this week.

When the Militants' proposal to reconsider the motion of the Old Guard to expel "the Left Wing" and reorganize local New York under their control was defeated at the meeting of the City Central Committee meeting last Wednesday, forty-seven delegates from thirty-six Militant-led branches quit the meeting and proceeded immediately to constitute themselves the official City Central Committee of the party.

The two City Centrals have since been hurling statements and counter-statements at each other. In a letter to S. P. members, the Militants charged Waldman, Oneal, Gerber, and Lee with being "party-wreckers and breeders of disunity" and gave a list of their anti-working class actions, ranging from protection of Harry Lang, Cahan and Hearst's anti-Soviet penman, to "condoning corruption by Socialist trade unions and permitting persons found guilty of misconduct in their unions to remain members of the party."

Statements Fly

The Old Guard answered that the action of the Militants was "a secessionist movement" of a minority; that the newly-formed committee was an outlaw organization; and that "the break between the Socialist Party and the Left Wing group has taken place over the resistance of the party to the attempt to impose upon it by these Left Wing elements of three doctrines—dictatorship, advocacy of insurrection and violence, and united front with the Communists—doctrines which are not acceptable to Socialists."

The Militants replied that "It is indeed because this group is loyal to Socialist principles, one of the chief of which is inner party democracy, that it was forced to take such steps as would safeguard the Party from Old Guard maneuvers."

Both groups held rival meetings last Sunday night. The Militants' meeting, held at Irving Plaza, was attended by about 1,200 people. Three significant announcements were made. The first was a wire from Norman Thomas pledging support to the Militants and breathing defiance against the Old Guard. "We are not splitting the party," said Thomas. "We are saving it from petty tyrants. We are not denying democracy; we are saving it from lawless dictation of the Old Guard-Forward coalition. The position of these party-wreckers is clear. They are trying vainly to tear down a party they can no longer control. They support the New Leader which has slandered the party, and seek to ruin the Socialist Call, which has fought for it. They are capable of reacting only to hate of Communism and fear of losing their control in the party. They have lost their capacity to hate and fight the exploitation of capitalism. Their record has been a grievous burden for socialism to carry."

N.E.C. to Send Delegation

The second was the announcement by Jack Altman, Militant leader and temporary secretary of the new City Central Committee, that the Militants planned to hold a state convention of the party in Utica on December 27 and 28. The third was a letter from the National Executive Committee of the S. P., signed by National Chairman Leo Kryzcki, stating that it would send an official delegation to the Utica convention, consisting of Kryzcki, Darlington Hoopes, Clarence Senior, National Secretary, Thomas, and Oneal, Old Guard leader. It also stated that the decision had been approved by Hoan.

The Old Guard at the Rand School did nothing more than stand pat in repeating accusations of split against the Militants. Old Guard supporters passed resolutions supporting the old Central Committee; condemning the "bolters"; and welcoming efforts to heal the party split "provided all doctrines of dictatorship and violence were repudiated" by the Militants. Solomon criticized Thomas for having ceased to become the leader of the party in order to become "the

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Profiteers Clear Decks For Big Drive on Labor

Mf'r's Asso. Opens Fight For "Freedom" -- To Exploit Labor

Herbert Hoover has come out of his hole and is making snappy speeches. In itself this is an indication of how many years we are removed, psychologically and politically speaking, from March 4, 1933. More substantial evidence to the same effect has been given by the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers held in New York last week and the pathetic attempt of Major George L. Berry, formerly president of the Printing Pressmen's Union, and now Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation (in effect head of what is left of the NRA) to stage one of those immense get-togethers of labor and industry out of which Hugh Johnson and his aids made such gaudy shows in the summer and fall of that year—in the age of the honeymoon of the New Deal and the ascendancy of the Blue Eagle.

The bankers and industrialists who in 1933 were being told that they were going to be "driven out of the temple," who in chastened mood urged the government to come to their aid and accepted, not without some reluctance, it is true, some items of labor legislation, are now again fully on the offensive. Mr. Clinton L. Bardo, president of the N.A.M., pointed in his opening address with pathos and feeling to the ignominious position in which employers found themselves until recently: "For the past two years industry has been driven into the cyclone cellar and the normal problems of depression have been magnified many times by a deliberate and well-timed rapid fire and devastating attack by economic crackpots, social-reformers, labor demagogues and political racketeers."

"Saving the Country"

The new offensive of the employers is characterized by a high moral, crusading mood. Alfred F.

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Six YCLers Join SYL

Symptoms of Ferment Over New Turn To Betrayal

Symptomatic of the ferment in the Young Communist League is the expulsion of six members of the Y.C.L. and Communist Party. These comrades were expelled in recent weeks in New York for criticizing the policies of the Communist Party and defending the views of Marxism.

They are among the dozens expelled in recent months from the Stalinist organizations for revolutionary criticism, a number of whom joined the S.Y.L. and the W.P. Only recently over half a dozen leaders among the New York Scandinavian workers were expelled from the C. P. for "Trotskyism" (!). Others in the Y.C.L. who question the recent turn towards "a broad non-party youth organization" and social-patriotism have likewise been expelled or "dropped for Trotskyism."

The Spartacus Youth League has covered open Y.C.L. meetings with its literature and speakers. Recently, a four page leaflet was issued by the Chicago S.Y.L. to the meeting held in that city. In New York, in addition to the large district meeting covered, sectional meetings in Manhattan and Harlem have already been covered. Last Sunday evening four members of the S.Y.L., including one of the expelled, spoke at the East Side meeting of the Y.C.L. The following evening a Spartacus presented a criticism of the Y.C.L. turn at the Harlem Y.C.L. meeting. The expelled are: Ethel Winston, Sec. 22; Louis Mednick, Sec. 22; Nat Herman, and Jerry King, Sec. 15; E. Wexler, Sec. 17; W. Levitsky, Sec. 8.

Japs Snatch North China; Put Screws on Chiang Gov't

By LO SEN

Japanese imperialism gave another twist this week to the screws it holds around China. Under Japanese military auspices an "autonomous" state was set up in Eastern Hopei on Nov. 24. Three days later Japanese troops took over control of all railways in North China. Japanese troop trains moving down across the Manchukuo border brought more than 10,000 troops into Tientsin where they are being held in readiness for action in North China should such action prove necessary.

The provinces of North China are in the process of being added to Manchuria and Jehol to swell the boundaries of the Japanese Empire on Continental Asia. This process of addition is taking place not in the swift, surgical manner that characterized the previous conquests but in a slower fashion attended by the presence of greater international complicating factors and the desire of Japan to avoid, if possible, the expense of military action.

Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear by Japanese military authorities on the Chinese generals in the North to declare a species of "autonomy" to provide the cloak of respectability for Japanese control.

In this situation the Kuomintang regime has been trying to squirm its way into a settlement which will avoid military conflict by giving Japan what is wanted and at the same time preserve the nominal shreds of Chinese sovereignty in the North.

Japanese military moves in the North during the past ten days have been meant to serve eloquent notice on the Nanking government that equivocation or evasion have limited. Press reports of the past week have contained seeming contradictions—some alleging that Nanking

is preparing to oppose Japan, others indicating continued surrender to Japanese pressure by Chiang Kai-shek. These contradictions have a logic of their own—for the Nanking government and the bourgeoisie it represents are between the tightening clamps of a dilemma from which there seems no way out—along a bourgeois road.

Complete Japanese imperialism control of China means the final extinction of any hopes for independent bourgeois development, even if limited. The Chinese bourgeoisie has been unable to resist Japanese imperialism because to do so it would have had to run the danger of rousing the people in a national war. To do this would amount to the signing of its own death warrant.

It could only hope for the active aid of some more "benevolent" imperialism, the British or the American for example, to take up the cudgels against Japan. From such a struggle the Chinese bourgeoisie might hope for a crumb. But in these past four years Japanese imperialism has been able to proceed practically without hindrance. Not the least reason for this is the fact that Anglo-American antagonisms have prevented their cooperation in the East—and in addition, what countries hoped the U.S.S.R. would break its back in a struggle with Japan.

As a result of this conjuncture of circumstances Japan has advanced unopposed and carved for itself an enormous empire on continental Asia. In this the bourgeoisie has cooperated by suppressing the mass movement. There is a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, however, which has never given up hope of getting the imperialist aid it needs to oppose Japan, in whom it sees its nemesis. That section it is

(Continued on Page 4)

Committees of Action---Not Peoples Front

By LEON TROTSKY

"The Peoples Front" represents the coalition of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Radical party and smaller tripe of the same sort. The coalition extends both to the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary spheres. In both spheres the Radical party preserving for itself complete freedom of action

coarsely imposes restrictions upon the freedom of action of the proletariat. The Radical party itself is undergoing decay. Each new election gives added proof of the passage of supporters away from it to the right and to the left. On the other hand, the Socialist and Communist parties—because of the absence of a genuinely revolutionary party—are growing stronger. The general trend of the toiling masses, including the petty bourgeoisie, is quite clearly to the left. The orientation of the leaders of the workers' parties is no less self-evident: to the right. At the time when the masses by their votes and in their struggle seek to cast off the party of the Radicals, the leaders of the united front, on the contrary, seek to save it. After obtaining the confidence of the masses of workers on the basis of a "socialist" program, the leaders of the workers' parties then proceeded to concede voluntarily a lion's share of this confidence to the Radicals, in whom the masses of workers have absolutely no confidence.

Radicals Dominate Peoples Front

"The Peoples Front" in its present guise, shamelessly tramples not only upon workers' democracy but also upon formal i.e. bourgeois democracy. The majority of the Radical voters do not participate in the struggle of the toilers and consequently in the Peoples Front. Yet the Radical party occupies in this Front not only an equal but a privileged position; the workers' parties are compelled to restrict their activity to the program of the Radical party. This idea is most outspokenly advanced by the cynics of Humanism! The latest elections to the Senate have illuminated with especial clarity the privileged position of the Radicals in the Peoples Front. The leaders of the Communist party boasted openly of the fact that they renounced in favor of non-proletarian parties several mandates which justly belonged to the workers. This merely means that the united front re-established in part the property qualification in favor of the bourgeoisie.

The "Front," as it is conceived, is an organization for a direct and immediate struggle. When struggle is in question, every worker is worth ten bourgeois, even those adhering to the united front. From the standpoint of the revolutionary fighting strength of the Front, the electoral privileges should have been given not to Radical bourgeois but to workers. But in essence, privileges are uncalled for here. Is the Peoples Front intended for defense of "democracy"? Then let it begin by applying it to its own ranks. This means: the leadership of the Peoples Front must be the direct and immediate reflection of the will of the struggling masses.

The Committees of Action

How? Very simply: through elections. The proletariat does not deny any one the right to struggle side by side with it against Fascism, the Bonapartist government of Laval, the war plot of the imperialists, and all other forms of oppression and violence. The sole demand that class conscious workers put to their actual or potential allies is that they struggle in action. Every group of the population really participating in the struggle at a given stage and ready to submit to common discipline must have the equal right to exert influence on the leadership of the Peoples Front.

Each 200, 500, or thousand citizens adhering in a given city, district, factory, barracks and village to the Peoples Front should in time of fighting actions elect their representative to the local committee of action. All the participants in the struggle are bound by its discipline.

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HERNDON FREED

Answer the Fascist War Mongers; All out Dec. 14!

New York anti-Fascists are called upon to demonstrate before Madison Square Garden Saturday, Dec. 14 at 7 P.M. against the openly-proclaimed threat of Mussolini's American agents to arouse sympathy for his highway-robbery in Ethiopia and to terrorize all Italo-American and American opponents of the Italian Fascist murder regime.

This demonstration is being organized by the Italian-American Committee Against War and Fascism, a united front body. The Workers Party is participating in the demonstration and all its members are requested to be there.

Following are excerpts from the leaflet issued by the committee which gives more detailed information.

"The Italian Fascists are going to meet in Madison Square Garden this Saturday night, Dec. 14 for the purpose of glorifying Mussolini's aggression of Ethiopia and to raise funds to enable the Black Shirt hordes to deprive the peaceful Ethiopians of their independence."

"High American officials, such as Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cotillo, Ferdinand Pecora, General Sessions Justice John Freeschi and others, are to be found among those who will 'Hell' tyrant Mussolini in Madison Square Garden."

"This Fascist rally was decided upon at a dinner in the Ricciardi Italian Restaurant, on the evening of Friday, Nov. 15, 1935."

"Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cotillo and Ferdinand Pecora participated."

"The purpose of the Madison Square Garden rally, as the Fascist daily 'Il Progresso ItaloAmericano'

informed us in its issue of Nov. 17 is as follows:

"To once more demonstrate that the hearts of the Italo-Americans beat with the heart of the far away Motherland and that each and every national who resides in this Motherland of adoption is ready to give all within his power to help Italy fight the brutal International Coalition led by England with the utmost resistance and give a chance to the Italian soldiers who are now in Africa to write another epic page of glory in the history of civilization."

"The Fascist sheet further stated:

"When the Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy, Mr. Pope, began speaking to explain the purpose of this gathering, the throng which packed the Hall of Ricciardi's Restaurant, which was decorated with flags of the two Nations, the colors which are in the heart of every Italo-American, an impetuous and lasting applause broke out. This stirring applause manifested the spontaneous promise of those present to enthusiastically contribute to the success of the Madison Square Rally, which also must be a warning to those who want to deny Italy her holy and sacred right to live. It must also serve to show that the five million Italian Americans who live in the United States are ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their great Motherland and will respond as the Consul General has said with a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye."

Everybody out—
Give the Fascist vermin the answer they deserve.

Yipsels Unite With Spartacus Find One Scab Truck in Mpls

By ART PREIS

TOLEDO, Ohio—The youth section of the local Stalinists succeeded in capturing themselves and several Y.W.C.A. secretaries at the Toledo Youth Congress held at the Central Labor Union Hall, Saturday afternoon, November 30. Going one better on the Elders of the Church (Stalinist), who held the fort at the recent American League Against War and Fascism conference, the fledglings succeeded in preventing entirely any discussion on the war and sanctions question, which had been introduced into the conference by a joint resolution against support of imperialist governments and their sanctions submitted by the Young Peoples Socialist League and Spartacus Youth League.

Highly advertised and ballyhooed, the conference began on the evening of November 29, with a meeting at the Civic Auditorium featuring a symposium of representatives of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist Parties on "What Our Party Offers American Youth." For over three hours, the 300 of the faithful who lost themselves in the echoing vastness of the huge auditorium were drenched by the greatest outpouring of reactionary balderdash ever spewed over a helpless audience, saved only by the forthright utterances of Ben Fisher, national secretary of the Yipsels, who openly denounced the chauvinist policies of the Stalinists and attacked the support of sanctions and one's own imperialist government in a war crisis.

The Minimum Is Zero

William Weststone, who represented the Stalinists in the Symposium, completely skirted the entire war question, ducked the direct challenge of Fisher on the C. P. position on sanctions, and confined the greater portion of his remarks to sugary sentimental plea for organic unity between the Socialists and Stalinists. Waldo McNutt, Chairman of the American Youth Congress, one of the two main speakers on the program, distinguished himself in his remarks by declaring the purpose of the Congress to be "the untiring of the youth on a minimum program on which everyone could agree." Everyone agreed on the minimum

On Wednesday, it suddenly became known that several Strutwear stock holders on Nov. 7 had incorporated the "Peacock Knitting Co."

In St. Joseph, Mo. It developed that the Peacock Company had a chattel mortgage on some Strutwear merchandise and machinery, and that a writ of replevin had been issued to recover some \$5,000 worth of these goods. U. S. Marshall John J. Farrell takes the dirty job of getting the goods through the picket lines, threatening pickets with "a long stay at Leavenworth."

At a meeting attended by the executive boards of Local 574, the Central Labor Union and the striking hosier workers, AND Meyer Lewis, it became known that Meyer Lewis didn't have one single thing to suggest to stop the federal government's attempt to hurt the strike. Lewis left, after being told, "Well, you're no damned good around here." The three bodies then issued a statement to the press, pledging support to the strike and attacking this latest strikebreaking move.

Local 574 halted the first attempts to move Strutwear goods by threatening strikes at any transfer firm that dares to offer help to the federal government. Several transfer firms who had originally come forward, backed down immediately. Skellett tried to bluff, and a strike now has him tied up. The strikers are asking a new seniority list, that two flunks be fired, and that they get full pay for the time they are out on strike.

After failing to be able to hire any trucks in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Hopkins, St. Cloud, etc., the Strutwear officials and their government marshall finally got trucks from Winona, Minn., who did the moving Friday and Saturday, after being stoned repeatedly. Scores of windows in the Strutwear plant were broken by pickets. One picket, Alfred Russell, was arrested Friday and is being held incommunicado. He was taking pictures of the police and the plant.

The Central Labor Union pledged to call a city-wide mass meeting in support of the Strutwear strike.

Mass Pressure Forces Release of Class War Prisoner

Confronted by a tidal wave of mass protest which has been mounting ever since the formation of the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense ended Angelo Herndon's isolation from the broad labor and radical movements, the State of Georgia has executed its first retreat since the struggle began three years ago.

Judge Hugh M. Dorsey of Atlanta has declared unconstitutional the 1866 "slave insurrection" law, under which Herndon was sentenced to an 18-20 year term on the chain gang. Herndon is now in New York, under \$8,000 bail.

The state of Georgia has until Dec. 27 to appeal from Dorsey to the state Supreme Court. If it does not appeal, or if it loses its appeal, the law will be a dead letter, Herndon will be unconditionally free, and indictments now standing against 18 other workers will be null and void.

If the state does appeal, and if the Georgia Supreme Court declares the law to be constitutional, the defense will take the issue back to the U. S. Supreme Court, which twice before refused on technical grounds to hear an appeal. Unquestionably, the defense would be much stronger in legal ammunition this time. It will also be stronger in its mass backing, if every effort is made to build a militant movement not only to save Angelo Herndon, but also to establish the principles and rights involved in his fate.

Judge Dorsey's decision was by no means a concession of any rights or principles. He was forced to release Herndon because, in the face of growing mass pressure, neither the Talmadge faction nor the Roosevelt faction of Georgia politicians wants to go before the workers of the country to justify Herndon's conviction. At the same time, the Judge's decision, declaring the 1866 law to be "vague" in phraseology, suggests to the legislature how it can adopt a law under which any opponents of the existing Bourbon capitalist regime of Georgia could legally be sent to the chain gang.

Dorsey for Rigid Gag Law

In so doing, Dorsey is satisfying the demands of the Georgia ruling class. These were expressed at the recent hearing in Atlanta by County Solicitor Lecraw. He affirmed the need of silencing all radicals by court action now, in order to prevent the growth of militancy to a point where the capitalist forces would have to fight labor outside the courts.

Lecraw's argument was opposed by W. A. Sutherland, Atlanta attorney, who argued that the best way to preserve the existing economic order and the existing "good" relations between whites and negroes in Georgia is to allow a little freedom of speech. By suggesting a new water-tight gag law to the legislature Judge Dorsey shows that he did not take seriously the opportunity to "argue" of Sutherland.

What he did was to accept the scholarly, technical, legal contentions put forward by the New York state attorney, Whitney North Seymour, at the same hearing. The total political situation, measured in terms of the Talmadge-Roosevelt squabble for the title of "friend of the people," and in terms of the pressure organized by the Joint Committee, dictated to Dorsey the decision that Seymour was "correct" and Lecraw was "wrong" on technical points.

Pressure is not yet great enough, however, to "convince" him that there should be free speech in Georgia. He wants an iron-clad law to prevent it.

Herndon's return to New York was signaled by an ovation at the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. The Joint Committee, of which the Non Partisan Labor Defense is an active constituent, is planning a mass meeting on the case. Among the other defense bodies in the Joint Committee are the I. L. D., which controls the defense policy, as well as the L. L. D. and the GDC. Even if this struggle must go through more courts, victory can still be won by the presentation of able legal arguments and above all by a campaign of pressure based upon a broad appeal to militant principles.

The Future of the A. F. of L.

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 28.—Comrade James P. Cannon spoke here before a group of more than a hundred workers on the subject of "The Future of the A. F. of L." Many in the audience had never before attended a Workers Party meeting. The gross receipts were more than twenty-five dollars.

Comrade Cannon began his talk by analyzing the historical essence of the A. F. of L. He showed how it had fulfilled the expectations of Mark Hanna, one of the founders of the Civic Federation, who called the A. F. of L. the "bulwark of American capitalism." He went on to point out how the events of the last two years had brought about significant changes which threatened the position of the A. F. of L. At San Francisco, two years ago, the A. F. of L. had been forced to give formal recognition to the principle of unionism. At Atlantic City there had been 11,000 votes for industrial unionism. And a mere speech by John Lewis, himself formerly a member of the Civic Federation, had sufficed to force the withdrawal of Matthew Woll from that organization.

"Into the Unions"

"The impulse of the masses, with the coming of the NRA had been 'into the unions.' The million workers could have been organized at that time. These workers longed for a union—the most elementary organization of the workers. Without a union, the workers felt, they have nothing. But the craft A. F. of L. unions came in between the workers and the employers and betrayed the interests of the workers. This happened all over the country. In Minneapolis, Tobin, President of the Drivers International, tried the same stunt. But he didn't succeed. Applause.)

"In Minneapolis, real organization survived as testimony of the real possibilities in the organization of the workers. What was the answer of the A. F. of L. leadership? In the very days of the June strike when the bosses were trying to wretch out of their agreement with 574, the Teamsters President fired a blast which was printed in the newspapers as a weapon against the union. And no sooner had the union buried its dead, no sooner had the smoke of battle cleared and it had gathered together its wounded, than Tobin comes along and tries to break up the union because it wouldn't allow itself to be cheated and brow-beaten. Tobin connived with Green to show the workers that they might perhaps beat the bosses—but, by God! they couldn't beat the A. F. of L. and its almighty 'principles.' Tobin would show the union that he was better than the Citizens Alliance in busting up unions. Well, he tried. And the score is nothing to nothing for both Tobin and the Citizens Alliance. (Applause.)

Workers Want Industrial Unionism

"Thus, in spite of the accumulated discontent of the workers, the A. F. of L. as such made only the most miserable showing. But the workers, for this reason, didn't say 'to hell with unions!' Instead there was a tremendous pressure to change the form and methods of organization. Every worker reflects this discontent with the old methods and forms. Every discontented worker rallies around any union capable of fighting the incompetency of the old craft unions. Suppose you took 574 to Detroit or Pittsburgh—what unions you would find in rubber, in steel, in autos! You can't fool the workers with craft unionism any more. They don't want it. They want industrial unionism. When the craft unionists come in any try to tell them how to run their unions they revolt. The automobile workers, in their convention, called on the eve of the Atlantic City convention, rejected the proposals of Green. In Akron, the rubber workers elected their own President and rejected the protégé of Green. And then come the teachers—the teachers who have never been known to be radicals—the teachers in Ohio rejected the ultimatum from Green that they reorganize the New York local. The teachers told Green to go to hell. Three times before the Atlantic City convention Green got official rebuffs and defeats—unheard of before! And in Minneapolis, Tobin had also failed.

"All these accumulated forces pressed in on the Atlantic City convention—forces which guarantee that there will be no patching up between the contending forces in the A. F. of L. First, then, there is the revolt from the part of certain of the shrewd leaders. This fear is not unjustified. It is the fear that if the A. F. of L. doesn't quit monkeying around, there will grow up an independent union movement outside of the A. F. of L., leaving the old leaders high and dry without their highly remunerative 'pie cards.' They have seen the handwriting on the wall—these more far-sighted leaders—they have looked across the Atlantic and seen what happened in Europe. Take John Lewis. Lewis is no radical, yet he says that if there are no industrial unions there will be none at all. Hillman, too, in the A. F. of L. conventions made the same point. Thus we find forces pressing for more

From a Speech Delivered by Comrade James P. Cannon Before a Forum of Minneapolis Workers

modern types of organization both within and without the official A. F. of L.

Our Tendency

"While on the surface it may appear that the contest is only between two types of leaders—between the horse-and-buggy unionists—there is also a tendency which is even more progressive than the official sponsors of industrial unionism. This tendency aims at more than merely winning a strike. It aims at the foundation of a workers' republic. (Applause.) This tendency is ours; and it will come more and more to the front.

"The difference between Lewis and Green is one of intelligence and not of radicalism. The old Bourbons never learn anything new. They call the unskilled workers riff-raff; they try to keep the unions small and divided into crafts. These old fossils have lived their time. There are going to be many types of labor leaders before we have a workers' republic in the United States, but you can be sure that the Green-Hutchinson type will be among the first to be pushed aside.

Fear of the Younger Leaders

"The younger leaders know that if you don't organize the strategically situated basic industries you have no organization at all. How can you speak of the American trade union movement when the basic industries are not unionized? These younger leaders are goaded on, also, by another fear—that unless they organize the basic industries first, more radical leaders will come in ahead of them. They don't want to be left on the outside. But they are not radicals, either. They want to deal with the bosses, but in an organized way. The bosses would have liked to cooperate with Meyer Lewis in Minneapolis. But Lewis had no power—he didn't control any unions—so they said to him, 'We're sorry, but we can't do any business.' (Laughter.) The same principle applies to the John Lewis-Hillman-Dubinsky crowd. They know they can't deal with the bosses unless they have powerfully organized industrial unions behind them.

"Now it is one of the nine wonders of the world that John L. Lewis and Co. have been catapulted to the leadership of the movement for industrial unionism. Their record is not so good. Nobody suppressed trade union democracy more ruthlessly than John L. Lewis. Nobody expelled more honest radical workers from the unions. Nobody forced more 'provisional reorganizations' of local unions. Nobody was more violent and unscrupulous in his methods. Yet this man has been projected to the front.

"Nevertheless, his interests and ours to a limited extent coincide.

Manager's Corner

We have received so far a total of 104 new subscriptions in our drive for a total of 1,000. This means that in the remaining few weeks much more speed is imperative.

In New York City branches No. 1 and 3 are ahead and fairly certain to make their quota. The Bronx branch (Branch 5) used to lag in our drives. This last week, however, it has made a good start. Branch 8 is small but shows a good record compared with its membership. It will go over the top easily. Outside of New York City only the Chicago branches, Cleveland and Philadelphia have made somewhat of a fair beginning.

Since our last report we have received a total of 89 new subscriptions distributed as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	2
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	—
Boston, Mass.....	25	—
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	13
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	—
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	1
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	2
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	1
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	2
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	109
(Branch 1.....	90	37)
(Branch 2.....	40	6)
(Branch 3.....	75	28)
(Branch 4.....	30	4)
(Branch 5.....	20	12)
(Branch 6.....	15	1)
(Branch 7.....	15	1)
(Branch 8.....	10	7)
(District.....	100	13)
Northampton, Pa.....	5	—
Paterson, N. J.....	10	—

Our tendency is not that of John L. Lewis. We believe in militancy and our final aim is the foundation of the workers' republic. We don't believe in class-collaboration. We don't believe that the workers can get anything without militancy. But we do stand for industrial unionism because it is a necessary step—because it is a step forward. It is a curious fact that the interests of the most revolutionary and the extremely conservative tendencies coincide to a certain extent. Industrial unionism is objectively progressive. Therefore revolutionists must support it regardless of who is at the head of the movement for its realization. But we must not lose our heads and think that industrial unionism is all. We must forge ahead. We must retain our independent position. We must take advantage of every division between the reactionaries and the conservatives.

"The situation is this. The Lewis clique can't leave the workers organized. In Detroit the first strike of the season was conducted by an independent union consisting of three unions outside the A. F. of L. that came together and amalgamated. This was a warning to the A. F. of L. Minneapolis is also a warning. Here was a deliberate attempt to break up a union and drive it out of the A. F. of L. for 99 years. And this attempt failed. The idea may get into the minds of the workers. To hell with an A. F. of L. charter. Maybe it wasn't the A. F. of L. charter that got us our wage increase. Maybe it was our own organized strength."

"That is the meaning behind the resignation of John L. Lewis. Lewis doesn't agree with Green—who issued a warning to the 'serious consequences' of forming organizations within the A. F. of L. and of entering into relations with non-A. F. of L. unions (except the Civic Federation, or any other boss union). Lewis is just going ahead the same as before.

"What does this mean for us? Now is the time for progressive and militant elements to push forward. Now is not the time to be cautious. Now is the time to press our demands and to get consideration for them. Now is the time to press further and further into the A. F. of L.

What Pushed Lewis to the Lead

"Now you may want to know why it is Lewis rather than the radicals who is leading the fight for industrial unionism. The answer is that in the five years of the crisis, the most radical group, the Communists (Stalinists), left the A. F. of L. They went out of the A. F. of L. and pulled many others out with themselves. That's why when all this upsurge from the ranks is taking place, there have been no militants ready to spring into a place of leadership.

Philadelphia, Pa.....	20
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25
Plentywood, Mont.....	10
St. Louis, Mo.....	10
Salt Lake City.....	10
San Francisco, Cal.....	20
San Diego, Cal.....	10
Springfield, Ill.....	5
Toledo, Ohio.....	25
Utica, N. Y.....	5
Washington, D. C.....	10
Williston, N. Dakota.....	10
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10
Received from cities not listed above.....	11
Total.....	1,000 164

Some contributions to the eight-page weekly have also been received since our last report. Comrade Harvey Walton made a donation very welcome because of its substantial size. The sum of \$100 contributed by him aided materially in bringing us nearer to the total amount needed. A friend in New York City contributed an additional \$35.00 and from Branch 1 we received a contribution of \$2.00. This brings us to a total contribution so far of \$946.70. To this we add the amount received in the special drive for 1,000 new subscriptions and we can say that the reaching of this particular goal will assure the launching of the eight-page weekly.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, December issue, now on sale, lives up to its usual high standard. Comrade Trotsky discusses in this issue the present position of the I.L.P. in relation to the struggle for the Fourth International. In another article he discusses an assignment executed by Romain Rolland regarding the Kiroff assassination. And of special interest to the readers of the NEW INTERNATIONAL this issue carries a review of "Stalin" by Henry Barbusse and "Stalin" by Boris Souvarine. This issue also contains a reply by John West to Max Eastman and other interesting and educational features.

"That is why, too, we must wherever possible, fight for a policy of unity. But not unity at any price. We won't purchase unity at the cost of breaking up our organizations and of giving up our fundamental rights. We must, wherever possible, go into the A. F. of L. and fertilize it while there is still time with genuine militancy. We must inspire the unions not only to fight for a loaf of bread but to conquer the world or else the world will be taken away from them as happened in Germany.

"In the days of reaction, the Gompers and Green policy of weeding out radicals worked like a charm. But now the workers are disoriented. There is no hope of inciting them against radicals. If you go to a worker and say to him, 'A radical is the leader of your union,' he will answer, 'I'm damned glad to hear that.' The sentiment of the masses has changed. I predict with absolute confidence, for example, that Meyer Lewis will be a complete flop. The victory of 574 is due not only to its own strength but to the favorable national situation. But it will be so decisive that it will put steel and courage into the movement everywhere else. The reactionaries' hands are too full—they have too many trons in the fire. There are too many issues at stake here and elsewhere.

Conquer the World

"We must take advantage of this favorable objective situation. We must push the industrial union struggle forward. But at the same time we must inspire the workers with the revolutionary idea that they must establish themselves as masters of the whole world." (Applause.)

During the questioning period, comrade Cannon, in reply to a query as to what form the cooperation between the revolutionists and the conservative industrial unionists would take, replied that it was dangerous for radicals to make the mistake for one moment that Lewis was a true progressive. It was great folly to believe that salvation could come from people like John L. Lewis. Although our interests coincide to a certain extent, there would not probably be much direct cooperation between us. Rather each side would play its own end of the game for the realization of its own aim. What was important, was for the radicals to press forward their own ideas and to retain their independence. "Certainly, the Workers Party would not do as the Communists were doing. The C. P. is trying to build Lewis up into a second Jesus Christ. They publish front page interviews with him in the Daily Worker. We have no such illusions. We are for industrial unions because they gave us a larger field within which to work. The larger the unions, the more honest workers there will be within them. The better for us. Take 574, for example. It took a lunge when nobody was looking and built up a real organization. It took in workers who had never been in any union before. Now suppose you did the same thing from town to town. It is significant, too, that the same leaders who thus organized the drivers, went ahead and organized the unemployed. The typical American labor leader has no interest in half-starved unemployed workers. That is John L. Lewis' position. The sign of the genuine labor leader is his interest in all the workers. It was no accident that 574 organized the unemployed; and the unemployed reciprocated by rallying to 574's support."

N. Y. Socialist Party Splits

Continued from Page 1

It is possible to draw certain conclusions on the basis of these developments. First of all, the split will not be confined to New York but will be a national split, involving the National Committee and the state organizations. Second, the Thomas-Hoan-Militant coalition, which has a majority on the National Committee, seems to have at last decided to conduct a struggle against the Old Guard and even to throw them out of the party. Peace-pacts between them, especially against the genuine lefts in the party, are still by no means excluded. Third, the leadership in the present struggle comes from Thomas and Hoan, rather than from Militant chieftains. Information from additional sources confirms these conclusions. The initiative in the entire struggle has been given by Thomas and his group. The Militant leaders have tagged along behind him and Hoan. They had made few, if any, preparations for conducting the fight against the Old Guard. The Old Guard's declaration of war took them by surprise, as did the necessity and suddenness of the split. In their lack of preparation for the inevitable struggle and in their passive trailing behind Thomas, the Militant commanders-in-chief again show their weaknesses as political leaders.

"INTELLECTUALS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE"

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MAX NOMAD
Author of "Rebels and Renegades"
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Profiteers Clear Decks For Big Drive on Labor

Continued from Page 1

Sloan, Jr. of General Motors gave the lead at this point: "We who have the prime responsibilities of the major policies of industry must first convince ourselves as to fundamentals. Then we must convince the organizations of industry. This applies particularly to the workers within industry. Their welfare is at stake. We must also inform our stockholders—those who own industry. American industry is not selfish. It would be far more just to say it has been preoccupied—preoccupied in producing; but I am convinced that industry's responsibilities cannot longer be adequately discharged by mere physical production." The employers must now get busy and save the country!

They went further in making this clear at the N.A.M. convention by announcing that under "the American System" they were going to fight against various measures by which the government is "hampering recovery," namely: efforts to regulate and control production; efforts to regulate the financing of business (regulation of banks, stock exchange, sale of securities, etc.); governmental measures to regulate hours of work and rates of pay; and governmental efforts to regulate relations between employer and employee which will "lead to political rule over both management and labor."

"Soak the Poor"

When the N.A.M. becomes still more concrete as to what it is going to fight for under the banner of "The American System" it speaks of cutting down the taxes on big incomes, levying an income tax on the lower incomes, extending various forms of sales taxes; in other words, a tax policy of "soak the poor." It speaks also of the need of drastic reduction of government expenditures, particularly for the unemployed in order that "the budget may be balanced" and the intolerable burden on business which, Mr. J. P. Morgan indicated recently, would soon make him a poor man may be lifted. And it attacks the Wagner-Connelly Labor Relations Act and all other measures

which even in the slightest degree give or appear to give support to labor in its efforts at unionization.

To put it bluntly, there is a temporary "recovery" under the capitalist system. That means a chance to make profits. And the industrialists announce that they are going to make them all they possibly can. They are going to remove every obstacle in their path if they can. And they are in a determined, fighting, enthusiastic and pious mood about it. For the moment American capitalists have recovered their morale.

Lewis Also for Roosevelt

Space permits only two practical observations: The announcement that the industrialists were going to fight Roosevelt's New Deal policies was greeted by William Green with a notice that this would itself mean that all liberal and labor forces would rally to Roosevelt's support, and John L. Lewis, who at certain points is conducting a spectacular fight against Green, on this matter solidarizes himself with the A. F. of L. president, announcing that he too would support Roosevelt wholeheartedly. Thus these trade union leaders once more try to give to workers a lesson in how not to do things. Industry has indeed, in the words of one of its spokesmen "much against its will been forced in sheer self-defense to enter the political arena or be destroyed as a private enterprise."

But Alfred P. Sloan is careful to explain just what this means: "It is important that we recognize that industry as an institution must not concern itself with promoting the fortunes of any political agencies." In other words, Sloan as well as other intelligent leaders recognize that they can use both the Republican and Democratic parties, especially as long as American workers think they can find salvation by turning now to one and now to another of these parties. Roosevelt saved them in 1933, among other things by persuading the workers and the trade union bureaucrats that he was going to give them a genuine New Deal. He is

even now giving fresh help to the industrialists by stating that there will be a "breathing spell" from social and regulatory legislation.

For the present what the industrialists want is to bring still more pressure on Roosevelt in order that they may get a larger and deeper breathing spell. They will by no means decisively or unanimously repudiate him as long as he gives them this and also keeps on building the military and naval establishment of the United States in preparation for that war with the imperialists of other nations which American imperialists clearly foresee. The workers can find salvation not via the proposition of Green and Lewis but by complete repudiation of all capitalist parties, by building up their own independent political strength, by organizing their power for the overthrow of the system which each in his own way, Sloan, Roosevelt and the trade union bureaucrats, seek to maintain.

"Smash the Unions"

Secondly, the main immediate object of the industrialists, hidden behind all the verbiage about "The American System," attacks on the New Deal, etc., is SMASH THE UNIONS. Not the Roosevelt administration, not the Wagner-Connelly Act, not the Labor Relations Board, or any of these agencies but the unions above all stand in the way of the profit-grabbing crusade on which the industrialists have entered. The organized workers can offer resistance to the breakdown of their standards. Besides, if the organized power of the workers grows they can shake the very foundations of the system from which the industrialists derive their profits and their prestige.

The main immediate answer to the employer offensive is labor's offensive: Organization campaigns in the basic industries; strikes for union recognition and against all attacks on labor standards; intensification of labor militancy to answer employer militancy; the building up of a leadership in the unions which breaks forever with the philosophy of collaboration with the profit-grabbing employers and stands on the basis of struggle against them.

prerequisite for the regrouping of the revolutionary forces.

Clarity is equally essential on other matters. Yesterday, the Militants believed that they could live at peace in the same party with the Old Guard. At that time we issued the warning that such an arrangement was politically impossible. Today, the Militants cherish the illusion that they can solidify their bloc with Thomas, Hoan and their like. Even more do they cultivate the illusion that the Socialist Party can be transformed into the revolutionary party of the American workers.

One illusion is as dangerous as the other. Revolutionists cannot remain for long within the same party with municipal reformists like Hoan; opponents of pacifism cannot remain for long in the same party with pacifists like Thomas and Allen. Such antagonistic elements will sooner or later collide with each other as the struggle within the S.P. develops, and fly apart.

The regrouping of the revolutionary forces on a national and international scale should be the fundamental task of all sincere Socialist workers. These forces can be reconstituted only on the basis of a clear and uncompromising revolutionary program. The duty of all Militants, who are revolutionists, is to work out such a program and to fight for its adoption. Only in this way will the split which has just taken place be a progressive one. Only through this road will all the revolutionary elements be united.

TO THE READERS OF THE NEW MILITANT

We beg your indulgence for having missed the last issue. However, this omission will, we believe, hardly be felt since this issue will be in your hands after a lapse of hardly two days. Various obstacles of a purely technical nature compelled us to take this course. Nevertheless we propose to turn the evil into a good by introducing a sorely needed reform. In the future the NEW MILITANT will be mailed on Wednesdays and you will receive it prior instead of after, as was the case until now, the date of issuance. New York branches will have it for week-end distribution and out of town branches before the week-end is out.

—THE NEW MILITANT.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

WAR TECHNOLOGY

Modern warfare when it involves the advanced capitalist countries is no longer a matter of winning battles. It is far more the pitting of the national resources and national technologies against each other. The control of coal and iron, of cotton, copper and oil—of the "strategic" materials—becomes of major and decisive importance. The threat made by the rival imperialists to cut off Mussolini's oil supply is a reminder of this fact. It is also a reminder of the careful planning for future war made years in advance by the military arm of each government.

The United States, for example, has its plans laid in the minutest fashion for the complete mobilization of the necessary industries the moment war breaks out. Contracts for all war materials need only to be signed to start, the production schedules already agreed upon with individual factories. The "Commodity Files" division of the United States Army keeps the most up-to-date information on volumes of production of all commodities, the sources of supply, the stock piles in the warehouses, the percentages used for various purposes, etc. This department is entrusted with the task of seeing to it that sufficient supplies can be made immediately available at the outbreak of war to carry on the war for two years even if the country be completely blockaded (an impossibility in the case of the United States) and no outside sources can be tapped. Even more, this department, in collaboration with the navy, sees to it that the necessary ships are sent to keep open the channels of communication with those countries which supply necessary foodstuffs or raw materials. In this connection all of South America comes under the complete domination of U. S. imperialism through its naval supremacy in continental waters. Plans are even ready for the seizure of those countries or parts of countries that produce strategic materials. Canada, with its monopoly of nickel, Bolivia and Chile with their tin, lead and nitrates would fall easy victims.

LABOR AND THE WAR PLANS

An important aspect of this planning is the economic side of production. The allocation of finances in the government budget is based on careful consideration of prices in connection with increased output. Greater production of any commodity can always be stimulated at a price. But this means that the government becomes interested in controlling prices as much as it can in time of war. The calculations of the imperialists and their military subordinates take into account particularly wages. Every strike tends to become a blow struck at the entire plan for making war profitable. Control of production for purposes of destruction means above all to the big financiers who actually run the govern-

ment, the keeping of a tight rein on the working class. It means the attempt to destroy any organized resistance to the well-laid plans of capitalist profiteers, to check the workers in any effort to maintain their standards of living or to improve them. More than ever the everyday struggles of the workers against the exploiters becomes a menace to the entire capitalist system, since these efforts of the oppressed to better their conditions disturb the smooth functioning of the system at a most critical time. Thus war forces the capitalists—their fears aroused both at home and abroad—to exert the utmost powers of their dictatorship to keep the workers in subjection. The class struggle takes on sharpened form; strikes tend to become political as well as economic battles; the workers who enter into the struggle see more clearly the oppressive role of the government as the instrument of the ruling class. These lessons are being drawn today by the Italian workers. They have experienced terrific blows at their living standards. Mussolini's plans for imperialist conquest are at the same time plans to rob the working class even more than in time of peace. That is the inevitable fate of every working class in time of peace.

WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The situation in North China has reached a critical stage. The Japanese are determined to seize the five northern provinces under the usual fakery of "autonomy," the cherished formula of the Japanese imperialists. But they would like to accomplish their ends with as little fuss as possible, with the "consent," if possible, of Chiang Kai-shek. This plant tool of the Japanese army is, however, in a quandary. He is witnessing the removal from his control of the richest provinces of China, Shanai and Shantung, provinces which supplied him with a lordly income. One hundred million people are being torn away to be exploited by the Japanese war-lords instead of the Chinese. The blow at the "prestige" of this dictator would be great indeed if he submits without a struggle. The utmost pressure is being exerted on him, both from within and from without (America and England) to fight in order to hold off the Japanese bandits as long as possible. There is a split in the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party of China dominated by Chiang, over this issue of war against Japan. The Japanese are not anxious to see Chiang make the decision to fight and hence they are exerting every form of threat to make him submit peacefully. This is the issue that now hangs in the balance. War now would find the Chinese working class pitted against Japan, but at the same time struggling also against the betrayer, Chiang Kai-shek, to replace his government by one that would truly fight to the end against Japanese and all other imperialism.

By NATHAN GOULD

(Continued from last week)

YOUTH AND RELIEF

For reasons obvious to all, the bourgeoisie has granted to the miserable of this country various forms of "relief": home relief, WPA, FWA, etc. These forms have affected primarily older workers, those having families.

If we are permitted to digress for a moment we might say that the President's speech in Atlanta on Friday, Nov. 23, gave clear indication that even these meager forms of relief are to be suspended in the near future. Referring to the budget, the President said: "As things stand today, and in the light of a definite and continuing economic improvement, we have passed the peak of appropriations. We can look forward with assurance to a decreasing deficit." And later, "In providing relief we are dealing with properly self-respecting Americans, to whom a mere dole outrages every instinct of individual independence."

Needless to say, and an early experience has revealed, that the forms of "relief" granted is in itself a most brazen mockery of the very word. However meager this relief, workers found that with considerable effort it was possible (barely) to subsist upon these meager grants from the government, the funds for which were obtained from the hides of the starving employed. But for some period of time, after many struggles, relief was finally granted, and the man with the family, the older worker, subsisted—hungry, starving, demoralized—but subsisting nevertheless. But the youth?—ignored.

Up until 1934 the very best that this section of the population received was vermin and disease-ridden "flop-houses." Since then, three institutions of relief have been granted the youth. (We shall give a detailed analysis of each of these in subsequent articles.)

INSTITUTIONS FOR YOUTH RELIEF

1. Transient Camps. In the N. Y. Times of Aug. 14, 1932, C. B. Hurd, giving minimum figure esti-

mates, reports that "there are between two and three hundred thousand youth between the ages of 12 to 20" who roam the country by means of freight trains, hitch-hiking, etc. Since that period the number of youth engaged in this means of livelihood has been increasing until, in the middle of 1934, various sources attributed the number of "roaming youth" to be closer to seven hundred and fifty thousand—a formidable number. The forms of living, the habits of life, deplorable physical, social and intellectual conditions imposed upon them can be most charitably characterized as destructive, demoralizing, and degenerating. To keep some of these youth from stealing, jail houses, certain social centers, and abandoned property for the most part, were designated as "TEMPORARY" shelters and called "transient camps." We do not intend to deal here with the exact nature or the specific faults of this institution. Suffice it to say that without making provision for the overwhelming majority of these "transients" (as they have come to be called), the government has since abolished the transient camp.

2. National Youth Act: The NYA which, according to a confidential despatch of the U. S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, on April 28, 1935, was designed to relieve "the prolonged thwarting of their (the unemployed youth's) natural desires and ambitions (which thwarting) may result either in a rebellious spirit or in a feeling of inferiority from which some of them will never recover."

Hence fifty million dollars has been appropriated for the purpose of relieving two million unemployed and student youth by paying for skilled and semi-skilled labor for a maximum of fifteen hours per week, the generous, scab, maximum wage of \$3 per week. Forced to scab at 20c per hour—\$3 per week maximum: a happy prospect for the starving youth. At that rate, the government can assure us the production of a fine core of mental deficients and physical incompetents.

But talk of the foregoing on this subject becomes almost extraneous when we learn from authentic

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Homestead Strike

By Leighton Rigby

Philanthropic Andrew Carnegie has been described as "not only the greatest manufacturer that has ever lived, but the author of a philosophic comprehension of the progress of civilization as wide as can be found in any other writer (!)" Nor is that all. He was "one who loved his fellow-men, who suffered, fought, wept and rejoiced with them as one of them."

But that's the Andrew Carnegie who is being honored by the innocents here and abroad on the occasion of the centenary of his birth. Surely it's not the Carnegie who stubbornly refused to recognize the workers' right to organize. It couldn't be the Carnegie who rendered ineffective most of the many strikes in his plants by cabling to Europe for a fresh batch of unacclimated, slavery-bound workers to live and work in the rotten conditions surrounding his enterprises. Certainly the Carnegie his workers knew was not the philanthropist the speech makers are praising.

In 1890, at the Carnegie Steel Company plants at Homestead, Pa., the company officials and the workers agreed upon a wage scale to extend over a period of three years. When this agreement expired, the substitute offered by Carnegie slashed wages twelve percent. The reason given was that labor-saving equipment had lessened the strenuousness of the work. Naturally, no mention was made of the increased profits derived from the displacement of those workers replaced by the new devices. The answer of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was a flat refusal to sign the new pact.

Carnegie boarded a boat for his native Scotland, leaving his lieutenant, Henry Clay Frick, to face the approaching storm. His literary mind doubtless recalled that line from Shakespeare: "So foul a sky clears not without a storm." And it was a most furious storm that came, one of the fiercest battles American workers have ever fought against the scourge of capitalism.

Carnegie Off to Bonnie Scotland

Before the clouds were pierced by a lookout, Carnegie dispatched a notice for Frick to post at the Homestead works. It said, in effect, that the company no longer recognized the workers' union and that the plant would be thenceforth strictly non-union. Of course, Carnegie was on his estate in bonny Scotland, safe from harm. Frick did not post the notice. The boss sent letter after letter, about the matter of the notice and plans for starving the workers into submission. This daylight is mentioned as added proof of Carnegie's determination to smash the union. The fact is that, as far as Carnegie was concerned, the end of the three-year agreement was to mean the end of the Amalgamated. A further unfortunate fact is that the Amalgamated was killed indeed, even if it took every man of the Pennsylvania guards to do the job.

When the lockout was ordered, the several Homestead branches of the union immediately elected an Advisory Committee. That body met and issued an announcement that "the committee has, after mature deliberation, decided to organize their forces on a truly military basis." Guards were stationed at

every entrance to Homestead, and lookouts kept the committee aware of any person or group approaching the town. The Monongahela river was patrolled by a steamboat chartered by the workers, in addition to numerous smaller boats.

Pinkerton's Are Spotted

The sheriff of Allegheny county admitted his inability to break the power of the workers' committee. As the next best thing, and notoriously more efficient, the company hired a band of three hundred Pinkerton thugs who were towed late at night on a floating arsenal from Pittsburgh. A worker lookout spotted the barge and gave the alarm. Whistles blew, and men, women and children rushed into the streets of Homestead, ready for battle.

Even before the Pinkerton detectives drew up to the landing, they had no difficulty in detecting militancy in the workers, because they heard the crack of gunfire as soon as the barge was discernible to those on the shore. When the Pinkertons attempted to go ashore, they were driven back and forced to get under cover. Both sides were

determined—the thugs because they were being well paid, and the workers because the struggle would rather die fighting than starve.

From the opposite bank, two canoes barked, but the discharges did not touch the Pinkerton barge. Rifles and revolvers ceaselessly added to the sound of battle. Dynamite boomed as the fighting workers strove to blast the paid killers out of the river. The Pinkertons would be allowed to continue the battle on land only by "trampling over the dead bodies of three thousand honest workmen." Few engagements in the long history of class warfare, here or anywhere, have been more valiantly fought by the oppressed class.

The Workers Victorious

The boat that had towed the Pinkerton barge was driven off to Pittsburgh, and the Carnegie storm troops, beaten and seeing no other channel of escape, raised the white flag. They were allowed to disembark and entrain for Pittsburgh. The battle of Homestead was over, the workers victorious. The casualties for both sides were ten dead and sixty wounded, several mortally.

After the smoke had cleared away, the workers' committee was voted the power of government in Homestead. Untruthful reports intended for propaganda against the workers were destroyed before they were dispatched to the capitalist press throughout the land. There was classless peace in Homestead, and the dingy shacks suddenly felt like homes, rather than dirty, crawling prison cells.

But the Carnegie influence was greater in Harrisburg than that of iron workers. Though the town was still and the departure of the Pinkertons had assured the end of disorders, eight thousand soldiers pitched camp at Homestead.

Seine District of Socialist Youth Grows Since Their Expulsion

"ONCE EXPELLED YOU WILL BE NOTHING, NOT EVEN WIND, NOT EVEN DUST..."—From a speech of Lagorrette, right wing leader of the Socialist Youth at the Lille Congress.

203 new applications to the Socialist Youth of the Seine, of which 40 are Young Communists and 30 of the "Social Front," bringing our membership up to 1,800.

42 public meetings organized by the J. S.
24 meetings organized jointly with the party.
More than 100 joint meetings in which we participated.
Four new issues of "Revolution," whose circulation has constantly grown.

A new series of leaflets.
A district poster on the events of Brest and Toulon.
A poster on the Italo-Ethiopian war.
Throw-away posters for meetings and public gatherings.
An edition of leaflets on the "People's Front."
A propaganda pamphlet with our slogans.

An issue of "Revolution" confiscated by the government and several comrades victimized by bourgeois justice.

WE HAVE NEVER BEEN STRONGER THAN SINCE THE EXPULSIONS AT LILLE!

—(From "Revolution," November issue)

Five Years of "Spartacus"

War Machine Exploits Misery and Poverty of the Youth to Corral Them for New Capitalist Juggernaut

sources that even that which was described as the purpose of the NYA has been flagrantly and criminally distorted. This significant information was revealed when the head of the New York Department of the National Youth Administration resigned his post, giving as his reason, that notwithstanding the passing of over one third of the period of the plan, nothing, absolutely nothing, had been accomplished insofar as aid to the needy youth was concerned.

3. The Civilian Conservation Corps: The CCC is America's military forced labor camps where unemployed youth are conscripted (by economic conditions of course) to do skilled labor UNDER MILITARY DISCIPLINE at \$1 per day and keep. So successful has been this "conscription" that the government has by this time increased the number of camps from 1,600 to 2,900, and the number of recruits per period (six months) from some 300,000 to almost 600,000. The gross dissatisfaction with the conditions of our "forced labor camps" is best revealed by the reports almost daily of strikes and demonstrations in the camps against the food, the quartering, and the labor conditions.

Mr. Mitchell's article, favorable to the CCC, appearing in The New Republic of May 20, 1935, states that "perhaps one third of the depression youth will go through the CCC." This statement is of outstanding significance in view of the fact that it is an open secret, admitted by the military officials in charge of the CCC, that the latter is not actually a relief project or a social or industrial enterprise, but that it is (and they make no bones about it) a military affair; an expedient way of training the youth, of preparing them for the war, at army camp wages, for semi-skilled union labor. This explains

why, of the three "relief" projects, only the latter thrives.

Hence of the three relief agencies offered the five million or more unemployed youth of this country, the first is abolished, the second is a failure and acknowledged as a mockery by one of its leaders and outstanding proponents, and the third turns out to be a starvation, scabbing forced labor outfit designed to give the youth no relief, but to prepare them for a war in defense of the profits of those who deny them life and who impose upon them conditions of starvation and physical and moral degradation.

To these youth a future can be assured only if they can be reached by the Workers Party through its youth instrument, the Spartacus Youth League, to direct them in the struggles for their needs.

ON THE WAR FRONT

It does not require years of experience or great powers of observation to know that youth today figures as the most serious factor in modern warfare. With the introduction of mass production and the system characterized by it, we have simultaneously the introduction of the system of mass murder, of the cream of the population—the proletarian youth. That youth is primarily to the victory of a nation in war and vital to the victory of an class is known better perhaps by the bourgeoisie than anybody else.

Long before Karl Liebknecht uttered his rich and meaningful slogan, "He who has the youth has the army," King Frederick William of Germany, speaking for the ruling classes, already pronounced in even more explicit terms this identical thought when he stated:

"A civil war needs soldiers who will obey blindly; which is as

much as to say that it needs well drilled children and minors. The most loyal recruits are to be found among the kids who have only just left school. Unquestioned faith is a soldier's best ammunition."

And further:

"Youth recently confirmed make the best fighting men."
Hence Van Roon raised the cry: "Away with the Landwehr! Not for the simple increase in the army, but for the creation of an army which should consist mainly of youth."

How loyally the American bourgeoisie had conducted this policy is strikingly illustrated not only by the conditions of its draft laws, by the ages of the individuals comprising the present standing army, but more so upon its specific stress and attention upon those military institutions for civilians which attract almost entirely youth. The size of every military and semi-military youth organization (particularly the National Guards—and the Boy Scouts, Sea Scouts and other children's organizations) has grown tremendously in the past five years. The CMTC (Military training camps for civilians) attracting almost exclusively youth has in the past seven years almost doubled the number of its camps and more than doubled its yearly enrollment which amounts to over one million.

Nor have they neglected the advice given with regards the student. An article in the Chicago Daily Tribune of Aug. 28, 1935, was headlined: "ROTC Already Biggest in U.S.; To Be Doubled." "The Reserve Officers Training Corps, a military institution in the high schools and colleges, is operated under the direct jurisdiction of the U. S. War Department. Aside from its military function in warfare,

WORLD OF LABOR

Belgian Labor Party Bureaucrats Push Expulsions As Left Wing Adopts Revolutionary Position

The leadership of the Belgian Labor Party (P.O.B.) follows close on the heels of its brother bureaucrats in the French Socialist Party in bounding revolutionists from the organization. They take their cue from the bourgeois police who intensify the repression against revolutionary opponents of war in direct ratio with the imminence of the conflict.

Moreover in Belgium, national unity with the bourgeoisie is already an accomplished fact. Vandervelde, spiritual guide and leader of the P.O.B. is a member of the Van Zeeland cabinet which at this moment is being challenged in its anti-working class monetary policy by the threat of a wide-spread miners' strike. More the reason for the threat of expulsion against the comrades of the Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire, organ of the left wing in the P.O.B.

The following quotation from the A.S.R. is therefore published with great gratification since it indicates that the left wing comrades mean to fight and not capitulate:

"As the leadership of the P.O.B. becomes ever more deeply involved in the field National Union for War it must be foreseen that disciplinary measures—so-called—will be taken against the groups and elements who are fighting against special-patriotism and against the tendency which under cover of the struggle 'against Fascism and war' prepares the workers to participate on the side of their bourgeoisie in the new imperialist war."

"Last week we indicated the attack being prepared in top committee against the Action Socialiste Revolutionnaire. The quarrel which the leadership of the party sought to provoke with the J.G.S. (Young Socialist Guards) depriving them of the subsidy and disciplinary measures, arises from the same causes. Similarly with the first sanctions against the L.I.G.A. (anti-war league under left wing control) which has adopted a position close to that of the A.S.R. on the problem of war."

"The attack unleashed by the leadership of the P.O.B. against the opponents of its policy of National Union with the bourgeoisie for war necessitates a rapid coordination of the left forces, of the revolutionary forces determined to hold high and firm the banner of internationalist socialism, the banner of proletarian revolution."

Ever since the removal of the renegade Spaak who mouthed the most revolutionary phrases only to become a minister in His Majesty Leopold's cabinet in the first serious crisis, and the break with the Stalinist hireling Dr. Marteau, the A.S.R. has moved consistently to the left. The entry of the Belgian Bolshevik-Leninists and their close cooperation with A.S.R. contributed not a little to this leftward movement. We have just received in the mails the latest copy of A.S.R., containing a manifesto on war which takes an outright revolutionary position. Lack of space permits the reproduction of a few

excerpts only. Following an introduction in which they explain the causes of the Italo-Ethiopian war and the world war which may follow, they continue:

"Consequently it is necessary to combat and defeat capitalism to obliterate the causes of war and assure lasting peace among the peoples by international proletarian revolution and the institution of the socialist society! In order to put an end to war, it is above all in its own country that the proletariat must fight and defeat capitalism!"

"... As in 1914, the leaderships of the workers' movement—the Second (Socialist) International and the Third (Communist) International—unite on the question of 'national defense' in a capitalist regime, preparing the workers to participate in the new imperialist war on the side of their national bourgeoisie."

"The attitude which they have adopted in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and which consists in placing the workers' movement at the service of the League of Nations, is proof sufficient. It is not as enemies but as servants of their respective imperialisms that the workers are called upon to act! This road, lauded by the leaders of the Second and Third International, leads directly into national union for war and to a new massacre of millions of human beings for the defense of capitalist interests."

"... 'Fascism means war' is the deceptive formula by means of which the leaders of the workers' movement want to drag you behind the capitalists for the defense of the capitalist fatherland in which you are not and can never be anything but slaves! For the defense of the capitalist interests they propose that you sacrifice your life in case of war. But when your interests are involved they are opponents of the revolutionary struggle against your exploiters! Against external Fascism expressing the imperialist capitalist interests opposed to those of our bourgeoisie, they are partisans of war; but against Belgian Fascism they are opponents of direct action, of the physical and armed struggle of the workers."

"To follow the directives of the Second and Third Internationals on the question of war will, as in 1914, lead directly into a new catastrophe for the international labor movement."

"... No confidence in the League to 'guarantee peace!' It is the den of imperialist bandits, oppressors, of the peoples."

"No confidence in the Van Zeeland government of Belgian capitalism, which has aided and still aids Italian imperialism in its aggression by supplying it with raw materials!"

"Our slogan remains: Not a train, not a boat, not a penny, for Italian imperialism! Immediate boycott by the workers of all production and transportation for Italy! Independent action of the working class!"

"But at the same time struggle against our own capitalists and the government to wrest from it increases in wages, unemployment grants, pensions, in proportion to the rising cost of living!"

"Only by carrying on the struggle on this class basis, can the toilers simultaneously fight war, capitalism and Fascism!"

"Against the policy of collaboration with the class enemy!"

"For a policy of direct struggle of the masses against their exploiters."

"Against 'National Defense' under a capitalist regime, against National Union for war!"

"For revolutionary defeatism and the victory of the revolution through the armed insurrection of the working class!"

"Down with the capitalist regime, cause of misery, Fascism, and war!"

"For the seizure of power by the toiling masses through revolutionary struggle: Mobilize!"

"Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

"Down with the capitalist national states and their frontiers!"

"Long live the Soviet United States of Europe!"

"Long live the international working class revolution!"

AKRON WORKERS!

Hear

MAX SHACHTMAN

speak on

"WAR AND THE WORKERS"

Friday, Dec. 13th, 8 P.M.

Tailors' Union Hall

21 S. Main Street

The speaker will be determined by the

answer which the W.P. will give

through the S.Y.L. to the question:

"Who will have the youth?"

(Next article: Youth and Fas-

cism, and Youth in Other Labor

Organizations.)

We Can Make Good!

the entire affair was the genuine and principled united front affect between the Young Socialists and Young Fourth Internationalists on the basis of a fundamental agreement on the war question.

NEW MILITANT

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N. West Militants Meet

Seeks Link with A.F.L. Industrial Unionists; Cannon Speaks

AUSTIN, Minn., Dec. 7.—An unqualified stand for industrial unionism and a move to coordinate the independent unions in the north-west with the movement for industrial unionism in the A.F. of L. were the outstanding features of an enthusiastic meeting of the Northwest Labor Unity Conference held here today. Forty delegates from various northwestern points were in attendance. Local 574 was represented by Ray Dunne and Farrell Dobbs. A strong delegation was present from the Independent Union of Packing House Workers at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Other delegates representing independent packing house workers' unions were present from Austin, Albert Lea and Mason City.

After a speech by James P. Cannon of New York City, who had been specially invited to address the conference on the subject of progressive labor policy, a thorough discussion took place in which the majority of the delegates participated. Unanimous opinion was crystallized that the conference must push its campaign for a policy of class struggle and for industrial unionism as a necessary modern form of labor organization.

Hall Movement in A. F. of L.
The movement for industrial unionism which has developed in the A. F. of L. was hailed as a big step forward, which must be supported and encouraged by all progressive unionists, whether affiliated to the A. F. of L. or not. Emphasizing that progressive independent unions must on no account give up their demand for industrial unionism and the democratic right to regulate their own internal affairs, the conference unanimously recommended that, on these conditions, independent unions should declare their readiness to affiliate to the A. F. of L.

It was pointed out in the discussion that the independent auto workers unions of Detroit, now on strike, had taken this position, and the action of the Detroit independent unions was hailed with approval in the adopted resolution. The resolution also calls for a coordination of efforts and activities of the progressive independent unionists with the industrial union movement in the A.F. of L. in order to hasten the day when we will have a truly unified trade union movement organized on an industrial basis.

A motion was unanimously carried to send a wire of greeting to the Packing House Workers now on strike at Oklahoma City, pledging support in their struggle and asking for the establishment of closer communication and co-operation. Organizations represented at the meeting ordered 450 subscription cards to the Northwest Organizer.

It was decided that a full conference be held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on Saturday, February 1. The resolution adopted for consideration by all the affiliated organizations pending the next conference is as follows:

RESOLUTION ON POLICY OF THE NORTHWEST LABOR UNITY CONFERENCE

1. The Northwest Labor Unity

(Continued from Page 2)

Sanctions End in Scandal

LEAGUE POWERS PLAN PARTITION OF ETHIOPIA

ANGUISHED walls were sent up by pacifists, liberals, social democrats and Stalinists throughout the world last week over the proposal for giving about half of Ethiopia to Italy, which Sir Samuel Hoare, British Foreign Minister, and Premier Laval of France advanced as a basis for peace negotiations between the Fascist aggressor and the last of the independent nations of Africa, fighting to escape just such partition. The League of Nations had been "betrayed" especially by the Baldwin cabinet in Great Britain. The "honor" of Britain had been sullied. This was no way to break into the preparations for the celebration of Christmas, and more of the same kind.

If the Hoare-Laval proposals teach the muddle-heads, and what is more important, the workers, who have been led into confusion by them, something about the true role of the League of Nations, the real character of the modern capitalist state and the anti-working class character of the policy of dependence on the League of Nations which has been followed by the bureaucrats in control of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Messrs. Hoare and Laval will indeed have rendered a service!

The League of Nations was never anything but a tool by which certain great powers, especially France and Great Britain, carried out their imperialist designs, an idealistic screen behind which their war preparations could go on. For months after Haile Selassie first appealed to the League against Italian aggression, the League machinery served precisely this function of a screen behind which Italy poured troops into Africa and accumulated supplies for a war. At one point in these negotiations France and Great Britain advanced proposals which in principle were no different from the present ones though offering Italy much less territory than now. The full application of League sanctions, as the NEW MILITANT pointed out, meant imperialist war against Italy. If now the great powers have decided that they are not ready for a general showdown and that therefore the Italo-Ethiopian conflict must somehow be stopped, how else will it be composed except on such terms as the imperialist powers may agree on among themselves? And what should be the function of the League

except to give a cover of legality and idealism to this "settlement"? This will still be the underlying truth of the matter even if the Hoare-Laval proposals should be considerably modified or even shelved altogether for the time being.

It is nevertheless quite evident that the plans of the French and British governments, whatever they may have been, did not work with the smoothness which the respective cabinets would undoubtedly have liked. The fact that such abrupt maneuvers are necessary is in itself an indication of how acute the imperialist tensions are at present. Some new threat may have developed from an unexpected quarter about which we shall learn as the plot of the great drama develops. It may well be also that certain "statesmen" have become involved in a particularly juicy bit of intrigue which will not see the light until the workers gain control of some capitalist government and give its secret documents to the world, as Lenin and Trotsky did in Russia in 1917.

The main factors in the situation are sufficiently clear. The application of all sanctions to Italy might produce an "incident" which would lead to open warfare between Italy and England; but England is none too certain just how prompt and efficient French support would be in such a case. Probably a general conflagration would then be well nigh inevitable and the powers are probably not ready to face that. Whether or not Stanley Baldwin deliberately maneuvered to outsmart the Labor Party in the recent elections over the issue of sanctions and League support, the fact is that the National government is in power again, that need of British imperialists has been met, and the government can now turn with more freedom to guard British interests at the most vital points in disregard of "peace sentiment." Possibly the steady progress of Japan in China requires the release of British ships from the Mediterranean.

The recent revolt in Egypt which compelled the British government to restore the constitution of 1923, giving at least a semblance of independence to that country, is only one of many indications that England and France may

face serious situations with their colonial possessions and other dependencies if the disturbance does not soon die down. Another ominous (for all imperialists) specter is raised by the fact that the Italian campaign in Ethiopia, what with transport and other difficulties, is not proceeding too smoothly. What dangerous thoughts its collapse would put into the heads of "backward peoples"! In Italy, too, the pinch of sanctions and war expenditures are being felt, and unrest is mounting.

Should Mussolini fail, who and what is to succeed the Fascist regime in Italy? Complications which might flow from that eventuality might shake the entire European capitalist structure. In particular the French Right has probably made it clear to Laval that it will not accept this eventuality without bitter opposition. It is no surprise, therefore, to read coincidentally with the announcement of the Hoare-Laval proposals that diplomatic conversations aimed at an agreement between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, are under way. From their own point of view these powers might do worse than come to an understanding among themselves, and to quiet things in Western Europe so as to leave themselves free to carry out their imperialist policies in Asia and Africa and against the Soviet Union.

To the Workers Party the recent developments did not constitute a shocking surprise, a miracle for which there is no explanation, a case perhaps of a bad attack of flu on the eve of a badly needed vacation in Switzerland causing Sir Samuel Hoare to make a regrettable personal mistake. Our policy remains the same:

Exposure of the role of the League of Nations!
Opposition to League sanctions!
Against imperialist war measures!
Defense of Ethiopia and resistance against Italy by the independent action of the working class and its allies!
Struggle against imperialist war by building the movement for the overthrow of capitalism!
Defense of the Soviet Union through building the Fourth International!

Where Is Roosevelt's Relief Program Going?

FACTS AND POLICIES FOR WPA WORKERS

By HERBERT CAPELIS

From the bombastic scheming and prattling that accompanied the introduction of the Works Progress Administration, the naive observer would have been led to believe that the problem of unemployment in the United States was about to be liquidated.

In line with its propaganda campaign, the government acted with startling suddenness. Between Sept. 1 and Sept. 15, 1935, the abolition of the Federal Transient Bureau began and was completed. Relief to roving workers in search of employment was wiped out to the last penny, leaving tens and tens of thousands of people destitute far from their home towns.

On the heels of this move, Federal relief terminated in 26 states by Nov. 15. On that date, also, the remaining states received their final unemployment "dole," thereby casting the unemployed entirely on the tender mercies of the state and municipal relief agencies. As bad as had been the situation of the unemployed before, it now struck new and horrible depths. Worse than in any other section of the country, the conditions in the South fell to unbelievably low levels. Numerous FERA surveys (many of them existing only as secret documents and so entitled) were taken which reveal appalling conditions. Witness: In Atlanta, Georgia, a typical survey of 133 cases at random—only ten were eating "regularly"; 16 existed on one meal a

day; dozens were actually found ravaging garbage pails and dumps! For the month of July 15 to August 15, 26 of the families had an income of less than \$6 per family for the month! Noted in the survey was the following astonishing statement: "that these conditions are general in the larger cities and yet much better than conditions in the rural communities." One could cite such examples indefinitely—the daily papers carry a fraction of them. Such were the pre-conditions and background upon which flashed the star of the WPA.

II. FACTS

In April, 1935 the Works Progress Administration of the FERA was set up with an appropriation close to \$400,000,000. On Nov. 30, the FERA ended, having run out its \$3,700,000,000 appropriation as of May, 1935. By Dec. 1, the WPA nationally had taken on 2,225,000 workers: with the largest single section, over 255,000 concentrated in New York alone. (One might add ironically that 40,000 out of 240,000 applicants in New York were turned down as unfit physically for work—glorious tribute to the effects of the crisis on the unemployed!)

The overwhelming bulk of projects put into effect were "labor projects," public works, highway construction, parks, playgrounds, reforestation, etc. While the Roosevelt opposition in the ranks of the capitalists has shouted of "grandiose" boom-bogging at exorbitant rates of pay, the fact is that only 6 per cent of the total number of projects nationally fall into the "white collar" class. Swiftly and chaotically, 2 and a quarter million workers of every sort and variety were transferred from relief rolls over to the WPA—primarily on so-called "unskilled labor" projects (following Roosevelt's formula of "putting the unemployed onto 'useful' work projects").

Conditions? 120 hours a month at wages ranging from \$19 to tops of \$93 per month. (A small, insignificant fraction, such as foremen, certified accountants, apparatus people, etc. receive higher pay—and generally work more hours.) The South again offers the worst picture: Seven states, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and the Carolinas offer the magnificent pay of \$19 per month on the so-called "unskilled labor" projects. Magnificent pay indeed! 30 hours a week at a little over \$4 per week to support a family—and there are complaints that the men do not work hard enough and "there ought to be stricter discipline"! Hovering on the Mason-Dixon line, Baltimore, Md., several

(Continued on Page 3)

Direct Relief Remains Central Issue for Unemployed; Workers' Organizations Must Demand Large-Scale Public Works

By JOHN WEST

The new stage in the Roosevelt relief program began during the first weeks of the last session of Congress, and has now reached its culmination. The publicity agents of the Administration explained their idea as follows:

At the beginning of 1935 there were approximately 5,000,000 persons receiving direct relief (the dole), at least part of which came from the Federal Treasury. Direct Federal relief was to be eliminated. 1,500,000 of these 5,000,000 could be classified as "unemployable" because of illness, old age, or some similar reason. These were to be transferred entirely to the relief rolls of the states and municipalities, and cut off from Federal relief. The remaining 3,500,000 were to be given temporary work at a "security wage" by the Works Progress Administration. This temporary work was to continue for the most part until some time during 1936. By then, the majority of the "employables" would be re-employed by private industry. The rest would be transferred to "heavy" and more permanent public works projects along the lines of the WPA.

Program Not Fulfilled

To accomplish this program \$4,880,000,000 was appropriated by Congress. \$680,000,000 was to be used to continue direct relief until the WPA program was fully running, and the unemployables sent

WORLD OF LABOR

Congress of Dutch R.S.A.P. Overwhelmingly Favors 4th Int'l; Defeats S.A.P. Splitters

The convention of the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.) held at Utrecht November 16 and 17 overwhelmingly endorsed the steps which had been taken by the leadership of the party in recent months in furthering the cause of the Fourth International.

The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. on behalf of the party signed the Open Letter for the Fourth International in August of this year. It has participated, together with the other signatories—the International Communist League, the Workers Party of the United States and the Workers Party of Canada—in the preliminary work of establishing a Contact Commission for the Fourth International. The secretaries of the R.S.A.P., H. Sneevliet and P. J. Schmidt, are, in fact, the provisional secretaries of this Contact Commission.

Opponents of the P. C., associated with and largely under the influence of the German Socialist Labor Party (S.A.P.) living in exile in Paris today, conducted a campaign in the party against the P. C. on the ground that in taking concrete steps along with the co-signatories of the Open Letter for the organization of the Fourth International they were violating the fusion agreement which last year brought together the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and the Independent Socialist Party, the latter being affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau and working there for the Fourth International. The S.A.P. leaders, while paying lip-service to the cause of the Fourth International, have consistently refused to take any concrete steps for its realization and by their criticism of those who were taking these steps, including Trotsky, have sabotaged the movement.

Unequivocally for 4th International
The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. had contended that though the party maintained a connection with the London-Amsterdam Bureau for the purpose of working openly within it for the Fourth International, the fusion congress had clearly placed the party in the ranks of those who were unequivocally committed to the building of the Fourth International, and that all steps taken by the P. C. had flowed politically and organizationally from this basic position of the party.

The Utrecht convention endorsed this position of the leadership by a vote of 2,500 for, with 250 against and 200 abstentions. The convention decided that the party in the future would establish direct and specific organizational ties only with such parties and groups as stand on the platform of the Open Letter, though fraternal relations will be maintained with any groups which are moving in the direction of the Fourth International. Organizational ties with the emigrant leadership of the German S.A.P. are definitely broken off by action of the convention because of the role played by this leadership in seeking to create turmoil within the Dutch party.

When both the representatives of the opposition who were given equal time at the convention and those of the Political Committee had presented their case to the membership, the membership was so incensed at the political bankruptcy and the organizational measures which had been employed by the opposition that they voted overwhelmingly, against the advice of the Political Committee, for more stringent regulations with regard to taking back into the party those who had been expelled or had left it than the P. C. resolution had recommended.

Of special interest is the fact that, as the organ of the R.S.A.P. puts it, a "crushing majority of precisely those branches mainly composed of former O.S.P. members," namely, the party which had been affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau, voted for the P.C. resolution and solidified themselves in unmistakable fashion with the leadership of the fused party.

The leading editorial in the issue of De Nieuwe Fakkel which reports the convention, concludes with the statement that the convention has cemented the fusion of the former R.S.P. and O.S.P. and in brilliant fashion ratified and strengthened this fusion and the independent party of the Fourth International based upon it.

It is interesting to note that the one voice raised in recent weeks in the parliaments of the European nations for the full Leninist program against war and sanctions was that of H. Sneevliet, Secretary of the R.S.A.P. in a remarkable address in the Dutch parliament.

NOMAD LECTURE POSTPONED

Max Nomad's lecture on "Intellectuals and the Class Struggle" will be postponed until Friday, Dec. 27, 8 P.M. It will be held at Branch 1 headquarters, 320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C.

PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.
DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.
5 Washington Square North
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

Progressive Meet in NW

(Continued from Page 1)
Conference has come into existence in order to bring the progressive unionists in the northwest closer together, to provide a common meeting ground for the discussion of problems and the coordination of the educational activities of its members to unify and strengthen the labor movement.

2. The conference stands for a policy of class struggle and for industrial unionism as the necessary modern form of labor organization. All the experience since the formal launching of the conference a year ago has shown the correctness of this position. In the coming year progressive unionists everywhere must work more aggressively and energetically than ever to popularize these ideas and convince the unions of the necessity to adopt them and put them into practice.

3. The struggle for the industrial form of organization conducted at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. and the setting up of a committee headed by the presidents of several international unions to continue this campaign, are developments of the greatest significance and importance. Progressive unionists are bound to support every decisive step for industrial unionism which alone will make possible the organization of the unorganized millions, especially in the mass production industries, and thus strengthen the labor movement everywhere. Progressive unionists are likewise firm advocates of union unity. Wherever progressive organizations are kept out of the A. F. of L. because of craft union restrictions, or because of expulsion by reactionary officials, they should continue to work for unification without, however, giving up their progressive policies or their right of internal democracy.

4. The development of the big movement for industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. creates the conditions to coordinate the efforts of industrial unionists outside as well as inside the A. F. of L. The conference recommends that non-A. F. of L. unions follow the example of the independent unions of automobile workers at Detroit and declare their readiness to cooperate with the industrial union A. F. of L. forces and to enter the A. F. of L. on only two conditions: (1) indus-

Whither the Relief Program?

(Continued from Page 1)
And what is the prospect for next year? Is this program going to be fulfilled? It is necessary to answer these questions.

Unemployment Permanent
In the first place, we must always bear in mind that unemployment, and wide-spread unemployment, is not a temporary but a permanent feature of the remaining years of capitalism. "Private" industry is not going to re-absorb the great body of the unemployed. According to the most favorable estimates (in all probability, much too favorable to be true), a maximum of 5,000,000 workers have been re-employed since the low point of employment in March, 1933. This leaves a minimum of 11,000,000 unemployed at the present time. Moreover, these figures take no account of workers on part-time who are not making during a year even a bare subsistence wage, or of the "new" workers coming from the schools, high schools and colleges. It also leaves out of account the highly seasonal character of employment in many of the great industries such as automobiles and textiles. The unemployment figures may be reduced still further by the continuation of the present upsurge in the business cycle; but they will remain at an enormous figure.

Many of these unemployed still manage to live from savings, assistance from relatives, charity, or odd dollars that they pick up here and there. But these sources have been drying up, and "prosperity" is not returning to an extent sufficient to revive them. Of the rest of the unemployed, it is and will continue to be impossible that they can all or even a major part be taken care of by any "made work" or "relief work" or "public works" plan.

Direct Relief Still Primary
Direct relief—the dole—will continue as a permanent feature of declining capitalism. In the chaotic, anarchic conditions of capitalism in its death throes, no rational social planning is possible. It is a futile illusion of middle class imagination-makers to suppose that the dole

can be eliminated, an illusion similar to the older dream that a "co-operative commonwealth" can be built up alongside of and within capitalist society.

Important conclusions follow from these facts. Above all, they demonstrate that the problem of direct relief remains and will remain a central issue for the organized unemployed. The programs of the unemployed organizations must continue to have direct relief demands as a primary focus, and must avoid any perspective in terms of the illusory dream that the dole will shortly be eliminated. Moreover, it must be understood by the unemployed organizations that direct relief will continue to be in large part a Federal institution. Mass pressure against Congress and the Administration must be built up to demand not merely a continuation but an increase in direct Federal relief; and these demands must be coupled with the demand to finance the appropriations out of direct taxes in the form of inheritance, corporation, and income levies directed at the higher brackets.

But direct relief is likewise a problem for the "relief workers" themselves, in a double sense. In the first place, the low wage level of relief work (e.g., the WPA) makes supplementary relief in many cases imperative. Secondly, such institutions as the WPA are temporary in character. The projects extend over comparatively short periods of time, and when they are completed the relief workers are again thrown out of jobs. Thus the unemployed organizations proper must take the lead in promoting the organization of the relief workers, and must closely integrate the relief work demands with the unemployed demands in general.

WPA—Attack on Relief Standards
In fact, one of the primary purposes of the WPA must be understood as an indirect attack on relief standards. This must be resisted at every point: by fighting against the wage levels of the WPA itself, by preventing lowering of direct relief in shifting the unemployed from one role to another, by demanding supplementary relief, by insisting on immediate transfer to adequate relief when a project ends, etc.

However, from another point of view, not less important, the WPA program constitutes a major attack

on general wage levels, particularly the union levels in the building trades. And in this direction, the WPA, and relief work generally, become a direct problem for the trade unions, as, from the other direction, the WPA is a problem for the unemployed organizations. Thus the trade unions must be brought into the struggle for the organizing and strengthening of the relief workers, and for the lifting of WPA and other relief wages to union levels.

As has already been pointed out, however, the WPA, like any other given form of relief work, is temporary by its very nature. The struggles centering around the WPA, the present feature-point of the Administration unemployed program, must therefore be made part of the broader struggle for the advancement of the position of the unemployed, for higher direct relief, for unemployment and social insurance, and for large scale public works. This last point is of especial importance in looking forward to the next period, and has been seriously neglected by the labor movement generally. It is true that genuine public works cannot be handled in a scientific and large-scale manner by a capitalist state. But sufficient pressure can accomplish at least something in this field. At present, the public works program of the government has receded into the background along with the advance of WPA. The housing program, about which there has been such constant ballyhoo, still remains almost entirely on paper, scattered in confusion among more than a dozen governmental agencies.

The demand for a large scale public works program must be brought forward sharply and forced upon the next Congress. This demand must distinguish public works clearly from temporary relief work, and above all must fight against the conception of "security wages." Its central feature should be low-rental housing directly subsidized by the Federal government. Such a demand, supported primarily by independent class action, will do much to expose the demagogic, hollow and wholly reactionary character of the Roosevelt relief program, and can play a prominent part in a genuine advance for the entire unemployed movement, and through it for the working class as a whole.

Texas Jobless Face Hunger

(Continued from Page 1)
Talk of General WPA Strike
Against this latest and most vicious onslaught of Roosevelt the 2nd, the unemployed of Texas are struggling manfully in a rather unorganized fashion. All over this vast area, there are occurring small conflicts on projects which are significant of a growing resentment even if they are ignored by the state press. In Shelby County, on the Louisiana border, the workers refused to dig ditches in the sticky mud until they were provided with longer shovels. When relief was temporarily discontinued in Wichita Falls several months ago, the city officials became so alarmed over the prospects of a mass uprising that they dropped all their duties to rustle food and clothing.

On every project of any size in Texas the workers are muttering of a general relief strike. Strike against the shameful wage scale of \$33 to \$68 per month; reduce the working hours to 70 per month in order that every needy person may have employment—these are the sentiments expressed when the men knock off work to eat their cold, soggy lunches.

Learning Solidarity
Most revealing of all is the increased solidarity between the unions and the unemployed organizations. During the past year, the unemployed have rallied to the picket-lines, preventing the more backward of their number from breaking a successive series of strikes. Negroes, Mexicans and whites, forgetting for the moment the blinding prejudices inculcated by the ruling class, and fighting a common battle—perhaps the first dim outline of the revolutionary pattern!

The younger group in the Texas Federation of Labor is fighting the old guard in a demand for an immediate general strike on all projects, to be reinforced by the collective strength of the trade unions. Spurred by misery as well as the promise of union support, the unemployed of Texas are becoming less demoralized, less ready to acquiesce in the whims of well-paid class workers. They are looking at the future and determining to live!

HAVE YOU FULFILLED THE EIGHT PAGE SUB QUOTA?

Pa. Jobless Organizations Unite in Statewide Action

(Continued from Page 1)
relief administration's jam-crowded lodging arrangements, the delegates slept in the capitol building itself Saturday night. One of the delegates, the father of a family of 13 living on the miserable relief orders, died of a heart attack on the second day. The heart attack was brought on by undernourishment.

Considerable progress along the line of united front action was achieved at the conference despite a number of obstacles due mainly to the usual splitting activities of the Stalinists and their Communist Party-controlled organizations.

The first step toward a statewide united front of the unemployed in Pennsylvania was initiated by the Pennsylvania Unemployed League last September. In a perfectly loyal and correct united front procedure the P.U.L. invited the Pennsylvania Security League, the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League, the Communist Party-dominated Unemployment Councils and several lesser organizations to sponsor a joint conference in Allentown on September 11. The conference met, decided on a program of action and voted to reconvene in Harrisburg on September 20. On September 20 a joint committee presented the case of the jobless before the State Emergency Relief Board. On September 21 the conference elected Lester W. Heckman of the P.U.L. as its Continuations Secretary. It was agreed upon adjournment that all further united front activities were to be carried on through the Continuations Secretary.

On October 10 the organization again cooperated in a loyal united front before the Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg. All of these steps, besides helping to build up the sentiment for united action, achieved substantial results for the workers in the form of wage increases on the projects throughout the whole state.

These moves toward statewide unity of the unemployed have been supplemented recently by the negotiations for national unity carried on by the N.U.L. and the Workers Alliance of America. At this point the Stalinists began an open campaign to undermine the progress of the national unity negotiations and to disrupt the united front that had been achieved in the state.

A Stalinist Coup
Through the unemployed organizations they control in Lancaster and York, they pulled off a regular coup d'état in the "Inter-County Unemployed Alliance and Works Division." The latter organization, composed of unemployed units in several Eastern counties, elected as

its regular Chairman and Secretary Harry Alexander and Daniel Hartman, respectively.

At a regular meeting of the governing body last month, the Stalinist George Wade of Lancaster and the Stalinist Bernard Child of York simply took advantage of the absence of the regular officers and usurped their places. With Communist Party members representing the Unemployment Councils and the Anthracite Workers Alliance present they decided, unauthorized, to call a state-wide conference in Harrisburg on December 7 and 8.

Without any authorization whatsoever, they added the name of the Pennsylvania Security League, some of whose locals belong to the Inter-County Alliance, as one of the sponsors of the call, besides the Councils and the other organizations mentioned. The P.S.L., caught off guard, apparently allowed itself to be so seduced, having in mind to steal a march in this manner on the Pennsylvania Unemployed League—a much more powerful organization and a more serious competitor than the Councils and the other Stalinist controlled organizations. Both of these organizations, the Stalinists and the Security League, thus agreed disloyally to leave the P.U.L. as well as the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League (affiliated with the W.A.A.) out of the picture.

Stalinists Alarm Security League
The Stalinists immediately resorted to their old "united front below" tactic. Individual C.P. members in several of the 86 locals of the P.U.L. brought in the call and moved for the election of delegates to the December 7-8 affair. The Councils displayed frantic activity in a campaign to pack the conference, at which they planned, as was evidenced later, to set up a new state organization. The Security Leaguers became alarmed by this maneuver and at the last minute sent out a hurried call to the P.U.L. and the Allegheny County U.C.L. to come to the conference.

After protesting against the procedure and receiving an apology and an explanation from the P.S.L., the state committee of the P.U.L. decided to send a delegation but informed the locals of the Stalinist maneuver and instructed them not to send any delegates.

The "Daily Worker" of December 6 reported "wide-spread revolt" in the P.U.L. against the action of the state committee, and informed its readers that any number of locals were sending delegates despite the decision. At the conference on Saturday exactly 2 unemployed local delegates, besides the state commit-

tee delegation, actually showed up. They were the Stalinist Dan Slinger from Allentown and the Stalinist Solomon from Easton. The "Daily Worker" lied as usual. The "united front from below" resulted in the usual fizzle.

Conference Opens in Disorder
The conference opened on the morning of December 7 amid such chaos and tumult as only the Stalinists can create. The "sponsoring" organizations could not agree among themselves on the selection of a temporary chairman, nor even on an agenda to propose to the conference. Every leading Stalinist in the state was present. Besides the familiar faces of Herbert Benjamin and Pat Tooley there were dozens of other C.P. functionaries. Yet on the very first vote taken, the election of the temporary chairman, the Stalinist Bernard Child was badly beaten.

The Stalinists had come there with an agenda prepared for one of their familiar "People's Congresses," with the usual Labor party plank, etc. The Security Leaguers proposed an agenda of "lobbying" and "petition" activities. Their arrangement committee could not even present a coherent report. Amidst a furious uproar, the conference elected a new arrangements committee, composed of three members of each of the organizations represented, to replace the old one. The new arrangements committee, with the participation of the P.U.L. delegates, worked out an agenda for concrete mass action. This agenda was finally accepted and the conference got down to business.

Mass Action Surprises C.P.
The Stalinists who had come to stage another one of their "people's" masquerades, were consequently entirely unprepared for any proposals for concrete action. This was clearly revealed in the committees, organized by the conference for the detailed work.

In the Special Session Committee, for instance, Anthony Ramuglia, representing the P.U.L., caught them entirely off guard with a proposal for the adoption of the five-point program of action outlined at the head of this article. Despite the fact that mass marches and statewide strikes do not fall in with their reformist line any longer, they were nevertheless not ready to offer any substitute. The Security Leaguers welcomed the lead because such organizations, amorphous in character and loose in policy, cannot help but follow when a positive program is offered. The proposal of the P.U.L. carried unanimously.

In the Resolutions Committee, P.U.L. delegate Sam Gordon offered resolutions in line with the program of action proposed by the P.U.L. The Stalinists Steve Nelson and John Parks argued against the resolutions for a mass march, for instance, on the grounds that this was too radical a step. What the work-

ers needed was a Social Security People's Congress broad enough to bring them the support of the churches, the lodges, etc. Although they had a packed majority of the committee as against the lone representative of the P.U.L., they nevertheless backed down and changed the words "Social Security People's Congress" to "mass action." In the resolution they finally adopted. On the floor they discarded the resolution altogether and fell into line with extra zeal for the mass march to Harrisburg. ("Our line's been changed again.")

P.U.L. for Real United Front
On the question of organization, Gordon proposed a resolution setting up a continuations committee with equal representation for all the major organizations participating in the conference; each organization to have veto power; all decisions requiring a unanimous vote to be acted upon. Here the Stalinists showed their real hand. They proposed a resolution calling for the establishment of a permanent committee, with headquarters in Harrisburg, all decisions requiring a two-thirds majority to be acted upon. In the discussion, the P.U.L. delegate pointed out that the need for the moment was a loyal united front, that mutual confidence needed to be established first of all and that this could be accomplished only by action on which all parties were agreed. The C.P. followers merely railroaded through their resolution, which was in effect an attempt to set up a new state organization with their packed majority, as a competitor to the P.U.L. and the other state-wide organizations. The P.U.L. delegate was denied the right to make a minority report by the Stalinist majority.

When the question was brought up on the floor, this typically bureaucratic procedure of the Stalinists was defeated, the point of view of the P.U.L. being presented to the conference by Gordon. Mrs. Schermerhorn of the Pennsylvania Security League, in a strangely dictatorial fashion for an organization which professes to be democratic in character, rose to order the P.S.L. delegates not to vote on the question of unity at all. Ramuglia, of the P.U.L. followed to explain the stand of his organization. He characterized Mrs. Schermerhorn's stand as cold-blooded in view of the fact that the new problems facing the unemployed with the discontinuation of federal and state relief make genuine unity of action imperative for the workers. But, he went on to say, for genuine unity to be accomplished the establishment of mutual confidence and trust was necessary. That could be gained only by such steps as proposed in the report of delegate Gordon.

Benjamin Changes the Line
The Stalinists continued for a while to press their line of anti-unity machination amid an increasing tumult. It remained for Herbert Benjamin, as a fraternal del-

L.D. Trotsky's Wife Makes New Appeal for Son Sergei

(Continued from Page 1)
"On June 1, 1935 I addressed a letter to the press in which I stated that my 27 year old son Sergei was arrested at the beginning of the year by Stalin with the sole aim of persecuting him for the political activity of Leon D. Trotsky. My son is a professor at one of the highest technical schools in Moscow. He has never engaged in political activity. He has been absolutely loyal to the Soviet power. He has never even been in correspondence with his father.

"This letter caused uneasiness even among the so-called 'friends of the Soviet Union.' Some of them sent inquiries to representatives of the Soviet authorities abroad and in Moscow. They were told that my son was 'not in prison' allegedly, but was under special surveillance to prevent him from having relations with his parents.

"As a matter of fact no such relations existed (precisely for Sergei's own safety) unless one counts the rare communications from my son and myself confined to matters of health.

"However, it appears that the information that my son is 'not in prison' is absolutely false. During the last three months I sent to the address of my son's wife a very modest sum in a bank check to aid her, if such were possible, in helping Sergei. Having had no receipt from her, I made several inquiries at the bank, all in vain. On November 6 the Norwegian Credit Bank informed me that 'the orders in question were not executed since the recipient could not be found at the address indicated.'

"So they have also arrested my son's wife, who works in a library, who is utterly free of any political activity, and who in recent years has been struggling

against tuberculosis. 3 months ago this young woman was still at liberty and she was the ONLY person who could have concerned herself with helping Sergei. The only reason for this arrest could have been my attempt to send her money.

"Any international committee of honest and sincere people could establish without trouble that the arrest of my daughter-in-law was due to no other reason.

"I can only ask myself: How to explain this last arrest? Is it purely and simply out of feelings of vengeance, an arrest which does not have the slightest justification or political significance? Or is it that Stalin finds it necessary to hide from public opinion the REAL fate of my son? I cannot free myself of the thought that taking the new circumstances into consideration, the rumor circulated by the Soviet authorities that my son is 'not in prison' takes on a most fatal and irreparable significance. If Sergei is not in prison then where is he? And where now is his wife?

NATHALIE TROTSKY.
Nov. 15, 1935

CHICAGO MEETING
"Will the Industrial Unionists Capture the A. F. of L.?"
Speaker:
PAUL HERMAN
MONDAY, DEC. 23, 8 P.M.
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Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Dorr's Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

AMERICAN WORKERS! WE MUST UNITE! The struggle for bread has thrown us together, has molded our several interests into common ones. In our fight against starvation we travel the same road. WE MUST BE COMRADES! United we are invincible! Together we can win freedom!

While we are divided, the controllers of wealth are our masters, our rulers. Can we doubt this when city governments always heed the call of the wealthy and send the police to crack our skulls? When the state governments despatch troops to mow us down at factory gates?

They talk of peace on earth, good will toward men. But there can be no peace while workers starve! There can be no good will toward men who force our children to go half naked, half fed!

AMERICAN WORKERS! Our own revolutionary heritage can serve to spur us onward. We have always fought against oppression! Let's shout out: REBIRTH, NOT RELIEF! ONWARD TO THE WORKERS' STATE AND CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY!!

New Oppression, New Revolts

When the workers and farmers who had fought for the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" returned to their homes at the close of the War for Independence, they were not long in grasping their real position. Those "inalienable rights" were theirs only if they were freemen, had no debts and owned property.

Their oppressors were the money lenders, the land owners and speculators, the slaves and the industrialists. The oppressed were jailed for debts, branded for minor crimes, lashed and enslaved. To tell all the "punitive" measures in use would be to fill several columns.

In New Hampshire, several hundred workers and farmers, armed with muskets and clubs, marched on Exeter. They demanded of the general court a reduction in taxes and paper money with which to pay their debts. Troops drove them away.

In Vermont, Thomas Lee, a veteran who returned home to be quickly jailed for debts, led a march on Rutland, demanding that lawyers be excluded from the court. The marchers further insisted upon cancellation of their many debts and other relief measures. Again troops dispersed the oppressed.

Then came Shay's rebellion and, close on its heels, the "venerable" Constitution. It was not until fifty years had passed that the discussion entered into by the framers of the Constitution was revealed. The document was plainly inspired by the ruling classes to be used in their interests. What was said behind locked doors at the constitutional convention was not made public until after the aged James Madison had died. The reasons are obvious.

Freedom for Property Owners
But the Constitution failed to put an end to rebellions. Oppression still continued, as it does today, even if it was made legal in the prettified words. Slavery, white and black, was not abolished; debtors went to jail; foreclosures were not diminished; and suffrage was still confined to property holders. In short, the Constitution improved the workers' lot not one iota.

Most of the state constitutions, if not all, spoke of man's "free and equal" creation, but their bodies shamefully covered up the implications in the preambles. Property was the basis for the right to vote and hold office. In other words, all men were free and equal if they belonged to the ruling classes.

Dorr's Rebellion was a manifestation of militancy on the part of the non-landholding class in Rhode Island. Led by Thomas Wilson Dorr, this armed uprising brought about what could not have been accomplished in any other way. It brought the right to vote to the mechanics and cotton mill workers of Providence and Bristol, forcing the property holders to accept popular rule. The ruling class today is as unwilling to surrender its position. There is a lesson in Dorr's Rebellion.

Peaceful Action Unsuccessful
At least six peaceful attempts were made to scrap the old colonial charter of Rhode Island in favor of a new constitution. Each time the change was blocked, either by the voters (the property holders) or the legislature. Each try was more militant than the one before it, and by 1841 the workers were fully aroused. Mass meetings were held, and men marched.

Dorr was recognized as the leader of the movement, and it was on his orders that a constitutional convention was held on October 4. A constitution was drawn up and later submitted to the people as a whole. An overwhelming majority of the fourteen thousand who voted on the matter of adopting the People's Constitution cast favorable ballots, and on January 12, 1842, the People's Convention declared the constitution to be in effect.

But the legislature under the charter did not sit idly by through the growing storm. Late in March that body enacted the "Algerine" law, declaring all meetings such as the People's Convention illegal. Fines and imprisonment were provided.

Dual Government in R.I.
Disregarding the Algerine law, the workers held an election on April 18 under the People's Constitution. Dorr was elected governor, and on May 3 he was inducted into office. He delivered his inaugural address in an old foundry building which was the seat of the new gov-

only one way out.

The Armed Assault

On May 17, four hundred insurrectionists, led by Dorr, gained possession of two cannons and a few muskets. Late at night, they marched to seize the town arsenal. The guards refused admission to Dorr, and a battle ensued. The cannons proved ineffective, either because of mechanical defects or faulty operation. The fighting was mostly hand to hand, with occasional gunfire. Extreme darkness and a heavy fog made identification of opponents difficult. On the following day, Dorr was driven to Connecticut.

Again the workers tried on June 25. But martial law was declared, and the jails bulged with political prisoners. A price of five thousand dollars was put on the head of the People's governor.

Dorr returned to Providence on October 31 of the following year and was immediately arrested. He was faced by a jury made up of "Algerines," naturally hostile to him, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1845 he was released because of popular resentment, although he steadfastly refused to swear allegiance to the state of Rhode Island. His citizenship was not restored until 1851.

The People's Constitution was maneuvered out of existence. Dorr had the satisfaction, however, of seeing a fairly acceptable substitute put in its place. The Constitution of 1843, replacing the colonial charter, embodied most of the things for which Dorr fought. It was drawn up and submitted to the voters because of Dorr's Rebellion, but it is probable that the manufacturers, rather than the workers themselves, had the busiest hands drafting it.

The Lines Cross
Apparently Thomas feels the sharp rightward turn of the Socialists equally bewildering. "Here we are confused," he said, "we are confused by the nature and the magnitude of the change, by the far point in the arch to which the pendulum has swung." As for Browder, the only thing that can be said in this respect is that he adhered to the present "line." In a bureaucratic system where leaders appear, not in their own rights or by virtue of their own political abilities but simply because they are the most consummate and most servile type of mediocrities, sufficiently flexible, however, to fit into this system, nothing else could be expected.

So Thomas argued for the Socialist road, in reality building up a case, not against Communism, but against its Stalinist emasculation. He quoted profusely from the "third period" position of the Socialists. Their official declarations aimed to "break-up the reformist unions," and to "destroy the American Federation of Labor." They "rejected any alliance with Social Democracy." One quotation read: "Therefore, to beat the enemy, the bourgeoisie, we must direct the main blow against its chief enemy of Communism, in the working class, against Social Democracy, against Social Fascism." To this there was no answer from Browder. An honest leader, when departing from such a position and going over to the exact opposite would, in any case, be obligated to admit the falsity of the past and explain to his following the reason for the change. But Browder made no such attempt. He made no attempt to defend the Communist road and he could not do so since the ideological baggage of Stalinism is now entirely devoid of any ideas of Communism.

tomorrow you may be unemployed.

Will they fight together? Yes! It was done before the WPA in the great Minneapolis strike—7,000 FERA and unemployed workers left projects and not only did not scab, but fought it out with the strikers on the picket line. They had their unemployed organization, the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, with representatives on the Central Trades and Labor Council. In Toledo it was the unemployed and relief workers who salvaged the lost Auto-Lite strike and lifted the trade union movement of that city into its feet in one of the grandest battles in the history of American Labor.

IV. ORGANIZATION

Organization! It is indispensable; it is invincible! In the recent strike in early August in New York, its power carried the first strike of WPA workers to speedy victory—against General Johnson's threat and ultimatum: "This is a strike against the government, against the people of the United States." Result: Reduction of hours so as to bring the rates paid to the level of prevailing union scales. Why these results? Because the strike found instant response and spread—and unions supported it! Electrical workers local 3, carpenters local 2090, painters local 506, and bricklayers local 37. The WPA had threatened to set into motion the trade unions. Deeply, immeasurably significant! Even against the will of the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., the unemployment question makes its way into the unions through the WPA. Allentown; one month later: strike! Twenty-five labor organizations including the Central Trades and Labor Council endorsed the strike in public conference. Result: spread strike and won statewide victory of 10 per cent increase in wages and cut of hours from 140 per month to 120 per month.

Already numerous labor bodies have endorsed the fight for prevailing wage rates on the WPA projects. Thus far, it is true, there has been no national tie-up organizationally between the A. F. of L. and the WPA-Unemployed organizations. But in every strike that has taken place (either those led by unions and supported by unemployed-relief workers or vice-versa) delegates have been seated on Central Labor bodies or conferences that created joint executive organs have served the purpose. The logic and life of the struggles themselves solidified and joined the movements programatically and organizationally; and victor resulted almost invariably.

V. WHAT TO DO

How to organize the field? WPA thus far seems to be confined to the eastern and mid-western sections of the country, mostly in the larger cities. Almost universally the project local is the basis of organization—and seems to be the best for the coming period. They are tied up in the unemployed organizations with the unemployed "proper" through the central bodies. The experiences of the Workers Alliance of America and the National Unemployed League—the two large organizations of WPA-unemployed in the country, and the organizations that have led the past militant strikes—indicate that that is the form of organization.

The Significance of the Browder-Thomas Debate for the Revolutionary Movement

By ARNE SWABECK

The complete stenographic report, printed in the Daily Worker for Dec. 14, fully confirms the unusual character of the Browder-Thomas debate, held in the New York Madison Square Garden on November 27. It reveals in some respects a historical reversal of roles of the two parties: The Communist Party now standing on the platform of social-patriotism while the Socialist Party, endeavoring to rid itself of its right wing ballast, is moving in a leftward direction and its representative presenting the important arguments in the debate.

Norman Thomas defended militantly the position of the Socialist Party. It was, of course, not the position of the Social Democracy of 1914 nor the position of the Old Guard. Thomas spoke from the point of view of the Socialist workers who have moved leftward and attacked the perfidious social-patriotism of Stalinism. Undoubtedly he was more to the left than usual, blithely accused by Browder of using phrases in the style of Trotsky. "It is certainly something new in the world when Socialists find obstacles to the united front in a supposed move to the right by the Communists," said Browder. He was bewildered and unable to understand that Socialists could actually have learned from the disastrous international working class defeats and draw certain conclusions tending in a revolutionary direction.

Apparently Thomas feels the sharp rightward turn of the Socialists equally bewildering. "Here we are confused," he said, "we are confused by the nature and the magnitude of the change, by the far point in the arch to which the pendulum has swung." As for Browder, the only thing that can be said in this respect is that he adhered to the present "line." In a bureaucratic system where leaders appear, not in their own rights or by virtue of their own political abilities but simply because they are the most consummate and most servile type of mediocrities, sufficiently flexible, however, to fit into this system, nothing else could be expected.

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"Come to Jesus"

Browder had thoughts only for an escape from the pointed charges made by Thomas. Throughout the debate he reiterated continuously in the most garrulous, cringing and grovelling fashion his plea for unity: "Why can't we unite on a wide campaign? . . . Why can't we work jointly in these mass organizations? . . . Why can't we unite forces to begin building? . . . Why don't we do it?" Why, on why—in the style of the evangelist—why don't you come to Jesus tonight? Only the deepest feeling of revulsion could arise from the cringing tone of this supposed spokesman for communism, repugnant and distasteful to upright, conscious workers.

Browder pleaded for a united front not only for the everyday struggles of the workers, but also for the defeat of the class enemy: "Comrades," he said, "let me put the question sharply: Between today and a future victory of Fascism in the United States there stands historically only one thing—a powerful people's anti-Fascist front, a Farmer-Labor Party."

No, this is false to the core: Between today and a future victory of Fascism there stands first of all the historic necessity of a revolutionary party and a revolutionary policy. Only with this essential prerequisite can a united front defeat Fascism. And whatever may be said in favor of one side, it is certain that neither of the parties whose representatives met in this debate present such a policy or constitute such a party.

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People's Front
To Norman Thomas this new "line" of the C. P. appeared bewildering and unreal. He undoubtedly had in mind the frantic pleas for unity. Otherwise the new "line" stood out in a very real sense in every issue touched upon in the debate. The most important of these issues deserve special comment here.

Some caustic criticism of the people's front was offered by Thomas, motivated in the main by his doubts of the "sincerity" of his opponents. The People's Front in France he considered, however, to be a great achievement. In view of this it seems strange that he should find faults with the New York C. P. election platform from which he quoted the demands for "a people's front, uniting workers, farmers, unemployed, professionals, small business men, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Socialists, Democrats, Republicans." On a small scale, and adapted to the American scene, this platform merely proposed what the people's front in France actually is. The difference is only in magnitude; the policy, with its confusion and deception, is the same. In France the Radical Socialist Party, whose leader is Herriot, one of the senior partners in the Laval government, gives its own peculiar political nuance to the people's front. This party still represents today that political instrument of the big bourgeoisie which is best adapted to the traditions and the prejudices of the petty-bourgeoisie. Its program is the national defense of imperialist France.

The Franco-Soviet Pact

Thomas did assert that it troubled him a little to see his "Communist friends make more love to Herriot than to Leon Blum." This love-making, however, flows from definite political considerations and from the kind of political considerations which have now become the guiding line for Soviet foreign policy under the Stalin regime. In this instance, most particularly, the considerations of the Franco-Soviet pact. Its contradiction with the class interests of the proletariat should be apparent, for Thomas was absolutely correct when he complained about the love making to Herriot. To the extent he did, his criticism of the Franco-Soviet pact he was also correct. But he did not nearly say all that should have been said. He reminded the audience of the Stalin-Laval com-

muniqué to the effect that: "M. Hoare-Laval 'peace' plan for the dismemberment of Ethiopia. Sanctions, in the thieves jargon of diplomacy, means war. And the League of Nations, to which the Soviet Union is affiliated, is beginning to assume its proper function as the general staff of world imperialism."

What were the positions presented on the question of the defense of the Soviet Union? On this point Browder spoke without equivocation. Picturing an attack by Germany and Japan upon the Soviet Union, he asked: "Will the militant Socialists adopt a position of neutrality? Will they advocate the slogan 'Keep America Out of War?' Impossible! In this exclamation Browder nominated himself as recruiting-sergeant for "Uncle Sam"; and it did not make matters any better that he misnamed this as "patriotism" to the cause of the working class, patriotism to the only country of Socialism today."

This only gave Thomas an opportunity to ask: "Since when have Marxists learned the doctrine of the State so as to believe that workers in minority parties can turn capitalist armies into red armies before those armies have been defeated as in Czarist Russia? . . . The chief consideration is to organize the workers against capitalism, against fascism, against war, for world-wide Socialism." Yes, this is the chief consideration. We may ask further, would the United States under any condition enter into a war for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the defense of the country of Socialism? Obviously not. It would enter a war only for its own imperialist purposes, and to take the position, taken by Browder, could mean nothing else but to throw the working class support behind the government controlled by the Morgans and the Rockefellers for the furtherance of these imperialist purposes. These people have entirely forgotten that the enemy is at home. And besides, the only way really to defend the Soviet Union is to fight against one's own bourgeoisie and to organize in the process of this fight the world revolutionary party that will be capable of making an end to capitalism.

On the final question of importance in this debate, namely the proletarian dictatorship, it might be said that Thomas had a certain justification for asking Browder, in view of the latter's boast of "the final and irrevocable victory of socialism on one sixth of the earth," if Russia is still so weak that she cannot extend civil liberties now within her own borders. But Thomas displayed equally the falsity of his own position in regards to this cardinal question of Marxism in arguing against a "party dictatorship." A revolutionary party can have no interests separate and apart from those of the working class and consequently it can have no interests opposed to those of the working class. Nor is this what has taken place in the Soviet Union. On the contrary. The party is strangled by a bureaucracy that has usurped all power to itself. Hence the struggle of the revolutionists is for the rebuilding of the party of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Madison Square Garden debate saw Norman Thomas as presenting the important arguments on every fundamental point, militantly, critical and arguing from the left against the reactionary position of Browder. As said in the beginning of this article, this indicates in some respects a historical reversal of roles of the two parties. But the Socialist Party has so far taken only one step leftward.

Jingo Browder

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Defense Forces Rally Against Anti-Labor Repression

Appeal Denied Cal. Class War Victims

Stop Limping! Start Walking!

Mpls. Labor Protests Jailing of Al Russel

Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, and his fellow-workers who were sentenced with him to 14 years for union activities, is being denied the right to appeal his case, according to a statement just issued by Herbert Solow, Secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee.

Mini, who was charged with criminal syndicalism but was guilty only of union activity and opposition to the existing social order, was the victim of an anti-union drive organized by the California State Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Farmers, Inc. These organizations, which, as the N.S.A.C. has proven, have a secret fund to finance the prosecution of union organizers throughout California, are using their influence on the courts to prevent Mini and the other Sacramento prisoners from upsetting the illegal verdict dictated against them by reactionary forces which controlled the Sacramento jury.

No Transcript Provided

The entire Sacramento appeal is now being held up, no copy of the transcript being provided by the state. As a result, the attorneys in the case can not prepare their briefs and no date has been set to hear the appeal.

The Sacramento trial ended April 1, with the conviction of eight defendants. Immediately after the conviction, Juror Howard S. McIntire gave to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense an affidavit affirming that the verdict was the result of an illegal horse-trade.

Judge Dal M. Lemmon refused a motion for a new trial and sent the prisoners to San Quentin and Tehachapi. The court reporter failed to prepare the transcript within the time set by law, and the judge gave him several extensions. The appeal attorneys could not begin work on the transcript before the transcript was turned over by the court clerk to the country clerk in October.

The law of California provides that the County Clerk should give one copy of the transcript to the Attorney General, another to the prosecutor, and a third to the defendant or his attorney. The clerk immediately sent out the two copies marked for the state officials, but made no move to send a copy to the defense.

I.L.D. Splits Defense

Due to the first refusal of the International Labor Defense to make a joint appeal fight along with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the appeal is split into two parts. Norman Mini is represented by Attorney Raymond W. Henderson of Bakersfield, California's leading legal fighter against criminal syndicalism prosecution. Henderson is retained by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which includes not only the N.P.L.D., but also the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee and ten other national organizations.

Several of the other prisoners are represented by Leo Gallagher, who has been retained for their appeal by the I.L.D. The situation is additionally complicated by the fact that a number of the prisoners belonging to the Communist Party and advised on defense tactics by the I.L.D., represent themselves rather than have an attorney.

The Sacramento County Clerk refuses to deliver the one available copy of the transcript either to Gallagher or to Henderson, on the grounds that he would then be responsible for not having delivered it to whichever one he omitted. Moreover, he will not deliver it even to Gallagher and Henderson jointly because, he contends, he might then be held responsible by those I.L.D. defendants who are not technically represented by Gallagher.

Court Nullifies Writ

The court clerk refuses to provide any extra copies of the transcript, and the county clerk, hiding behind the fact that the law says the copy shall be delivered to the defendant (singular) will do nothing to make the court clerk provide extra copies.

With the approval of Attorney Gallagher, Attorney Henderson is now going to the Supreme Court of California in an effort to break open the jam in which the Sacramento Appeal Committee now finds itself.

Henderson recently obtained from the District Court of Appeals in Sacramento a mandamus ordering the county clerk to turn over the transcript to him. The clerk then came to the district court and had the mandamus declared null and void. He argued that he could not determine who is "the defendant" and therefore could not legally turn the transcript over to anybody. The court conceded to him, and he is sitting tight again. Unless Henderson wins his fight in the Supreme Court, the whole case is tied up and innocent men must sit in prison because they are being denied the right of appeal.

Such a situation, somewhat similar in a general way to the situation Angelo Herndon found himself in when the U. S. Supreme Court refused on flimsy technical grounds to hear an appeal, would be very much to the satisfaction of the California employers' organizations who plotted this frame-up in the first place and who are now doing all they can to make the illegal, railroaded convictions stick. Henderson would then go into court and seek to free Mini on the grounds that he is "guaranteed" the right to appeal by the laws of California, but that he is being denied it in effect by the failure of the State to provide Mini or his attorney with a copy of the transcript of trial proceedings.

Whole Defense Affected

Should Henderson win this legal battle at any stage, it would be a great victory for the entire defense. The I.L.D. and its defendants would benefit along with Mini. Should the State of California, pressed by the organized employers, refuse to make an appeal possible, the issue will have to go to the U. S. Supreme Court. In any event, the California bosses are compelling a long delay in the appeal, forcing innocent workers to sit in prison even without due process of law. The judge, of course, has refused bail despite the outrageous delay in the appeal proceedings caused by the attitude of the State itself.

It goes without saying that the employers' gratification at this situation could have been prevented if the I.L.D. had agreed to a unified defense. In that case, all the defendants would have been represented either by one attorney or by joint attorneys, and cooperation would have been simple.

As it is, the fact that Gallagher has agreed to cooperate with Henderson in sharing the one copy of the transcript if they can ever get it out of the county clerk's hands, does not help, because even a joint application by Henderson and Gallagher would be futile, since several of the I.L.D. defendants are technically not represented by Gallagher.

I.L.D. Passive

The obstructive attitude of the I.L.D. is further illustrated by the fact that they play down the news of this hold-up by the State. What little news they print about it is distorted in order to conceal the fact that the N.S.A.C. and Henderson have already gotten busy breaking the log-jam, while the I.L.D. forces remain passive, except for publishing a pamphlet devoted in part to lying attacks on the N.P.L.D., Mini, and his trial attorney, Albert Goldman.

The I.L.D.'s "united front" defense conference does nothing to support Attorney Henderson's fight. In addition to pushing the legal fight on the question of the transcript, the N.S.A.C. continues its work rallying mass support for the Sacramento prisoners. An appeal is being sent to unions throughout the country asking them to adopt resolutions to be sent to the California officials demanding the freedom of the eight Sacramento union organizers.

The Los Angeles branch of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee has just held a mass meeting on the case in Walker Auditorium. A large crowd of workers attended to hear Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the N.S.A.C. Due to the added legal steps necessitated by the tie-up of the appeal, the N.S.A.C. needs additional funds. Funds and resolutions calling for the release of the prisoners should be sent at once to the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, Room 707, 41 Union Square, New York City.

Stop Limping! Start Walking!

THE class struggle goes on, and the executive arm of the employing class, the State and all its institutions, cracks down on the workers of America.

Sacramento, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Harlan, Fargo, Brooklyn, from coast to coast, police, judges, vigilantes combine to persecute, not only revolutionists, but union organizers, strikers, unemployed asking for relief, and even "Modern Democrats," who dare to buck a Tammanyized city administration in Tampa. Illegal arrests, frame-up trials, denial of appeals on technical grounds, abduction, beating, murder . . . all in the name of justice, democracy, law and order.

The news reports on this page indicate, not only the need for a powerful unified defense movement, but the fact that for the first time in many years some measure of unity is being achieved on defense issues. Joint committees are functioning in the Sacramento, Tampa, Herndon, Harlan and other cases. Each committee includes several working class currents. Some already have signal victories to their credit.

We greet this development as a heartening sign of progress in the defense field. Credit belongs to the N.P.L.D., which we endorse and support, for the important part it has played in promoting this movement. Unified defense activities were initiated locally in New York by the N.P.L.D. in the victorious Robbins-Gras campaign, and on a national scale in the National Sacramento Appeal campaign.

Today there exist a whole series of united defense committees on separate cases. But almost all of them limp a bit organizationally. The I.L.D. is absent from the National Sacramento Appeal Committee because it refuses to unify the defense. The I.L.D. is not on the Tampa Committee because the Socialist Initiators of the Committee have refused so far to invite them. The I.L.D. is absent from the Kentucky Miners' Committee because the Harlan prisoners have not yet forgiven the Communist Party its wrecking tactics in Harlan County a few years ago. Both the I.L.D. and the Socialist defense forces are missing from the Ferrero-Sallitto Committee.

The General Defense Committee (I.W.W.) and the N.P.L.D. alone are in all these joint bodies. This is an intolerable situation. The amputated character of most of these committees detracts from their strength and efficiency. The fact that in a number of the committees—Herndon and Kentucky—the control of the policy is vested in only one organization, with the others acting as auxiliaries, has rendered difficult the coordination of the legal work with all the militant mass campaigns.

Despite these and other weaknesses in organization and policy, the new development of joint defense work is a step in the right direction. But it is time these various committees stopped limping along with one leg shorter than the other, and began to march together toward one unified defense organization.

United Front Proposed on 'Scottsboro'

Moves are under way toward setting up a new joint committee to handle the Scottsboro case in its next stage.

The boys have been reindicted and will be tried in a short time. It seems clear that all or almost all of them have repudiated the I.L.D. as far as legal work is concerned, and have put their faith in Samuel S. Leibowitz, called into the case two years ago by the I.L.D., which was later kicked out by him.

Leibowitz has had the formal backing of the "American Scottsboro Committee," created by him, a group of Negro clergymen, and Publisher Davis of the scab Amsterdam News. The State of Alabama, through its "unofficial spokesman," correspondent John Temple Graves of the New York Times, has offered Leibowitz a deal: the boys will not be killed if all radicals, liberals and northerners get out of the case, and if it is defended as a straight rape case which it never was.

Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union has addressed to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense a letter which asks whether the N.P.L.D. will consider an invitation to enter a united front on the Scottsboro case along with the I.L.D., the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the I.L.D. and the A.C.L.U.

The N.P.L.D. National Executive Board had not yet acted on the invitation at the time of going to press, but when interviewed by a NEW MILITANT reporter, George Novack of the N.P.L.D. Board, made the following statement:

"We will certainly go on aiding the Scottsboro boys in any way we can, and that means considering any invitation to sit in a joint committee. We are anxious to see the exact basis of the proposed committee. On our Board are half a dozen people who were active in the Scottsboro case almost from the start.

"More than two years ago they raised their voices on behalf of the idea of broadening the Scottsboro defense to include Socialists,

Three Harlan Miners Freed

After a four and a half year's fight by the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., three of the seven Harlan miners serving life sentences in the famous "Battle of Evarts" cases have had their sentences commuted by Governor Laffoon. The three released on parole are eighty-year old Bill Tightower, William Hudson and Elzie Phillips, a Negro miner.

New evidence and affidavits proving the innocence of the men, as well as backed up by a strong pressure campaign upon the Governor, finally forced him to free the prisoners. On announcing the commutations, Laffoon is reported to have said: "I won't do any more on the Harlan miners' cases. Pre-empted the ball rolling by releasing three of the men. Let the next Governor show where he stands."

In other words, Laffoon is passing the buck to his successor. The recently organized Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee, comprising the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners together with the General Defense Committee, has launched a drive to make the incoming governor release the other four miners still in Frankfort Penitentiary by Christmas.

The National Executive Board of the N.P.L.D. sent the following telegram to Governor Chandler Monday:

"One important test of the labor attitude of any new Kentucky governor is his attitude toward the four innocent Harlan miners now in Frankfort prison. Our members throughout the country join us in calling for an immediate unconditional pardon. We want the Harlan miners out by Christmas."

All labor organizations are urged to send similar telegrams to Governor Harry Chandler, Frankfort, Kentucky. Only further organized effort and persistent mass pressure can turn the partial victory into a complete one.

Once all the joint committees include the four defense organizations—the N.P.L.D., the L. and S. D., the I.L.D. and the G.D.C.—everybody with a sense of the practical would begin to think about centralizing the work of these various bodies. If the combined forces of these groups could first be thrown together into the struggle on behalf of these outstanding cases, on the basis of a twin policy of sound legal action and organized mass support along militant lines, the American working class would come a long way forward from the state of internal disunity in the defense field which accompanied "the third period" of Stalinism.

The eventual creation of a militant mass defense organization, embracing all the organized groupings in the labor movement, has been advocated by the N.P.L.D. for almost two years. We have supported their efforts to build such an organization from the very first.

Who, then, is blocking the road? First of all, the Communist Party. Without going into the past, let us look at the present. Last week the Daily Worker carried an editorial hailing the triumph of the united defense movement in the Herndon case and urging the extension of this defense unity to the Tampa, Terre Haute and Scottsboro cases, cases in which the victims are members of the Socialist or Communist parties.

But the Stalinists failed to mention the skeleton in their closet, the Sacramento case, in which Norman Mini, a member of the Workers Party, is involved. Can anyone take seriously the Stalinist call for defense unity so long as they continue to slander and split the defense movement in the Sacramento case?

The Socialist Party must also bear part of the responsibility for the present chaotic state of affairs. In the first place they refuse to admit the Stalinist defense forces into several joint committees. In the second, they violated, without explanation, the agreement they had signed with the N.P.L.D. and other labor groups, for the creation of a non-partisan labor defense, and proceeded to form a partisan "Labor and Socialist Defense Committee."

The drive for industrial unionism, if it is seriously pushed, will bring with it in the not far distant future a new outbreak of labor struggles. Workers will be hounded. Defense will be needed. If the working class is to be in the best possible position to handle these problems, the existing cooperation among the various defense bodies must be extended and the policy tightened up in the direction of militant action.

In the Theatre Union's drama, "Mother," the Russian workers sing:

"Good! We have the crust,
But where's the loaf?"

We believe we speak for every class war prisoner when we say just this about the state of the defense movement today.

Mass Meet to Fight Danger To Herndon

The State of Georgia having filed an appeal against Judge Hugh M. Dorsey's decision upsetting the chain-gang sentence in the Angelo Herndon case, the Negro victim of the Georgia reactionaries, is again in danger.

The fight on Herndon's behalf launched by the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, of which the N.P.L.D. is an active constituent, is being continued. A mass meeting has been called for Friday night, Dec. 20, in St. Nicholas Arena, Sixth Ave. and 66th St., at 8 P.M. Herndon will be one of the speakers. Julius Hochman, chairman of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, will preside.

The action of the State of Georgia in appealing against Dorsey's decision that, because of "vagueness," the 1896 insurrection law used against Herndon is unconstitutional, reflects the intensity of political differences within the ruling class of Georgia itself.

Dorsey's action took place against a background of mass agitation which became effective after the I.L.D. decided to abandon its monopoly on the Herndon case and call in aid. The Joint Committee brought new elements into action for the first time, and the Herndon issue began to be popular.

Neither the Roosevelt nor the Talmadge faction of the Georgia Democratic Party wants to take the responsibility of Herndon being on the chain gang when the fight for the 1936 Presidential nomination, which each one covets in the name of "liberty," begins seriously. Consequently, Dorsey, while maintaining that there should be a law on the statute books which, because it is the opposite of vague, will put all radicals and labor organizers on the chain gang, let Herndon go.

The State solicitor, representing a rival faction, appeals the case. Each faction is trying to put on the other the onus of keeping Herndon on the chain gang. The liberty of an innocent man is thus nothing but a political football for Georgia demagogues.

His freedom can come only through the pressure of the masses.

Resentment Nationwide in Tampa Case

TAMPA, Fla.—With labor protests throughout the country pouring in on him, the mayor of Tampa has suspended six policemen and one fireman involved in the murder of Joseph Shoemaker, and the sadistic beating of S. D. Rogers and E. F. Pouliot, Socialists and members of the Workers Alliance, unemployed organization.

Organized by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, the labor protests included a warning by President William Green of the A. F. of L. that the next union convention, scheduled for Tampa, would be moved elsewhere if the outrage is whitewashed. To put teeth into this warning, the Committee is contacting all international and local unions for passage of resolutions directed at the Tampa authorities.

Taking no stock in promises of an investigation by local authorities, the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa has sent its own investigators to the spot.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee, the Dressmakers Joint Board and other organizations are the constituents of the Committee.

Reverse Fargo Convictions

FARGO, N. Dakota.—The State Supreme Court has reversed the convictions of three Fargo teamsters' union leaders, but upheld the convictions of fifteen union members, in a long-delayed decision handed down last week.

The eighteen trade unionists had been convicted on the charge of rioting, arising out of a bitterly fought strike last winter and spring. On the pretext of seeking pickets who had violated the local ordinance, police and vigilantes attacked the union hall with tear gas and guns and arrested over ninety strikers. The North Dakota House of Representatives subsequently adopted a resolution denouncing the raid and those judges who had granted injunctions in violation of the state anti-injunction law.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense provided attorneys and funds to successfully fight the injunctions. Francis Heisler, noted Chicago attorney, was provided by the N.P.L.D. as chief counsel representing the strikers in numerous cases, and carried to the Supreme Court an appeal against the conviction of the eighteen union members.

President William Cruden, Secretary Austin Swalde, and Hugh Hughes of Local 173 were those whose sentences were reversed. A new trial has been ordered.

This is the first time in four years in any state, that there have been any reversals in a labor rioting conviction.

FARGO, N. D., Dec. 15.—At a meeting of the Fargo Branch of the N.P.L.D. today it was decided to give full support to the fight of the convicted Fargo strikers for freedom. The fact that the Supreme Court has reversed the sentences against the three leaders of Local 173 does not satisfy the workers of Fargo or the N.P.L.D., which organized the defense fight. An appeal will be made for a rehearing of the case. Attorney Francis Heisler will have charge of the legal work. It is believed that the prosecution, angered by the resistance of the workers, will try to re-convict the three union leaders freed by the Supreme Court. The union leaders and rank and file, however, are solid in this fight for the liberation of all the strikers.

NEXT ISSUE

An Answer to Lovestone's Remnant

HERNDON VICTORY MEETING

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HERBERT SOLOW — ANNA DAMON and others
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NEW MILITANT

Official Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

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Russell Sentenced To Four Months in Hosiery Strike Case

Ellis and Swanson, Strutwear Strikers, Get Six Months in Workhouse; N.P.L.D. To Appeal Cases

BULLETIN
(By Wire to New Militant)

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 23.—Labor Judge Molyneux sentenced Al Russell to four months in the work house and Ellis and Swanson, Strutwear strikers to six months each for their militant activities in the strike.

All cases are being appealed by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the legal representative of the defendants.

Vernon Simonson, Strutwear striker, was arrested today and is being held on charges of criminal contempt.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 23.—On Thursday, Dec. 18, the trial of the three arrested Strutwear pickets (David Ellis, Lawrence Swanson and Al Russell) got under way in the Federal Court building in Minneapolis, with Judge Molyneux presiding. All three young boys are charged with the same offense, criminal contempt of court, growing out of the November 29 disturbances at the Strutwear hosiery plant, where federal marshals attempted to move merchandise from the struck plant to a railway siding, where the goods were to be shipped to the bogus "Peacock Co." in St. Joseph, Mo.

But a day or so before the trial commenced, a bill was introduced in the state legislature calling for an appropriation of \$100,000 to investigate strikes and riots in Minneapolis. It is considered unlikely that any such bill will pass this session. Later the city council of Minneapolis passed by a vote of 14 to 11 a motion calling for a congressional investigation of circumstances surrounding the federal replevin action of the Peacock Knitting Company against the Strutwear strikers. "In which a writ of replevin was obtained through an alleged fraud on the court to permit the Strutwear Co. . . to evade the anti-injunction law and the Wagner-Connelly act, and to deprive strikers of their legal rights."

Russell Supporters Pack Court
When the trial opened Thursday morning, the courtroom was packed with workers and leading figures in the local labor movement. Dozens of Strutwear striker buttons were seen in the audience. Attorney Francis Heisler of Chicago, who, with Attorney Gilbert Carlson of St. Paul, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense had secured to defend Al Russell, addressed the court for an hour or so, asking that all charges against the pickets be dropped, on the grounds that the jurisdiction of the court had been obtained by fraud. Attorney Heisler gave the background of the so-called Peacock Company in some detail, citing the fact that this company was formed on Nov. 8, that none of the three stockholders knew much about it, that it had no official residence, etc. Heisler charged that the writ of replevin was entered into to circumvent the anti-injunction act and the Wagner labor disputes act. "There has been an offense committed against this court," he said, "but not by the defendants in this case." In denying the motion, the judge admitted that there may have been fraud, but held that even so, the U. S. marshals had been ordered by the court to move the goods, and that any attempt to interfere with this process was a criminal offense.

In the afternoon various federal marshals testified to having seen the three defendants at the scene of the disorder. They claimed that 126 pickets had stoned the three trucks as they were being escorted into the plant by eight deputy marshals, six police squad cars and

(Continued on Page 4)

A Xmas Gift for A. Sloan

Ohio Chevrolet Workers 'Thank' G.M. Head for Empty Christmas Tables

To the accompaniment of blaring newspaper publicity, General Motors has climbed on the Christmas bandwagon and out of the generosity of its great strike-breaking, labor-hating heart, has presented its employees with a \$25 Christmas bonus. The 900 laid-off employees of the Toledo General Motors Chevrolet plant have written the following letter of Christmas cheer to Alfred Sloan for his magnanimous deed:

"Dec. 23, 1935

"Sir: It is with extreme satisfaction that we have learned through every channel of publicity possible of your act of incredible generosity in giving a \$25 Christmas bonus check to the men now employed in the Chevrolet Motor Ohio Co. plant here.

"There are those who unkindly have termed this bonus for Xmas as a sort of bribe (you know that it is the first time that General Motors has ever given any Xmas present to its employees in Toledo) in your alleged drive to split unionism in the Toledo plant and make those who are now working forget those of us who you recently laid off and are now outside your gates as a result of your 'economy' program. This, you will of course say, is all wet. It would not be either, of course, the fact that wages in your plant are so low that the \$35,000 you are giving as a gift to the 1,400 men in the Toledo plant represents but a fraction of the amount you have saved as a result of the speed-up and the General Motors low wage-scale. You could afford to spend untold sums to break our strike last April rather than give us a slight increase in wages, and spend \$5,000,000 as 'gifts' now. But a five per cent wage increase last spring was an 'impossibility,' wasn't it? Nevertheless, we are genuinely happy that the 1,400 men now working in the Toledo plant are receiving this \$25 Xmas gift because everybody knows that they are in dire need of it after a month's lay off and the low wages they are now receiving.

"Since you are getting so much publicity on this act of generosity, we feel that it is only your just due for us to inform the public of that other Xmas gift you have given 900 other Chevrolet employees in the Toledo plant. We, whom you recently threw on the streets in order to break our union, wish to publicly thank you for our Xmas gift. As we gaze at our empty Xmas tables, our kids whom no Santa Claus will visit, our eviction notices, we will bless you for a most Merry, Merry Christmas. You have a heart of gold, yes solid gold.

Yours truly,
COMMITTEE OF 900,
(signed) JAMES HOLLY,
Secretary,
Former employees of Toledo Chevrolet Ohio Co."

500 in NY Hear Max Shactman

Cannon to Speak on Labor War in Mpls., Jan. 5th

More than 500 workers attended the regular weekly lecture of the Workers Party, held in Irving Plaza last Sunday, to hear Max Shactman who just returned from a nation-wide tour, tear to shreds the Stalinist argument that the "People's Front" as constituted in France, can stop Fascism or war in France or elsewhere.

Thoroughly analyzing the program and tactics of the "Front Populaire," comrade Shactman showed that it was copied from the social-patriotic class-collaborationist and coalition government program of the Second International at its worst—1914-18. Quoting from Stalinist documents beginning with the Sixth Congress right down to Olgin's pamphlet on "Trotskyism" printed last June, Shactman proved to the hilt that the present social-patriotic course of the C. I. had in the past been roundly denounced from a principle basis by its present protagonists.

The next lecture of the series will be held Sunday, Jan. 5, when James P. Cannon, who has just returned from Minneapolis, will speak on the struggle in the A. F. of L. and the labor war in Minneapolis.

Independent Auto Unions Amalgamate

900 Auto Men Act In Toledo

Organize Vigorous Campaign to Save Chevrolet Union

TOLEDO, O., Dec. 23.—The 900 men, who have not been recalled to the Toledo Chevrolet plant, keen with resentment, that after six weeks, the Chevrolet union has taken no action to protect their jobs, and has allowed the union membership to become demoralized, have taken vigorous action at a special meeting last week of a number of the so-called "outside" 900 men, to protect their interests and to "Save the Union."

Forming into a "Committee of 900," they elected a membership committee of seven to act in their behalf, with James Holly as secretary for the group.

On Dec. 16, there appeared a statement in the Toledo press, over the signature of James Holly, secretary of the "Committee of 900" that "the automobile and auto parts manufacturers are carrying on a deliberate and well-planned drive to destroy our union organization in Toledo. General Motors took the lead some six weeks ago when it moved part of its Chevrolet transmission machinery to Saginaw, Mich., and Muncie, Ind. It is obvious that not only do we 900 Chevrolet men face the prospect of pauperism and dependence on public poor relief but also the remaining 1,400 Chevrolet men who are today temporarily employed, as well as thousands of other union automobile workers, will soon be thrown on the streets to become public charges."

"We wish to make it clear," the statement concludes, "that anyone who at this time deserts the union or attempts to create out of the troubled situation a dual or competitive union in the Chevrolet plant will meet the most determined resistance from our ranks."

Following through on their campaign, the Committee of 900 held an open meeting on Wednesday, Dec. 18 at the plant gates of the Toledo Chevrolet plant, where they explained to a crowd of 500 Chevrolet men the necessity for strike action.

Union Leadership Weak
In this troubled period, when General Motors is clubbing the union on the head, determined to wipe it out, the leadership of the union proved to be amateurish and weak. The confidence and aggressiveness which revolutionary elements in the union had provided during the previous strike was sadly lacking. Six weeks ago, when General Motors was first preparing to move out its machinery to other cities, the Workers Party gave the warning that decisive action was necessary and that the whole membership must be aroused to the danger facing the union. But the executive committee marked time; allowed itself to be seduced by the fair promises of General Motors and did nothing.

When the plant reopened, and the management announced that

(Continued on Page 2)

Detroit Convention Launches New Organization with 100 Delegates Present

BULLETIN

DETROIT, Dec. 22.—About 100 delegates from Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Defiance, Pontiac, Chicago and other cities, representing the three independent unions: the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the Associated Automobile Workers of America and locals of the Automobile Industrial Workers Association came together Saturday night for a "constitutional convention" at the Fort Wayne Hotel here in Detroit to amalgamate into one independent union representing the Automobile and Metal Workers of America. A telegram from Richard Frankenstein, president of the A.I.W.A., was read to the convention to the effect that the A.I.W.A. promises to cooperate with the amalgamated union, but was not yet ready to enter the convention. Boos greeted this hypocritical declaration. It is understood that both Frankenstein and Morris Fields backed out at the last moment, because they feared that they would lose the jobs which they now hold. It is understood that eight locals of the A.I.W.A. voted in favor of the amalgamation as against five that voted against. In spite of this disruptive action by the officers of the A.I.W.A., a solid delegation of the A.I.W.A., representing the Motor Products local and the Pressed Steel local, attended the convention and voted to amalgamate to the new union.

After a day and a half of deliberation, a constitution and preamble were adopted, stating that the final objectives of the new union were "the complete industrial and political freedom of all workers and to this end we dedicate our lives." The amalgamated union is to be called the Automobile and Metal Workers Industrial Union of America (A.M.W.I.) and its temporary officers are to be Tice Woody of Pontiac, president, Mathew Smith, secretary and Arthur Greer treasurer.

Another meeting is to be held on Feb. 1 at which time dues books will be issued, permanent officers elected, financial arrangements completed and an organizing campaign planned.

The convention pledged continued support of the Motor Products strike and pledged solidarity with the battle.

The mass meeting of the Motor Products strikers was held at Schiller Hall following the convention. Mathew Smith reported on the successful amalgamation of the unions, to the enthusiastic applause of the strikers. The Toledo delegates, Brothers Becker, president of local 4, Crookes, secretary, and Burke Cochran of the Mather strike advisory committee, local 4, then addressed the strike meeting and pledged the support of Toledo for the Motor Products strike.

Rap Ferrero Mini Defense Deportation In New Move

In a last-minute appeal to save Ferrero and Salitto from deportation on Dec. 28 to Italy where death probably awaits them, a delegation representing the Ferrero-Salitto Defense Conference had a hearing on Monday with McGrady of the Department of Labor. The delegation consisted of Ulisse De Dominicis, manager of the Baltimore Joint Board of the A.C.W.A., Rose Pesotta, national vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., Albert Strong, secretary of the Defense Conference and member of the Journeymen Stonecutters Union of North America; William Taback, delegate to the conference and formerly a member of the Boilermakers Union.

During the previous week protests from over 100 A. F. of L. and independent unions and from hundreds of prominent individuals all over the country had poured in on McGrady's desk as a result of the drive for such mass protests just started by the Defense Conference. These, with personal letters, telegrams and phone calls from many including John L. Lewis, Norman Thomas, Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., Samuel Dubinsky and Luigi Antonini of the I.L.G.W.U., Joseph Schlossberg of the A.C.W.A., had convinced McGrady that the labor movement of the country was mobilizing in the defense of Ferrero and Salitto.

McGrady, as usual, passed the buck, claiming that the charges against Ferrero and Salitto could not be dropped and that the fight, (Continued on Page 2)

Toledo Projects Organize

O.U.L. Backs New WPA Set-up After Unity Efforts Prove Fruitless

TOLEDO, O., Dec. 23.—Real progress is being made in the organization of the 11,000 WPA workers here into the WPA Workers Union, affiliated to the Lucas County Unemployed League.

The much ballyhooed WPA program originally scheduled to be under way as far back as last June, has already slithered down into a weak imitation of the old FERA program, but on a much less stable basis. Originally scheduled to employ 18,000 men in Lucas County, it has to date given jobs to only 11,000 workers on the relief rolls. Approximately 14,000 families are still dependent upon direct relief and face the prospect of outright starvation with the withdrawal of all Federal relief funds, on Dec. 1.

The Lucas County Unemployed League, alive to the possibilities inherent in this situation, realized the necessity for a swift and aggressive campaign to organize these thousands of WPA workers into a stable organization for the achievement of better working conditions, continuous employment, trade union wage-scales; the ability to get back on relief as the WPA projects are demobilized; and for the realization of united action between the organized unemployed and the trade union movement.

Unity Efforts Fruitless

In order to create the broadest possible basis for this work the Lucas County Unemployed League proposed at the start of the WPA program here to the Workers Alliance of Lucas County to set up a joint committee for the purpose of jointly organizing the WPA workers. But all attempts to achieve joint action with the Workers Alliance have thus far proven fruitless. Some of the Socialist Party members holding leading positions in the local W.A.A. organization have united with Communist Party unemployed leaders who have officially liquidated the Unemployed Councils, have joined the W.A.A. and are using every means to sabotage and prevent any joint action between the W.A.A. and the U.L.

The confusion in the organization of the WPA project workers in Lucas County, which the leaders of the Lucas County Unemployed League predicted would ensue, cannot be exaggerated. Because of this hundreds of WPA workers will undoubtedly be lost to both organizations and the strength of the unemployed organizations considerably lessened due to the factional warfare that exists.

U. L. Organizes Project Union

The Lucas County Unemployed League, finding joint action impossible at the moment, sponsored and helped organize an independent organization, the WPA Workers Union. This union is an independent organization, has elected its own officers, set its dues at 25c per month and has proceeded to organize the WPA workers on the basis of project stewards and project committee subdivisions. The (Continued on Page 2)

Class Struggle Issues Arouse West Coast Maritime Unions

By C. CURTISS

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 18.—The issue of job action has assumed great proportions on the West coast.

The recent convention of the maritime federation (organization of all waterfront crafts on the coast) has attempted to resolve this question of job action, with what success remains to be seen.

Job action is a term that describes a multitude of activities. But speaking generally it is action taken right on the job by the men involved in order to gain a demand or a set of demands.

Above all the seamen have been

forced to take recourse to job action. The "award" they received some time ago has proven to be a cruel farce, and in order to maintain conditions of living and safety, the seamen have been compelled to utilize job action as an ultimate weapon.

The conditions under which the seamen live and work are described by Harry Lundberg, leader of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and president of the Maritime Federation:

Conditions of Seamen
"The seamen are still working 56 hours a week or more for an (Continued on Page 4)

New Zealand Seamen's Union Adopts Revolutionary Position on Sanctions

(Editor's Note: The following resolution, carried at a stop-work meeting of the Seamen's Union in New Zealand, speaks for itself and shows that the New Zealand seamen are well aware of the illusions that are being spread by those who would capitalize the League of Nations in the present international crisis. We heartily endorse the attitude of the New Zealand seamen and hope that seamen in the U.S. will follow their position. The resolution is quoted from "The Militant," monthly organ of the Fourth Internationalist Workers Party of Australia.)

"That in the opinion of the members of the Federated Seamen's Union the international situation is as follows:
"In 1914 the majority of the

the world safe for democracy, to end war, and to overthrow German militarism for ever. Emphasis was laid on the importance of safeguarding international law against treaty breakers such as Germany and on the certainty, if Germany were allowed to do as she pleased, that there could be nothing but international anarchy throughout the world.

"Influenced by their hatred of the tyranny of German militarism, the working class supported its capitalist governments. But when

the war was declared the evils of British and French militarism were immediately added to those of German militarism; and at the end of the war, British, French, Italian, and American militarism were triumphant, and democracy everywhere was either greatly weakened or wiped out of existence. In this manner the capitalist system managed to survive the conflict between the two great capitalist powers, Great Britain and Germany, and after the war profit (Continued on Page 2)

Our Revolutionary Heritage:

The Debs Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

The Pullman strike of 1894 has been called "Debs' Rebellion." Taking root in Chicago, that great conflict quickly spread to twenty-seven states, from Cincinnati to San Francisco. Indeed, hardly a section of the nation failed to feel the terrific force of the impact. Led by Eugene Debs, founder of the American Railway Union, the struggle forced the ruling class to bring into play all the means of defense it could muster.

The American Railway Union was organized in 1893, and some of the more generous contemporary authorities estimated its membership at one million in the following year. Although some of the locals may have departed from the national policy, the union made no racial or occupational distinctions between the railroad workers. Firemen, brakemen, trackmen, telegraph operators—all were invited to join.

About 2,500 members of the American Railway Union worked in the Pullman shops and lived in the "model town" of Pullman. Competition (or more accurately, the necessity for maintaining profits) "compelled" the Pullman Parlor Car Company to drastically reduce wages in the spring of 1894. In addition, scores of workers were thrown out of work. There was, however, no reduction in the rent the workers were obliged to pay for the "model homes" they occupied. As the result of these circumstances, the Pullman employees quit work on May 11.

Company Refuses to Negotiate

The company officials refused to negotiate with representatives of the union and declined to submit the matter to any form of arbitration whatsoever. They stated that the matter of manufacture was a question of fact and did not lend itself to arbitration. (And therein, comrades and fellow workers, lies a general truth. Profits are the lifeblood of capitalism, and capitalists will not willingly or otherwise commit economic suicide by entering into agreements that would stop the flow. No number of peaceful conferences or "settlements" can change the basic contradictions of capitalist production. Capitalism must be overthrown!)

On June 21 the members of the American Railway Union voted to cease handling all Pullman cars on any of the twenty-four railroads entering Chicago, and on the 26th they voted a sympathetic strike.

This action, a splendid example of working class solidarity, transformed the strike at Pullman from a localized struggle into one of national prominence and significance. A Wall Street paper bemoaned the situation: "It is impossible to contemplate the action of the many thousand railway employees in blindly following the mandates of an irresponsible leader, without a feeling of wonder and astonishment." The truth is that the workers were not so much inspired by the leader as by their feeling of sympathy for their Pullman comrades. The ruling class always stands amazed at the comradeship between workers.

Cleveland Calls Out the Troops

Chauncey M. Depew, president of the New York Central, pleaded in the interests of those travelers who were hurrying to the bedside of dying mothers, wives and children. In short, no stone was left unturned by the ruling class to whip up general public indignation against the striking workers. But the strike continued and spread with every hour.

On July 4 President Cleveland ordered two thousand federal troops to Chicago under the command of General Miles. At first Miles' authority was somewhat limited or undefined, but on July 8 the President issued a proclamation declaring the necessity for severe action and cautioning all "law abiding" citizens to keep clear of the scenes of riot. This proclamation virtually placed Chicago under martial law. It is interesting to note in passing, that Governor Altgeld had sent a vigorous protest to Cleveland when the federal troops were first directed to move on Chicago.

In the meantime, the workers were becoming more and more militant. As far west as California the blockade was almost complete. State militias and deputies were pitted against determined workers all over the middle-west and far west. There were many clashes, not confined to the railroads. In Michigan, two thousand ore miners were striking. Ten companies of state troops were guarding the Pratt mines in Alabama after riots. Others were out in Colorado and elsewhere.

Solidarity of Soldiers and Workers
A most interesting thing happened at Tacoma, Washington. Troop A of Sprague, consisting of sixty men and said to have been a crack cavalry unit, refused to ride on trains manned by non-union crews. The soldiers were placed under arrest and locked in a boxcar. These men, not being professional soldiers, were, in reality, workers and had the same interests in common with the strikers.

The Chicago Typographical Union appropriated \$1,000 for the relief of the Pullman workers and sent a demand to Cleveland that he withdraw his support from corporations.

As far east as Boston mass meetings were being held, and the workers were cheering their western comrades. In New York City, all police vacations were cancelled in view of the growing number of protest meetings.

The leadership in the labor unions was far from reactionary in most cases. While Gompers warned the members of the A. F. of L. to stay out of the strike, President McBride of the United Mine Workers predicted civil war if Debs was arrested. Secretary Hayes of the Knights of Labor (by then fading rapidly) said the workers would be asked to form military companies.

The Injunction

On the grounds that the railroad strike was interfering with the transportation of the mails and was, therefore, a matter involving interstate commerce, U.S. Attorney General Olney ordered the federal authorities in Chicago to obtain an injunction against the strikers. The strike, he held, was a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust laws. Injunctions were obtained, not only in Chicago but at other points.

On July 17 Debs was arrested, and on December 14 a federal court found him guilty of contempt and sentenced him to six months in prison. The U. S. Supreme Court later upheld the lower court. Although Debs demanded a trial by jury, the court held that the jury was unnecessary.

As the reader knows, the sixth amendment to the federal Constitution states that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." The celebrated "bill of rights" guarantees rights to workers if they can be given without stepping on the toes of the ruling capitalists.

Rap Ferrero Deportation

(Continued from Page 1)

It continued, must be fought in the courts. The Defense Conference is determined to carry through the struggle until the end, up to the Supreme Court of the U. S. if necessary. Upon the surrender of the two men, mandatory upon Ferrero this week, writs of habeas corpus will be sued out and the case taken for the first time before the courts. The protest campaign, hitherto directed to Frances Perkins and McGrady, must now be redoubled upon the District Court in New York before which the cases will be tried. Already over 7,000 protest blanks have been sent out. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the I.L.D., the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., the L.L.D., all participating in the Defense Conference, and the Greater New York Federation of Churches have sent out appeals on their own letterheads to their members to send in protests. Auxiliary defense committees in San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia are spreading the campaign over the entire country.

The growing realization of the significance of the cases of these two innocent men, persecuted by the government as part of a covered attack on the press of the working class, is shown by the threat of William Randolph Hearst to make the case a national issue in his papers.

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Electrical Worker Flays Stalinists
For Use of Forgery in Local Union

(Editor's Note: The following article is written by a member in good-standing of Local 3, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for the last fourteen years. His revelation of the utter corruption of Stalinism is another indication that this bankrupt movement which scrapes and howls before the bureaucracy does not hesitate to employ the vilest methods against revolutionists in the trade union movement. The editors are not quite sure as to what Brother Forman means by a "pure revolutionary party" but they are quite certain that if he draws the correct conclusions from his own remarks he will take a long step in the right direction.)

By ANDREW FORMAN

(Member, Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers)

For three years, prior to July 1934, a movement of the Rank and File developed in opposition to the reactionary and corrupt officialdom of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The movement grew in spirit, strength and numbers to such proportions that, had it not been for a "sell-out" by such "oppositionists" as Moe Smith, Sam Rosenthal and John Sullivan, who were in strategic positions, there is no doubt that the reactionary officialdom of Local 3 would have been ousted and the control of the Union would now be in the hands of the rank and file and not in the hands of a few corrupt individuals as it is today.

It is not difficult to understand that after such bitter experience the opposition movement would tend to decline. What remained of the opposition movement was more or less a class-conscious politically inclined element.

Maneuvering for Control

Just about this time, November 1934, several members of the opposition disassociated themselves from the Communist Party and joined the Communist League of America (Trotskyists). From that time on slander, bickering and dissension were the outstanding characteristics of the opposition meetings of Local 3. At times arguments reached such heights that the belligerent elements, "Trotskyists" and "Stalinists" virtually settled it with fists; this gave one the impression of being at the regular local union meeting. Of course, this sort of action, which seemed to me at the time to have been created by both factions, was due to strategic maneuvering for control of the opposition. Finally the entire affair was consummated with the understanding that there could be no collaboration between the two factions.

Although not being a member of any political party and disagreeing with both factions as to certain policies, I nevertheless decided to work with the "Stalinist" faction, hoping that I would eventually succeed in my efforts at reforming the members of the C. P. (By the way, I do not pretend that I am above politics, but it is my sincere conviction that both the Communist Party and the Workers Party are devoid of what I consider the correct approach to the international working class. However, I am willing to collaborate with a pure revolutionary party should one come into existence.)

When working together with the Stalinists for a few months an old "sympathizer" of the C. P. brought with him to one of our meetings a certain Leon Green. Although I had heard of Leon Green previously, this was the first time I had actually met him. At that meeting I was one of a committee of three selected to draw up a leaflet for distribution at the regular meeting of the Union protesting against the proposed increase in officers' salaries. This arrangement, however, was not carried out due to the bureaucratic and high-handed methods of the Stalinists.

Anything Goes

In September the progressives not dominated by the Stalinists issued their first number of "Labor Truth" to 1,500 members of the Union. The Stalinists were in a quandary; they must break the growing influence of "Labor Truth". But how?—They must seek the advice of their "leader."

In October a meeting of some Stalinists and "sympathizers" was held at 1 Union Square. Sam Nesin, the Stalinist "leader" of a new fangled Stalinist "trade-union-committee" insisted that the "Trotskyist renegades" must be exposed and an "opposition" bulletin must be issued at once... a thousand bulletins "if necessary"... Completely disgusted with the Stalinist clap-trap I stated the fight must be directed against the corrupt administration of Local 3 and not against the "Trotskyist faction." The Stalinists, however, did not issue this bulletin until a special situation occurred.

When Leon Green decided to join a group he made overtures to the "Trotskyist" faction; when he found he could not use them as a "stepping-stone" he went over to the "Stalinists" who were only too eager to accept him with open arms, because together with them he was willing to issue a forged copy of "Labor Truth" slandering the "Trotskyists" instead of taking up the fight on vital issues pertaining to the local union. It is significant to note here that in the fight against the corrupt officials of Local 3, which was fast and furious, these staunch Stalinist "revolution-

aries" were not to be found. They were not seen or heard from; and if they were present at the meeting, they were probably hiding under the seats or in the balcony, reviewing the fight, while those whom they today attack as "Trotskyists" were always in the thick of the fight.

Now that a certain degree of democracy has been obtained by the rank and file through struggle against the corrupt officials the Stalinists want to rule the opposition. They want to rule regardless of their own competency. One cannot rule others by merely wishing to do so. One must possess the ability and qualifications that make for leadership.

Not a Word on Union Matters

Surely from what I have witnessed the Stalinists lack all of these qualities. By their vulgar, short-sighted and narrow minded policies they have frightened away not only the conservative element, but the liberal and progressive as well. The continuous turn-over in the membership of the C. P. is unquestionable and is positive proof of the party's malicious doings. The submissiveness of the Party rank and file in relinquishing their democratic rights to the bureaucracy is positively nauseating.

On November 14, at a regular meeting of Local 3, two copies of "Labor Truth" were handed to the members as they entered the meeting; one by the progressives and the other—a forged copy—by the Stalinists. The forged copy of the Stalinists attacked the "Trotskyists" but did not contain a single word against the proposed increase

of the officers' salaries. At a subsequent meeting of the Stalinist "group" I protested most vehemently against the vulgar Stalinist procedure. I was then told that if I wanted to "get along with the Stalinists" I should join the Communist Party. I replied that I did not wish to prostitute myself.

It is necessary to bring out one more point: In the recent W. P. A. strike the Stalinists in the union were conspicuous with their absence; one of them, Frank Flatley, continued to work on W. P. A. for more than six weeks during the strike and stopped only one week before the settlement for fear that he would be called before the executive board of the Union and charged with scabbing. Another, Sam Rivian by name, a member of Local 3, was employed in a hat factory, and though willing and ready to expose the "Trotskyists" nevertheless continued to work in a hat factory and displayed a blase ignorance of the strike situation. The truth of the matter is that the Stalinists in the local are not there to take part in strikes or to build the progressive movement; their pet obsession is the "important" task of fighting the "Trotskyists."

Thus the Stalinists saw fit to issue a forged copy of "Labor Truth," organ of the progressives of Local 3. For this special task they found it possible to use a stooge—Leon Green by name.

Falsification and forgery is nothing new to Stalinism. When the workers of the world will have destroyed Stalinism—and the members of Local 3 will lend a hand—history will record the fact that falsification and forgery had received their deadliest blow...

NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY
We don't like to boast of our house parties—you know what they're like. Don't cheat yourself out of a good time. Be there: Tuesday Night, December 31. 221 Second Avenue (Amplores, Branch 1)

Toledo WPA Is Organizing

(Continued from Page 1)

great response on the part of the WPA workers to the three-week old organizational campaign of the WPA Workers Union is conclusive proof that the WPA workers are anxious for organization and that a separate organizational form for them is vitally necessary to achieve numerical strength rapidly.

From the start the WPA Workers Union has moved decisively on the vital issues raised by the WPA workers themselves. By its aggressive attitude and the constant pressure it has exerted on the local WPA administration the union has already won major concessions for the WPA workers in Lucas County: all pay checks are now mailed direct to the workers' homes in place of the old system, where WPA workers would spend days waiting in line to receive their checks. Through the formation of a committee on the Canal Boulevard project which employs several thousand men, the union has secured the right to fire on all open jobs the administration has agreed to supply the fuel and to erect shelter houses for the protection of the men. The union, at the present time, is engaged in a campaign to have all workers paid for any time they may lose on the job, through no fault of their own. It is common in Lucas County for thousands of WPA workers to be laid off projects and wait as long as two to three weeks for transfers and reassignment. This cuts their monthly minimum pay to as low as \$25, and is the biggest issue and the greatest concern of all WPA workers in Lucas County.

County-wide Drive for Conditions
The WPA Workers Union is mobilizing all resources and has requested the aid of the Lucas County Unemployed League, to which it is affiliated, to initiate a county-wide campaign aiming at forcing the local WPA administration to pay the full minimum monthly wage-scale with no deductions for any cause which the WPA worker is not responsible. This drive will reach a focal point in a mass meeting to be held on January 5 where the local WPA administration will be on the platform to address the WPA workers and fix the responsibility for the breakdown of WPA projects and deductions in the pay and answer the union's demands publicly point by point.

The union realizes that the WPA program is temporary and will not last for more than another three months in its present form. For this reason the WPA Workers Union has adopted the taxation program of the Unemployed League, providing for the establishment of large-scale, socially useful public works, such as housing, public recreation buildings, labor temples, etc., to be financed by taxes on high incomes, corporation profits, capital levy, etc., etc. The union also realizes that its membership is in reality still on relief, although the form is temporarily that of

work relief. In several months they will undoubtedly be faced with the necessity of again fighting for direct relief. The Lucas County Unemployed League has had three years of experience in handling these problems and in organizing the unemployed. During that time it has led hundreds of demonstrations and won immeasurably higher standards for all of the unemployed of Lucas County.

Because of these reasons the relations between the WPA Workers Union and the Lucas County Unemployed League are necessarily solidified. The union is continuing its work with the firm conviction that as the organization of the WPA workers progresses the pressure of the men themselves will become irresistible for the achievement of joint action on the unemployed field.

Two weeks ago the executive committee split under the pressure from the 900 men. A minority of three, headed by James Roland, chairman, recommended to the union membership strike action, and a majority of five, headed by Joseph Ditzel, S. P. member of the executive committee, recommended continued negotiations for another thirty days. A union membership which had been led white with inaction and no resistance to the blows of the enemy, who had been listening to gloomy reports for weeks from a bewildered and dazed leadership, voted for the majority resolution.

Quick Action Vital

With every passing week the union has grown weaker and the membership has become more terrorized. Other manufacturers in Toledo are already speaking of moving their plants to other unorganized cities, and it is becoming almost impossible to organize new men into the unions today as they fear the manufacturers will immediately move out of town. A strike of 425 men called by the M.E.S.A. at the Mather Spring Co. some seven weeks ago has been turned into a lockout, and the plant is still standing idle. It is obvious that unless the Chevrolet union is rearmed within the next few weeks, and strike action taken to rearm the 900 men, the Chevrolet union will be dealt a mortal blow and automobile unionism in the whole city of Toledo will have been set back for many months.

The Progressive group of local 18384, realizing the danger which they are all facing, have already

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Subscriptions are coming in but not at all fast enough to speak about it in enthusiastic terms. Our total to date is 223. We do not disparage, however, and have no reason to do so inasmuch as a couple of hundred new readers are always welcome.

Since our last report 59 new subscribers have been added and if the party convention date had not been changed slightly we would still be a good distance from our goal of 1,000 new subscribers. Now we have a little more time and should be able to make it.

The New York branches have by far the best record in this drive. Most of them should be able to reach their quota. But we still have a number of branches which have not yet gotten into motion or which have made only a very small beginning. Strange to say, this is the case of several branches the members of which are otherwise participating very actively in the general labor movement.

Among such branches, and those which have a large quota, the Allentown branch has not yet managed to send in a single new subscription. The San Francisco branch has sent in none; the Detroit, Toledo and Pittsburgh branches have sent in one new subscription each; the Newark branch has sent in two, the Boston branch three and the Minneapolis branch has sent in five. Comrades too often forget the necessity of building up a circulation for the party press, of spreading the ideas we stand for, as the most important means of really making their activities in the class struggle effective and fruitful. We would not maintain that this is the case in Minneapolis. On the contrary, in Minneapolis our comrades have already a substantial mailing list built up. But this question is too often lost sight of elsewhere.

If all of these branches which are still not in the running, and also those which have made only a small beginning, now speed up on their activities to get new subscribers, we will reach the goal set in this campaign.

Since our last report the new subscriptions received together with the quota of the various branches stand as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	8
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	—
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	1
Boston, Mass.....	25	3
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	14
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	8
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Davenport, Iowa.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	1
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	7
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	5
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	2
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	135
(Branch 1)	90	53
(Branch 2)	40	8
(Branch 3)	75	31
(Branch 4)	30	7
(Branch 5)	20	12
(Branch 6)	15	2
(Branch 7)	15	1
(Branch 8)	10	7
(District)	100	14
Northampton, Pa.....	5	—
Patterson, N. J.....	10	—
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	8
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	1
Plentywood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	4
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	—
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	1
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	1
Williston, N. Dakota.....	10	—
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	—
Received from cities not listed above.....		22
Total.....	1,000	223

taken action at their last meeting to propose to the union a thirty minute stoppage in all plants in which they are organized, protesting the action of General Motors and arousing the Toledo auto workers to the necessity of immediately organizing all their forces to resist the union-busting campaign of the automobile manufacturers.

N.Z. Seamen On Sanctions

(Continued from Page 1)

naking and the state policies required to back profit-making were re-established almost as if there had been no war, and today the state of international anarchy, despite the League of Nations, is worse than that of 1914.

"The present Italian-Abyssinian situation is the natural outcome of the exploitation of labor and the international fight for profits. Great Britain and the other dominant imperialist powers are as much to blame as Italy and the weaker ones, and the very nations we may be asked to fight have been in part armed by British firms in the ordinary course of capitalist trade.

"Once again we are being asked in almost identical phrases, except that the word Fascism is substituted for German militarism, and Abyssinia for poor bleeding Belgium, and the League of Nations for 'scraps of paper,' to give our lives and murder our fellow-workers in order that one set of exploiting imperialist powers may prevail over another set.

"That our support is asked in the sacred name of the League of Nations does not alter the situation, for the League, despite the adherence of Soviet Russia, is still what it has been since its formation, an instrument of the dominant imperialist powers against the weaker ones and an extremely effective means of once again hoodwinking the working class.

"We therefore refuse to be misled by the specious appeal to oppose Fascism, for we realize that wars between capitalist powers are not waged on account of forms of government, but for capitalist profit—and further we know that once war is declared, all British democratic governments will and must introduce the necessary means of crushing opposition and will thus become, for all practical purposes, Fascist governments. Actually the British government in India is of this type today.

"We know that Fascism is not some totally different political system, alien to British traditions, but that it is merely the name now popularly given to capitalist governments when under pressure of war or economic crisis, they can no longer govern by misrepresentation and ingenious falsehood under democratic forms but must resort to the prison, the concentration camp, and the machine gun. The record of the New Zealand government in the great war, as disclosed

in the late Mr. Holland's pamphlet, should dispel any illusions that may be held about New Zealand democracy.

"We, of course, sympathize with the exploited people of Abyssinia and strongly resent both the contemplated military attack by the Fascist government of Italy and the contemplated selling or dividing up of their country among British, American and other capitalist interests. We sympathize with them just as we do with the Indian frontier tribes, who are being bombed by our British Royal Air Force, but we definitely assert that the way to free the Abyssinians or the Mohammedan or Indian masses is not to participate with British or New Zealand governments in a peaceful cutting up of their territory or in its administration under the League of Nations or to take part in a national war against the Italian workers, 'our gallant allies' only a few years ago. Our duty is not to fight our foreign fellow-workers, but to call on all workers in all countries to resist their own exploiting and war-making governments with the object of obtaining political power for the working class, of instituting social ownership of the means of production, and thus in the only possible manner putting an end to wars by removing their causes.

"We therefore oppose any war-making activities of the present government, declaring that the present situation does not differ fundamentally from that of 1914 and we refuse to be again deceived. We will in no circumstances transport war materials or troops or in any way assist any war governments and we call upon all working class organizations to join with us in resistance to this shameful endeavor, hidden under deceptive League of Nations phrases, once again to set the working classes of the world at each other's throats in order that capitalist profits may be protected and to ensure the continued exploitation of labor."

Illinois Project Strike Postponed

(Continued from Page 1)

upon them to return to work Monday and "be loyal to the government."

Police and sheriffs were already organized for strike-breaking activities and jobless workers who happened to be idle the morning following the conference were questioned. Secrecy as to the definite time the strike will be called still has the politicians and WPA officials jittery. On many projects workers report that there is a let-up in the slave-driving tactics used by the bosses. Discharged WPA workers are also being placed back to work.

Pledges Support of P.M.A. Local
Jack Battuello, president of local union 1, Progressive Miners of America, in a fiery address, pledged the support of his local union in the fight of the I.W.A. against the "coolie wage."

The League of Stalinist Agents for Social Patriotism

A Political Analysis of the Lovestone Group And its Reactionary Role

Some comrades are inclined to view the present Brandler-Lovestone group's whitewashing of Stalinist social-chauvinism as merely the latest of the long series of situations in which Stalinism has found a loyal attorney in this so-called "Communist Party (Opposition)." They see in the present Lovestone "line" nothing more than a continuation of six years of Lovestone attempts to return to the Communist International at any price. They consider the Lovestoneite apologies for the new Stalinist line as similar to that group's defense of the Anglo-Russian Committee's role in defeating the British General Strike of 1926; to its defense (even today!) of the Stalinist line in China which has been so successful that, with not even a glance at the disorganized masses, Chiang Kai-shek gives up North China to Japan; to the Lovestoneite alibi that the Stalinists were justified in capitulating to Hitler without a struggle since the previous mistakes had resulted in a situation that made it inadvisable to fight, etc., etc.

To those who take such a view, we wish to point out that all the necessary conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the 7th Congress was an open break with revolutionary principles, and particularly with a revolutionary principle tested on an international scale in 1914: the revolutionary struggle against war.

The Test of Events

It is true that the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" (and no other), which became the official doctrine of the Comintern, and sharply separated the Left Opposition from both the Stalinists and Lovestoneites, was also a break with the revolutionary internationalism of Marx and Lenin. Nevertheless, the full practical consequences of this theory were not immediately apparent to even the most advanced workers. For many years it seemed to them a highly abstract issue. It took ten years of defeats and downsliding under Stalin's leadership, culminating in the German catastrophe, before the revolutionary faction of the Comintern could announce the death of the Comintern as a revolutionary instrument, and the necessity of building a new international.

Even after Germany, many advanced workers said to us: "Your analysis is still only a hypothesis. After all, the Comintern has not formally broken with those fundamentals of Marxism which are generally viewed as the revolutionary position—such as the revolutionary struggle against war."

The Seventh Congress marked the formal and explicit passage of the Comintern over to social-chauvinism. There is no longer anything "abstract" about our differences with the Comintern. In gory pages, the role of social-chauvinism is written into the history of the working class during the last war. Those who continue to support or apologize for social-chauvinism, either as C. P. members or as "loyal oppositionists" like the Lovestone group, are acting as social-patriots and agents of social-patriots.

The Seventh Congress

The official blessing given to social-patriotism by the Seventh Congress confronted the Lovestone group with an inescapable decision. The Seventh Congress was not merely another incident. They had to choose: Either break with the social-patriotic Comintern or capitulate to it. Capitulation meant, this time, capitulation on fundamental principles with no nonsense about "disagreeing but continuing our work for unity." The Lovestone group had either to say that the Comintern had gone over to social-patriotism and was no longer a revolutionary organization, to break with it and take the road which, in spite of their past, would lead them toward unity of all revolutionary forces. Or, if they remained a faction of the Stalinists, having capitulated on the fundamental question of social-chauvinism, they would thereafter have to perform even greater prodigies of betrayal as agents of the Stalinist chauvinists.

This all-important question produced a crisis in the Lovestone group. The proof of the significance which we attribute to the issue of the Seventh Congress for the Lovestoneites, is supplied by their own testimony. For a few weeks, they teetered back and forth on the edge of breaking with Stalinism. In those few weeks, they clearly indicated what the issue was. Then—they turned back and, ever since, as we shall show, they demonstrated that to remain a "loyal opposition" after the Seventh Congress, requires an entirely new level of subservience to Stalinism; requires, in fact, nothing less than a whitewash of social-patriotism and to play the role of Stalinist agents for organic unity. We shall demonstrate this in detail.

Lovestoneites Caught Unawares

The Stalinist turn to social-patriotism caught the Lovestone group unawares. Their diagnosis of what was wrong with the Com-

intern was that it was ultra-leftist. We, on the contrary, have always contended that the ultra-left swing of the C. I. (1928-1934) was only one side of Stalinism, that Stalinism veers right or left in obedience to the temporary requirements of the Soviet bureaucracy. Witness the right-wing zigzag of 1924-1926. Denying our contention, the Lovestoneites were left open-mouthed when the chauvinist actions of the Comintern began to pile up. The Lovestoneite paper had, in fact, been full of gleeful items about the gradual improvements in the Comintern line when, overnight, they had to face the fact that the Comintern had gone over bag and baggage to social-chauvinism.

The first spontaneous reactions of the Lovestone group was to estimate the Comintern actions in fairly accurate terms. Even Lovestone himself gave a speech on July 12, 1935, entitled "Shadows of 1914 Over the Comintern." The same title served for a report from Brandler. The difference in character between previous differences with the Comintern and the latest was put quite sharply by E. D. Wolfe, on August 10, in an article entitled, "The Comintern in Danger of Degeneration." Under the heading, "A Question of Principles," Wolfe declared:

"Here are no mere tactical differences such as separated the Comintern and the Opposition till now. The International is actually in danger of breaking with revolutionary principles. . . . If it does not speedily, decisively reverse its path, it is headed for the gravest crisis in the history of the International, so grave that 1928-1935 will seem insignificant in comparison."

In the draft thesis for their national convention, the National Committee of the Lovestoneites characterized the Comintern line in these terms:

"Such a policy would be open social-chauvinism no matter under what banner it would be conducted."

In the Workers Age of August 24, M. S. Mautner said:

"Dominant in the Comintern today is the Social Democratic (chauvinist) trend. This policy has not yet been sanctified by decision of the Seventh Congress, nevertheless all arrows point in that direction. . . . There is left no doubt but that this program of opportunism and social-chauvinism has become the line of the Comintern."

"The leadership of the C. I. is deserting the most elementary principles of class struggle," declared Barney Herman.

Presumably in consonance with these estimates of the social-patriotic degeneration of the Comintern, the National Committee of the Lovestoneites proposed that the coming convention drop the name of "Communist Party Opposition" and, striking out independently, adopt the name "Communist Labor League."

Drawing the Conclusions

None of the leaders of the Lovestoneites explicitly drew any conclusions from the situation. It remained for a younger member of their group to put the problem in clearer terms. After summing up what all the others had said, Jesse Lane declared (August 31):

"All of this is true but not one takes up the question of this desertion of principles in relation to the future of the C.P.O." Now, Lane pointed out, unity with the Comintern would first require that it repudiate chauvinism. If the Seventh Congress line is carried out, said Lane, "we will have to declare that the Communist International is no longer the revolutionary international."

But in the same issue in which Lane's article appeared, it was already clear that Lovestone himself had no intention of breaking with the Stalinists. In an article whose cynical legalism has seldom been paralleled in the labor movement, Lovestone began to build a bridge back to Stalinism over the unfortunate remarks about "chauvinist degeneration," "social-patriotism," etc. Naturally, after what he himself had said about "shadows of 1914," he had to retrace his steps slowly. But what he said was plain enough:

The Road Back

"To conclude that the beginning of this tendency, on the part of the Comintern, towards a Social Democratic position in regard to democracy is already the full adoption by the C. I. of the attitude of the Second International, would be the worst of folly."

There was a struggle in the Lovestone group, but Lovestone had his way at the convention, even the opposition voting for his shameful resolution on the Seventh Congress. This resolution explicitly denies that the Stalinists have become social-chauvinist, and in fact gives it a clean bill of health, saying that "there can be no talk of

1914 for the Communist International." As a face-saving device, there is a perfunctory remark in the resolution that if the Comintern line is continued it is "bound to lead to outright social-chauvinism and reformism." The convention also dropped the idea of changing the name of the group to Communist Labor League, and continued the old name.

If the remark that the C. I. line was "bound to lead to outright social-chauvinism" were seriously meant, rather than the main line of the resolution's defense of the Comintern, this would have expressed itself in systematic, sharp polemic against the social-chauvinist line, as it continued and deepened. Instead, however, the issues of the Workers Age published since the convention resolution appeared on September 14, have shamelessly continued to build the bridge back along the line that Lovestone began. A few examples must suffice.

Wolfe's Somersault

B. D. Wolfe, who, on August 14 had spoken of "chauvinist degeneration," has the brass, by November 30, to politely term the Stalinist line a "modification by the Comintern International of certain aspects of its traditional position!" The same Wolfe declares, on Dec. 7, "Stalin's actual stature, if truthfully reported, is gigantic enough without falsification." Lovestone develops the theory that the "sole" deviation of the C. I. is on the question of "mixed wars," and that even this deviation arises from the laudable desire to protect the Soviet Union! As if every chauvinist did not declare that he supported capitalist governments from the laudable desire to protect working class organizations from the foreign enemy; and as if there could

be any but "mixed wars" (involving the Soviet Union) in this epoch!

The most ludicrous aspect of the Lovestone somersault is their attempt to lay a theoretical foundation for their capitulation, based on the false analogy from mechanics of a swinging pendulum. They assert that the Comintern's chauvinism is merely a compensating extreme right swing from the previous left swing. As Lovestone puts it (Nov. 16): "opportunist deviations now being made by the Comintern sections in their paucity flight from ultra-left sectarianism." This preposterous idea of a swinging pendulum pervades all their material on the Comintern.

Another theoretical buttress for the bridge back beyond those unfortunate few weeks when the Comintern line was characterized in near-accurate terms, is the invention of the "uncertainty" of the Seventh Congress. Lovestone discovers non-existent distinctions between what Thorez and Cachin said before the Seventh Congress and what Dimitroff said at the Seventh Congress! This deception goes so far, for example, as a headline in the Nov. 9 issue asking (about some particularly flagrant Stalinist chauvinism): "Is This Dimitroff's Political Line?"

And concluding the article by saying, "No, it isn't Dimitroff's line." Wolfe (Nov. 9) says the Seventh Congress has not "spoken clearly on the French and Czechoslovak errors" and that the Seventh Congress has "tried to correct some of them by just dropping them without analysis." What could be clearer than the brazen affirmation, deepening, and universal application by the Seventh Congress of the chauvinism of the French and Czechoslovak C.P.? What errors

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

GERARD ON RADICAL "DOG-HUNT"

James W. Gerard, former U. S. Ambassador to the Kaiser's Germany, wants to introduce the terrorist methods of German Fascism into America. This agent of the capitalist ruling class sees the class struggle assuming more open, more sharpened form here too in no distant future. Hence he takes the opportunity in an address of "welcome" to some newly naturalized citizens in Jersey City to inject the proper note of terrorism against the militants of the working class into his speech. He warns that "those who will not conform to the institutions of this country, who seek to overthrow our government and substitute some foreign communism, will soon be hunted like mad dogs in our streets." What the upholder of American capitalism means by "conforming" is obvious. He means that the employed workers shall submit to the wise guidance of the bosses when they deem it necessary to cut wages and lengthen hours; that they shall not attempt to better their lot by daring to organize into unions and to strike against the oppressors and exploiters. He means that the eleven million unemployed shall starve patiently on the miserable dole given in a spirit of Christian Rooseveltian charity, without making too much of an organized nuisance of themselves to disturb the parasitic upper crust of capitalist society. Gerard would exterminate the Marxian vanguard, those "mad dogs" who might spread the virus of revolt among the other "dogs" the working and toiling masses. Gerard's fears, needless to say, arise not because of any foreign importation of communism into America from abroad, but because the same struggle for power by the proletariat is inherent wherever the capitalist system exists, in the United States as well as in Europe. And when the struggle becomes clear to the workers, they will know how to defend themselves against the "dog hunters," how to answer the Fascist white terror of the Gerards. They will set up their own institutions and their own standards of conformity.

slightest interest in the Ethiopians or in anything but the power and the pocketbooks of English capitalists. The resignation of the Foreign Secretary does not mean in any sense that the intentions of Baldwin have changed or that the actual proposals to give Italy half of Ethiopia were "wrong." All it means is that the necessary amount of diplomacy, i. e., of sham and fraud, will have to be used to cloak these real designs and to cloud them in secrecy. The game will be played with greater astuteness by the left-over Edens and Chamberlains as a result of the fall of Hoare. He is symbolic of the power of British cant and hypocrisy whose roots extend deeply into the labor movement as well as into bourgeois circles. Only those who really represent the deepest interests of the masses are not interested in fooling the masses. Only, that is to say, the Marxist vanguard.

OUTER MONGOLIA

The visit of important officials of the Soviet government of Outer Mongolia to Moscow is but a sign of the ominous nature of the situation in the Far East. However extended the theater of war, when it breaks out, between Japan and the Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia will be an important part of it. The Japanese army has long declared its intention of strangling the Soviet maritime provinces by cutting off their communication with Russia and the Ural region. This could be best accomplished by means of a campaign through Outer Mongolia to cut the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In self defense against the Japanese bandits the Soviet government has been laying tracks parallel to those of the Trans-Siberian, but further north. In addition railroad lines are being laid by both Japan and the Soviets to be ready to pour troops into the Mongolian sector. The seizure of North China by the Japanese robbers has the two-fold aim of laying the basis for the further gobbling up of China, and for more extensive preparations for invading Siberia. War in the Far East seems only a matter of the briefest time. If Japan invades Outer Mongolia—and this seems to be the intention of the Japanese army—the incident will be provided that will set the world ablaze in a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. European repercussions would not be long in following. All the moves made by England with respect to Italy have as their dark background the next stage of developments, with Hitler Germany preparing to strike at the Ukraine. England would like to see a solid front of Germany, France, Italy and herself against the Soviet Union, with Hitler acting as the spearhead of conquest and reaction. Workers must be on the alert to aid in the defense of the Soviet Union.

HOARE'S FAUX PAS

The ex-Foreign Secretary of Great Britain has been sacrificed by the reactionary Baldwin government to prolong the life of the present cabinet. Hoare failed to act with that proper savoir faire, that hypocritical ease in saying pleasant nothing while committing evil deeds that is the recognized hallmark of bourgeois diplomacy. The great crime of Hoare is to have revealed in brutal nakedness just what the Baldwin government meant all along. The elections having passed, Hoare felt it unnecessary to pretend any further that British imperialism has the

were corrected? None, of course; this is merely a dishonest attempt to build up a fake distinction between what the Communist parties are doing and what the Seventh Congress said.

We began this article by saying that the present Lovestoneite whitewashing of Stalinist social-patriotism cannot be viewed as merely a continuation of the old Lovestone line; that, instead, it means that by capitulating on these fundamental principles, the Lovestoneites stand ready for the most nefarious services on behalf of Stalinism. This we can now prove to the hilt.

Explain This Away—Lovestone!

On June 15, in the period when the Lovestoneites were undecided on what position to take toward the C. I. chauvinist line, a long article appeared in their paper, by George F. Miles, certainly an authoritative spokesman, on the question of organic unity. The article vehemently denounced the French Stalinist proposals for organic unity. It speaks of the principle of the organizational independence of the revolutionists, and will have nothing to do with those who wish to destroy this principle. It speaks passionately of the differences between revolutionists and chauvinists, "principled differences which expressed themselves in veritable rivers of blood." It describes the fundamental gap between reformists and revolutionists, and concludes: "As long as this condition remains, he who comes before the proletariat and promises organic unity is a charlatan, is misleading the working class, for such is impossible."

Once the Lovestoneites capitulated to the Stalinists on the question of the Seventh Congress line, however, the opposition to organic unity disappears, and instead, these gentlemen, who have so often in the past stressed the distinction between unity and the united front, and demanded precise terms on these questions, now are developing a barrage for "unity." "Working Class Unity is Need of the Hour," says Will Herberg (Nov. 9), and declares that "the movement for unity is forging rapidly forward, making great headway on every front." The article is a fantastic confusion of the problem of organic unity and the problem of united fronts; and deliberately so, since the Stalinist line on war makes it impossible to speak of a united front between pro-Socialists and anti-Socialist Socialists. Herberg throws overboard the whole theory of principled united fronts on specific issues, and calls for united fronts on the war question between Socialists and Stalinists; and Herberg has the gall to do so without once mentioning the social chauvinism of the Stalinists! How is it possible for two utterly different lines on war to be reconciled in one united front? Herberg supplies an answer which deserves to be printed in acid on his brassy forehead; like the attorney for Stalinism that he is, he advises the Socialists that it is not necessary to unite on a correct or revolutionary program, and for this unprincipled position he offers as bait the backwardness of the masses.

Herberg's "Masterly" Contribution

"In order to be really fruitful, Socialist-Communist cooperation must be cemented on such a basis and on such a program as will most effectively mobilize the organized labor movement for action. The question is not how 'correct' or how 'revolutionary' a program or a slogan may be but how reasonable an appeal it makes to the trade unionist who is beginning to feel keenly the need of doing something about the danger of war," etc. (Our emphasis.)

On the key question of revolutionary policy, the war question, Herberg does this! Who can be possibly be serving, except the Stalinists who, knowing that the backward workers, imbued with bourgeois ideology and otherwise unassisted, would move toward social-patriotism, desire to stifle the revolutionary Socialists in a "broad, united front" in which they could propagate their social-patriotism.

The Tacit Admission

When we published an article exposing the political role of the Lovestoneites as Stalinist agents, in which we emphasized the development of the line exemplified by Herberg's article, the Lovestoneites hysterically denounced us. But their very denunciations provide additional proof of their role as Stalinist agents. They say the Trotskyists aim "to obstruct all efforts aiming at the unity of all class-conscious elements as a basis for a broad and all embracing united labor front." Since the second half of the sentence speaks specifically of a united labor front, presumably something else is meant by "unity of all class-con-

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

M.F., BOSTON—

Question: Does not the granting of independence to the Philippines by the Roosevelt government show that there is a fundamental difference between American imperialism and European imperialism?

Answer: The question itself indicates that the Roosevelt strategy, which is that of deception, and is intended to aid him in the coming election, has a certain measure of success. What essentially is changed by the "independence" of the Philippines? Control of the island in both an economic and military sense remains as firmly entrenched as before in the hands of American finance-capital. The formal rights which have been granted the Philippines may be compared to the formal democracy which the workers have under capitalism: Every so often they cast their ballots for certain people, but nothing is essentially altered, regardless of how they vote; the real control remains in the hands of the masters, the finance capitalists.

Because its economic and financial superiority and control is in itself sufficient to cope with competitors in its colonies, American imperialism is able to forego direct military and political control of such spheres of influence, e.g., Cuba. (A large navy deters other imperialist powers from attempting to offset their economic deficiencies by military means, and the same guns can be used against revolting masses.) This particular circumstance, the absence of American troops from certain of its colonies, permits Yankee imperialism to take on a liberal coloration which it attempts to use in its own interests. At the present time the strategy is to use the formal "independence" of its own colonies as a stepping stone towards advancing the slogan of the "independence" of the colonies of the other imperialists, particularly those of Great Britain, i.e., to make these colonies independent of British but dependent upon American capital. "Independence" was thus granted the Philippines because American imperialism, attempting to establish a territorial base in China, is preparing to advance the slogan of the "liberation" of India in case of a conflict with Great Britain.

The weapons and methods may vary but there is no fundamental difference between Yankee and European imperialism: bandits remain bandits.

FRED B., BROOKLYN—

Question: What principled argument is there against the slogan of a "labor party" if the latter is really composed of honest, militant elements?

Answer: Even were it possible to grant the abstract thesis concerning the "honest, militant elements" which contradicts the reality as to who would dominate a labor party in this country today, the slogan would still remain false.

Insofar as it would not stand for revolution but would fight for the interests of the workers, a "labor party" must necessarily be a political party which confines its struggles to the immediate demands of the workers, and to the achievement of reforms for the latter, within the framework which capitalism will permit. Such a party could realize its aims and justify its existence thereby, only if capitalism were still in its progressive stage, and thus capable of granting such reforms. To advance the slogan of the "Labor Party," therefore, is to put forth the concept that capitalism is still in its progressive stage and the international revolution a thing of the distant future.

We proceed from the Leninist thesis, however, that capitalism, imperialism in character, is in a state of decline; that the capitalists, far from being able to grant "reforms" to the workers, can exist only by increasing the latter's misery; and that even the "immediate" needs of the workers can be attained only by an overthrow of capitalism. From this flows the necessity, not of a party of "immediate demands" but, against the latter, a revolutionary party for the struggle for power.

The slogan of a "Labor Party" is the negation of the slogan of a "Revolutionary Party," and it is no accident, therefore, that the adoption of the "Labor Party" slogan by the Communist Party coincides with the latter's adoption of a reformist position generally, and correspondingly, a move for organic unity with the Socialist Party.

CANNON SPEAKS ON LABOR WAR IN MINNEAPOLIS

James P. Cannon, who has just returned from a stay in Minneapolis, will speak on the labor war in Minneapolis and the struggle in the A. F. of L. He will give a first-hand account of the heroic struggle of Local 574 against Green's "Red Purge."

The meeting will take place Sunday evening, Jan. 5, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street. We call to the attention of our readers in New York that there will be no public meeting held on Sunday, Dec. 29.

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THEATER BENEFIT

Tickets are now available for "Let Freedom Ring," which has been moved to the Civic Repertory Theatre with the original cast. This means that you can see the best labor play yet produced, with an excellent cast, at reduced rates. Tickets can be purchased at the district office of the party, 55 East 11th St. The date is Monday evening, Jan. 13. Prices range from 30c up to \$1.50.

NEW MILITANT

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Labor Defense Unity Vital!

The Herndon mass meeting in New York City Friday night turned out to have a deeper meaning than most defense rallies. At the same time that it was a greeting to Herndon on his temporary escape from the chain-gang, and a pledge of renewed support to his fight, it was also important for what some of the speakers said about the need for defense unity in general.

Those political groups supporting the Non-Partisan Labor Defense have always stood for defense unity. They have tried to collaborate with the I.L.D. since the N.P.L.D. was organized almost two years ago and, despite the I.L.D.'s sabotage they have compelled the I.L.D. to collaborate in several instances. The N.P.L.D. has also collaborated with the General Defense Committee of the I.W.O. With the Socialist Party it carried on extended negotiations when it was in a provisional stage, trying to get the S. P. to join with other forces in launching a non-partisan defense.

The N.P.L.D. and its supporters have never abandoned the fight for unity. Indeed, they have been the only ones to work seriously and concretely toward this. What was said about unity at the Herndon meeting, for example, came on the heels of an editorial in these pages advocating defense unity. And at the Herndon meeting itself, Julius Hochman's words on behalf of defense unity were more than echoed by the N.P.L.D. representative, who got a rousing reception when he stressed the need for a militant, unified class struggle defense organization.

Anna Damon of the I.L.D. also seconded Hochman's suggestions for unity. But Damon did not speak at all about policy. She would be content to have unity, and pay no attention at all to the question of program, principles, policy and tactics.

No Gratitude to Dorsey
That is not our idea of class struggle defense policy. Nor is it our understanding of defense that we owe any gratitude or honor to the judge who turned Herndon loose. How devoted Judge Dorsey is to "liberty" and "justice" may be seen from the fact that his decision includes a recommendation to the legislature that it enact a law which will be ironclad so that future Herndons may be sent to the chain-gang without any technical difficulties. As we see it, Dorsey let Herndon go because the exigencies of the Talmadge-Roosevelt faction brawl in the Democratic Party of Georgia make it uncomfortable to have a political prisoner on the chain-gang now that the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense has succeeded in making the Herndon issue popular with broad masses of work-

ers and sympathizers. The decisive factor in freeing Herndon was the organized mass campaign which made a popular—and politically important—issue of the case.

It is important that things like this be understood in order that defense be properly planned, with its roots in a mass movement of trade unionists, unemployed and sympathizers. Only such a movement, backing up able attorneys (not professional admirers of the existing order), can win victories for the workers when they are attacked by the capitalist state. A unified defense movement must have such an attitude, be founded on such a program of class struggle—or the unity will be worthless to the class.

It is, of course, well understood that when we speak of the need for a militant class struggle program in defense work, we mean nothing like what passed for that with the Stalinists during their unlamented Third Period. Our comrade, Norman Mini, now prisoner 57966 in San Quentin, is paying every day for the kind of disruptive, provocative tactics which the I.L.D. brought into the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. There the I.L.D. attorney was neither able nor militant; he was a wild ratter who told the jury to its face that he did not speak for their benefit, but for the benefit of the four-score Stalinist spectators in the courtroom. There the broad masses brought no pressure because the C.P. drove them away . . . and the I.L.D. substituted for mass pressure the antics of a bakers dozen of its members who came into the court.

Avoiding intemperance and provocation on the one hand, simple legalism and opportunism on the other, a unified defense movement would be a great boon to the working class in these days of intense class struggle.

Questions of organizational steps are important. Hochman, for example, speaks of basing the unified defense movement on the trade unions. It is, of course, most desirable that unions affiliate to a defense body. But what is essential is a mass of individual members of the defense organization. The latter must be based on local branches of active militants, including trade unionists and others. Once such an organization is started, broad support may be sought and won from unions which affiliate, collectively. This and other organizational problems must be thrashed out.

But before organizational discussion is begun, questions of program must be clarified. In this connection we cannot do better than quote from the program of the

N.P.L.D., the section on activities and methods:

The N.P.L.D. Program

1. **Defense in Courts.** The Non-Partisan Labor Defense will provide counsel who will serve under the direction of the organization, and will be formally bound to accept its direction. Defense in the courts will be conducted according to the following principles:

a. **Legal Aid.** The full utilization of every legal right and action for the benefit of the defendant. Here, as everywhere in its activities, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense will fight to secure and extend every democratic right granted under the present social system. It recognizes fully the great limitations of these rights as applied to workers; it will neither condone nor foster any illusions concerning them. But it will not commit the folly of being contemptuous of such rights as workers have, or of surrendering them—recognizing that they represent partial victories wrested from those in power by long and bitter struggles.

b. **Presentation of Basic Labor Issues.** The courtroom defense will be planned to bring out, as far as possible, the fundamental labor issues involved. Every effort will be made to reveal the role of the defendant as a fighter and victim in a cause in which all workers have a stake, and his persecution as a blow aimed against all. This will be done for the purpose of winning the sympathy of the jury for an acquittal and for providing inspiration for the organization of mass support and defense outside the courtroom.

2. **Organized Mass Support.** The Non-Partisan Labor Defense will conduct systematic campaigns to organize the weight and influence of masses of workers and others to secure the release of the defendant, through protests, public meetings and demonstrations, etc. United front bodies will be built, wherever possible, in which organized groups will be united on a commonly agreed program of action. Throughout, the chief organizational objective in building the mass defense will be to secure the active support and participation of the trade unions, fraternal and other labor organizations.

3. **Publicity and Educational Activities.** These will include promotion of defense aims and activities in the press, lectures, speakers' bureaus, publication of a bulletin, etc.

4. **Aid to Prisoners and Defendants.** Systematic campaigns to protect the rights, improve the living conditions and give material comfort to labor prisoners and other imprisoned victims of reactionary persecution; and to provide aid for their dependants.

Prepare to Don Khaki For 'Our U.S.'—C. P. Says

By M. JOERGER

According to Bittleman of the C. P., "The Left Socialists are endeavoring to arrive at a revolutionary policy of peace. We must try to help them overcome these difficulties." (Daily Worker, Dec. 6, from recent plenum of C.C. of C.P.)

Left Socialists may well question the authority of Bittleman to expound on this question. Isn't it a fact that in the special address of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, to the membership of the Communist Party of the U. S., in 1929, the minority faction and Bittleman in particular were accused of "sliding down to petty bourgeois pacifist slogans," in connection with the war danger?

It could however be pointed out that much that was pink and shady in 1929 has been graduated to become the official line in 1935. This is true to such an extent that the latest pronouncements of Bittleman reeking with the vilest chauvinism, are typical of official Stalinism.

In line with coalitionism, sanctions, and the other fruits of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the C. P. has just discovered the dangers of "isolation." The liberal pacifist illusion is propagated that pacts between American imperialism and other powers are progressive steps for the maintenance of "peace."

Bittleman expatiates abstractly on this question of "isolation," as if it meant one and the same thing to all classes. He develops the essential implication that the C. P. hopes for a pact between American imperialism and the Soviet Union, on the style of the recent Franco-Soviet Pact. In doing this, Bittleman lumps together the interests of the masses and the exploiters of this country.

He tries to convince the left Socialists and the masses generally of the "defensive" position of "this country," in the Far East. He says that it is clear "that the present war in the Far East directly threatens the peace of the United States." (My emphasis, M. J.) This is counterposed to "Japanese aggression."

"The peace of the U. S.!" As if American marines in the Yangtze are there to compete in an Olympic contest!

The best indication of the extent to which the Comintern has fallen into the mire of social patriotism is the frequency and regularity with which jingo phraseology appears in its official statements and resolutions.

For example, Bittleman says: "Every American knows that the Far East concerns this country very closely." Also . . . "or that Africa is still less of concern to us." (My emphasis—M.J.) "Every American," "this coun-

try" and "us" are terms deliberately used to bury the class struggle and replace it by class-collaboration.

The old trickeries that Lenin mercilessly exposed when they were manifested by the heroes of the 1914 betrayal are now being revived by Stalin's faithful lackeys.

The defense of the "Fatherland" against a foreign invasion is further developed. Bittleman points also to the possibility of an Anglo-German imperialist front "against the U. S." And come to think of it, poor American imperialism, which only recently paraded its huge naval forces in the Atlantic and Pacific . . . "is not yet ready for war," according to this Stalinist parrot!

For the enlightenment of the Left Socialists who have "not yet understood" it, the Leninist slogan of "transform the imperialist war into civil war" is now "shelved" by the Stalinists.

General Line of Betrayal
Under the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union" and "Defend the peace of the U. S.," the C. P. becomes the recruiting agency for Wall Street.

To the masses of Great Britain the C.I. issues the war slogan, "Support the sanctions policy of the government."

To the exploited of French imperialism is issued the call to arms "to defend the republic against Hitler."

To the oppressed masses of the Central European vassal states—"Fight for your national independence against the German aggressor." . . . This, and more, ad nauseum.

Thus in unison do the Stalinists and the Second International prepare the mass basis for a new world imperialist carnage. All this in the name of "Defend the Soviet Union."

Lenin Castigates Bittleman
Lenin long ago asked, "How was it possible that the most eminent representatives and leaders of the Second International betrayed Socialism?" . . . The most primitive theory," says Lenin, "seems to be the one that points at an 'offender' state. 'We have been attacked,' 'we defend ourselves'; 'the interests of the proletariat demand resistance to the disturber of European peace.'" (Page 16, "War and the Second International.")

Instead of "European peace" substitute Bittleman's "peace of the U. S." and you have the American edition of 1914.

Bittleman has the gall to link Lenin's name to this Stalinist formula of applying "Marxism to the present world situation." He dubs

this latest expression of social-patriotism the "Lenin-Stalin" method.

The unconditional tie-up of the proletariat to the chains of the capitalist state forces is precisely what is meant when Bittleman and Browder exclaim: "... the Communists of all countries will call upon the toilers to insure the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists by all means and at any price."

Gold—Recruiting Sergeant No. 1
Michael Gold is quick to dramatize the official line in his column in the Daily Worker of Dec. 9: "If the line-up is such, they," the Socialists, says Gold, "will fight in the American army if it is allied to the Soviet Union."

The next imperialist slaughter has thus found its masks in these valiant defenders of the "peace policy of the Soviet Union!"

Bittleman comes to his climax. He waxes dramatic . . . "the left Socialists," he says, "should ask themselves: 'Are we going to be neutral?' 'Will we advocate a policy of staying out' or will we say: 'Work by all means and at any price to insure the victory of the Red Army?'"

Hearst, Cahan, and now Bittleman. The logic of social betrayal has tied them into one knot. Can one discern a shade of difference in their appeals?

"Phoney and funny," says Bittleman in reference to Hearst. "Phoney" but not funny is the social content of the scribbles of the Bittlemans and their ilk. Such hypocrites and war mongers rant and howl at "Trotskyism."

Build the Fourth International is the answer to them.

The Workers Party alone uncovers the layers of this social demagoguery in this country by pointing to the only path of struggle against war, the way of Lenin and Trotsky. Only the road of revolutionary defeatism, the relentless civil war against "our own" imperialism, is the way of struggle for peace, and the "defense of the Soviet Union." "This is our base, our starting point, understand this and the rest will follow. . . ."

Russell Gets Four Months

(Continued from Page 1)

several sheriffs' cars. On Friday morning the testimony was again resumed before a packed courtroom. Police officers testified against Russell, claiming that he had deliberately broken a milk bottle on the driveway leading into the plant. Late in the morning came some of the most interesting testimony, presented by Capt. Martin Steffen, acting, he claimed, for Adjutant General Walsh as an observer. Under cross-examination by Attorney Green (who is defending Billis and Swanson) and Attorney Heller, Steffen admitted that he had been a member of the National Guard for 17 years; that on Nov. 29 he mingled with the crowd of pickets; that he went into strike headquarters; that he talked with every police officer at the scene; that he went inside the Strutwear plant and asked the janitor, a labor spy named Carl Hanson, for the names of some of the pickets in the crowd. Despite the efforts of the judge, it was clearly brought out that Steffen is a common stool pigeon working under the guise of a "military observer." His testimony against Russell conflicted at several important points with the testimony given by the police officers. Late Friday afternoon, Judge Molyneux announced that the trial would be continued over to 9:30 Monday morning.

Strike-breaking Courts

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has announced that it means to fight this case to the end. The issue at stake is: are employers now to be permitted to use the federal courts and United States marshals as strike-breaking agents, through the granting of fraudulent writs of replevin and similar actions? To permit such an act to go unchallenged would be a crime against America's working class—for if the Strutwear bosses got off scot-free in this particular case, it would be no time at all before bosses all over the country would resort to such dodges in their attempt to crush the growing union movement. Certainly there has been a tendency on the part of the reaction in this country for the past year or so to resort more and more to the courts in order to hold the working class in its monstrous poverty and bondage.

The work of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense—its mobilization of wide-spread interest and support of the Russell case—together with the courtroom work of attorneys Francis Heifer and Gilbert Carlson, has unquestionably won many friends for the N.P.L.D. in the past week. Labor leaders who formerly have been rather cool to the idea of a nation-wide labor defense organization have been frank in expressing their admiration for the effective manner in which the N.P.L.D. has functioned in the Strutwear case.

Class Struggle Issues Arouse West Coast Maritime Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

average pay of \$60 per month. No holidays for the seamen. It is only natural and just that they have a demand to claim overtime pay after working these long hours instead of time back.

"The living and eating quarters of the seamen as a rule are in terrible condition, poor heating and ventilation systems, rotten sleeping quarters, messrooms so small that men must wait in turn for another to eat. This condition and many others exist on most of the ships. The only way these conditions were remedied was by the action of the men themselves, refusing to live and work under such conditions. This action the men were forced to take, as the new existing labor relations board never was able to get anything for the men. The shipowners always manage to stall and block action."

The Portland local of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, for example, in a letter sent to the "Voice of the Federation," organ of the Maritime Federation, has the following to state, in part:

Job Action Gets Results

"After the 1934 strike the men were forced to job action practically all of the time, in order to force the shipowners to give them their due rights. On the strength of the united action of various ship crews, the owners and the government were finally forced to hand down the present award, which they so recently have broken by denying the men collective bargaining. Job action forced the American Hawaiian, the Shepard Line, and various other companies to recognize the I.S.U."

"We could name hundreds of other cases where job action was the only weapon whereby the seamen got their just rights."

Let us quote from another letter sent into the "Voice," this time by a member of the American Radio Telegraphers Association, and approved by the Seattle local of that union.

"These articles were written in answer to an editorial published in the 'Voice' giving the pros and cons of job action. The editorial was entitled 'Job Action, or Else!'" "Job action is not the spontaneous demonstration of the will of the crew as the author of 'Job Ac-

tion or Else!' states. It is rather the last resort of men who have fully acquainted the ship operators or owners with a condition they do not care to sail under. After being refused the request, the crew has no alternative but to use job action."

"Following is the case of the crew of the S. S. Suweld of the Nelson Line. The crew of the S.S. Suweld knowing the ship not to be any too seaworthy, decided that they wanted the added protection of radio in the event an S.O.S. should have to be sent. For the information of those who do not know, the Nelson line has been operating a fleet of ships in the intercoastal trade. It has carried as many as nine passengers on a ship without radio equipment. None of the Nelson ships are very modern seacraft. Out-moded laws have no jurisdiction over the specific case mentioned above. The steamship companies will tell you that they do not carry radio on ships where there are less than fifty lives aboard. In point of law they are right. But how about the crew? Have they no right to state under what conditions they will take chances with a watery grave?"

"The case of the Suweld is no isolated one in job action. The crew were granted their just demands. Wireless apparatus was installed and a competent radio officer was placed in charge of the equipment."

One thing becomes clear from the above extracts, and that is that in the opinion of the men themselves (and who should know better than they) JOB ACTION GETS RESULTS.

Yet job action has been under steady attack by right wing elements as well as by Stalinists, who under guise of being for "organized" job action, steadily oppose the virile action of the seamen, and emasculate job action.

Lundberg Answers Conservatives

Harry Lundberg, representative of the seamen, in answer to the editorial "Job Action or Else!" has the following to state:

Objection: "They (opponents of job action) believe that indiscriminate, unorganized job action will prove a boomerang. That it will not only fail, but that it will definitely harm the maritime workers' front Worker" also states that this

movement."

Reply by Lundberg: "Job action is never indiscriminate, unorganized or unjust. As long as the men mutually agree, they have a just grievance which cannot be adjusted otherwise than through job action."

Objection: "Job action, like any other spontaneous elemental effort on the part of men goaded to extremity, has its drawbacks. Where emotion and antipathy can occasionally dilute cool reason, mistakes are bound to occur."

Reply: "Job action is not spontaneous. Neither is it emotional. The men who use job action are the men on the job who are discriminated against. Who knows better than the man on the job. Surely not the committee which in most cases slowing up or holding back the progress of the seamen."

"There are elements within the Maritime Federation who fear the organized mass movement of the workers. These are the right wingers who, basing themselves upon some of the better situated sections of the maritime workers, now find themselves in the position where they are in deadly fear of any disturbance of the status quo and their position. In answer to the demands of the underpaid, overworked elements for better conditions, they lift an admonishing finger. That there are dangers in job action is true, but these dangers must not blind us to the correctness (as proven by the effectiveness) of the seamen's position for job action."

Stalinists on Reactionary Side

Opposition to job action is perfectly understandable from the point of view of a right wing bureaucrat who fears motion of the masses as the devil himself. The Stalinists, however, have also come out against job action, by coming out for "organized" job action. (The seamen stood for "unorganized" job action according to these worthies.) In the final analysis, this means no action at all, as proven by their attacks upon picket lines (stewards) of the seamen, who had come out in favor of crews taking action. For their pains the Stalinists received the following reply by Chas. Cates, second patron of the Seamen's Union:

"The editor of the Waterfront Worker, the anonymous organ of the C. P. on the waterfront, has taken it upon himself to ridicule and condemn the actions taken by the patrolmen of the Sailor's Union."

"He (the editor of the Waterfront Worker) also states that this

job action was taken without the consent of the rank and file.

"Now this action was taken right on the job by the men themselves with one idea in mind. And that idea was to get the full support of the Sailor's Union, and not a lot of scares and threats that they would be breaking the award and probably be the cause of a coastwise strike."

"It was proven that job action is bringing results."

"I say instead of discouraging such action, steps should be taken to encourage job action."

About the same time as the article appeared in the Waterfront Worker an editorial appeared in the Western Worker, organ of the Communist Party, attacking Harry Lundberg, leader of the elements standing for job action. The heading of this editorial is entitled "We Need Maritime Unity—Not Beef Squads."

Workers Slam Stalinists

Harry Lundberg answered this editorial in an article that was unanimously endorsed by the Sailors' Union.

The following is the heading of this statement by Lundberg, "Sailors' Union Condemns Editorial."

"The following answer to the vicious attack appearing in the Western Worker received the unanimous and enthusiastically acclaimed endorsement of the Sailors' Union at their last meeting."

The statement then went on to sharply condemn the attack on Lundberg, giving a picture of what actually took place rather than the distorted piece of fiction of the Western Worker.

In reply to this sharp statement made by the sailors, the Western Worker published a snivelling, creeping, crawling article of which the main theme was that an attack on the Western Worker is support for the shipowners.

In answer to this hypocritical statement let us refer that paper to an article written by two seamen, panning the little brother of the Western Worker, the Waterfront Worker:

"The San Francisco Chronicle, the American Seaman, organ of the official right wing in the Seamen's Union, both took the same stand as the editorial in the Waterfront Worker in condemning job action. SO WHAT? In our opinion this is certainly no compliment to the Waterfront Worker, or any other so-called rank and file publication. Instead of questioning the sincerity of the writers of these three men

(patrolmen who pushed job action) we believe that the sincerity of the writers of the article in the Waterfront Worker should be questioned."

The Stalinists in this crucial question are following the logic of their extreme right turn. Within the mass movement they are a fetter upon its development. The Stalinists will have to be removed as well as the right wing in order for the union to make any further steps in advance.

Maritime Federation Resolution Ambiguous

A number of weeks ago the controversy was laid over for solution to a specially called convention of the Maritime Federation. The Maritime Federation has issued an ambiguous resolution, which generally supports the Stalinist version of job action—organized job action. Let us quote the resolution:

"Whereas, we believe and have demonstrated on numerous occasions that job action rightly used, with proper control, has been the means of gaining many concessions for the maritime workers on the Pacific coast, and

"Whereas, in as much as job action is and should be action taken when any group of maritime workers desire to gain a concession without openly resorting to a strike, and

"Whereas, in order to eliminate confusion and insure coordination of efforts in the best interests of all maritime groups concerned, it is apparent that an organized method of procedure for job action be laid down by this convention, therefore be it

"Resolved, that the term job action shall mean only action taken by any maritime group in attempting to gain from their employers some concessions specifically provided for in their respective agreement or awards and shall also mean action taken to enforce the award or agreement to the best interests of the maritime groups concerned, or to prevent employers from violating agreements or awards, and be it further

"Resolved, that job action should be confined to a job such as a ship, dock, shop, or warehouse, unless otherwise agreed by all maritime groups affected or liable to be affected should be notified and the issue in question be placed before them, and be it further

"Resolved, that a committee of all maritime groups affected on the job be formed on the job to consolidate action and prevent misun-

derstandings; such committees' authority not to exceed the constitution of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast, and be it further

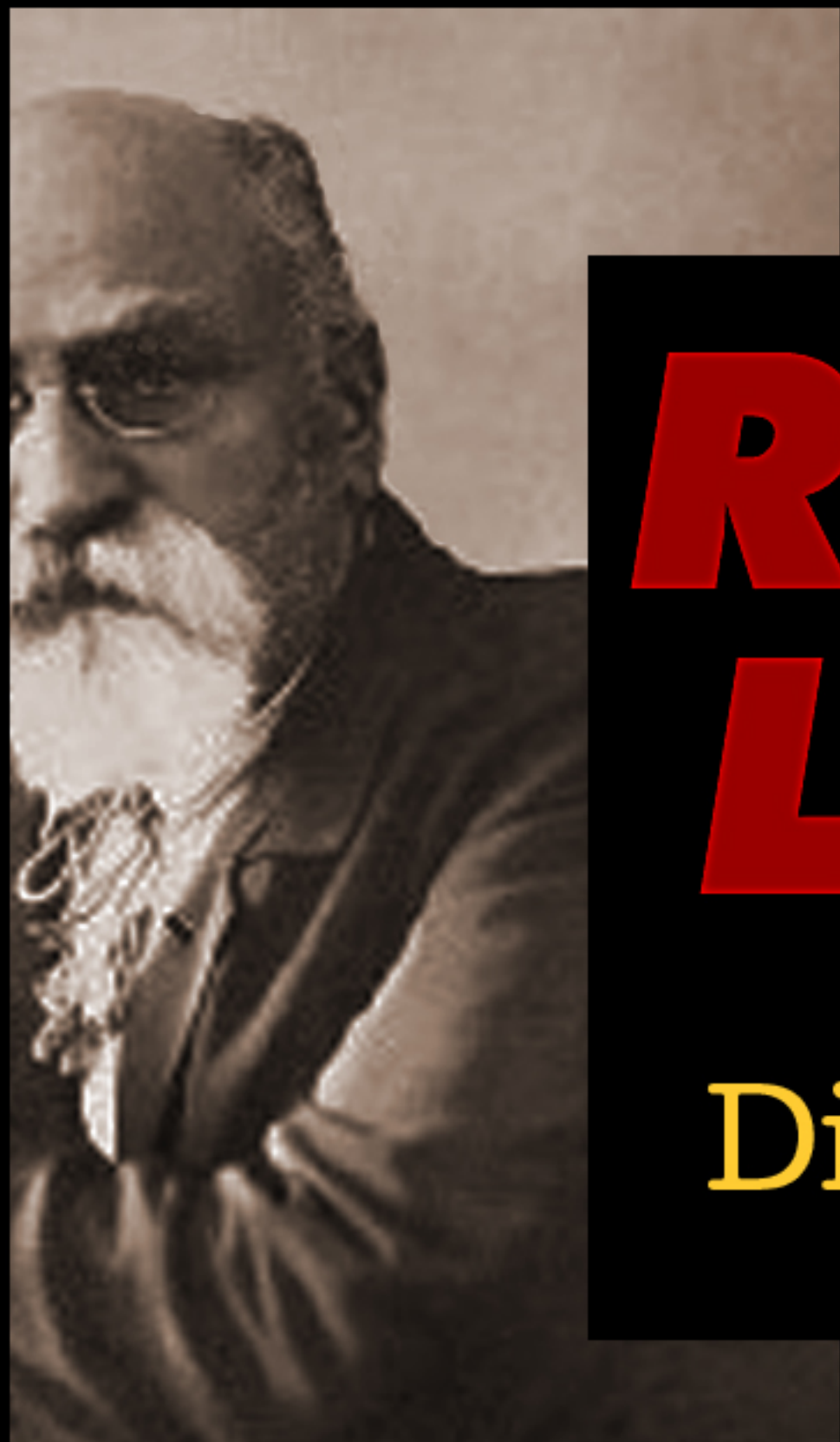
"Resolved, that when job action reaches a point in the opinion of the majority of the maritime groups affected by having their members pulled off the job, and that to go further may jeopardize the Maritime Federation as a whole, the matter shall be referred where and when possible to the district council for further action or adjustment."

Instead of a sharp statement endorsing any action taken by the seamen in order to maintain and better their conditions, this resolution, endorsed by the Stalinists, comes out with a lot of ifs and whereases. In reality, this resolution does not answer any question and leaves the important question still open: will the maritime leadership wholeheartedly support job action or will it try to spend its time proving to the San Francisco Chronicle, and the "good" shipowners how level-headed and sane they are.

For a Class Struggle Policy

Unqualified support of any group of workers struggling to better their conditions! No conditions must be given to this support! A class struggle policy, not a class-collaborationist policy will benefit the worker on the waterfront as a whole. And as part of the solution of this question we must present the following: the need for an industrial union on the waterfront instead of a federation of unions. The Maritime Federation was a progressive step over the lack of unity previously the rule on the waterfront. The first step should be followed by a second one: the organization of a Marine Transport Industrial Union. The conflict between one section and another section of the workers will then be done away with. The present situation with a number of agreements and awards, instead of one agreement, is a many of the drawbacks of craft unionism.

It is necessary to also point out that the role of the Stalinists as progressives is a false one. Posing as left wingers, as rank and filers, their action has proved that in the final analysis they are an obstacle in the workers' struggle. In reality they are closer to "progressives" of the John L. Lewis and Gorman type than to the rank and file. The creation of a genuine left wing union movement, free of Stalinist influence, is on the order of the day.



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